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Sport as Culture

Social class, styles of cultural consumption, and sports engagement in Canada

Adam James Gemar



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Adam J. Gemar

Abstract

The consumption of culture has often been ascribed the power to reflect and reproduce social inequalities. However, most work in this area has focused upon music and the arts. Sport is an important element of culture that can and should be studied in a similar fashion as others (Bourdieu, 1978). This thesis thus seeks to bring the theoretical frameworks and analytical tools of sociologies of culture further into the realm of sport. Substantively, this thesis provides an updated and comprehensive re-examining of the relationship between direct sports participation and social stratification in the relatively unexplored national context of Canada. I also innovatively provide an examination of the relationship between social stratification and professional sports consumption. Finally, this thesis fills a gap in the literature by analysing where the consumption of sport fits within broader cultural lifestyles. For these investigations, I use large-scale survey data and various statistical methods to test the foundational theories of Pierre Bourdieu, the ‘omnivore’ thesis, and individualisation arguments of social action to explain these patterns. The findings show direct sports participation relying primarily on dispositions towards the body which are stratified by education and income, especially for the most elite sports. They also show the two most selective omnivorous profiles for professional sport, rather than the most omnivorous, with the highest levels of education and income. This thesis thus sheds doubt on the omnivore thesis within sport, while also showing elements of individualisation regarding age and sex differentiation in consumption. Sports consumption in Canada thus cuts across all three theories of the relation between socio-economic position and sport. These more delimited consumption profiles contrast with the general adherence to the omnivore thesis within broader cultural lifestyles. This therefore suggests that sport may be a cultural domain where general omnivores practise more distinctive consumption.

Sport as Culture

Social class, styles of cultural consumption, and sports engagement in Canada

A thesis submitted to The University of Durham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2019

Adam James Gemar

Department of Sociology

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List of Constituent Publications

This thesis is derived and comprised, in part (and to varying degrees), from the following peer-reviewed journal articles that I have previously authored. All of these articles were sole-authored and there are no co-authors to disclose for this thesis.

Gemar A (2018a) Sport as culture: Social class, styles of cultural consumption and sports participation in Canada. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. Epub ahead of print 13 September 2018. DOI: 10.1177/1012690218793855.

Gemar A (2018b) Sport in broader leisure lifestyles: An analysis of the professional sport consumer's cultural engagement. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. Epub ahead of print 23 October 2018. DOI: 10.1177/1012690218807363.

Gemar A (2019a) Which sports do you like? Testing intra-domain omnivorousness in Canadian following of professional sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 57(4): 813-836.

Gemar A (2019b) The stratification of professional sports following: social position and the consumption of major professional sports leagues in Canada. *Leisure Studies* 38(6): 775-789.

Gemar A (2020) Cultural capital and emerging culture: the case of meditation, yoga, and vegetarianism in the UK. *Leisure/Loisir*.

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Disclaimers

As a condition of my use of governmental survey data in this thesis I am required to disclaim that the findings and conclusions of this thesis are the sole work of myself as the author and should not be construed to represent Statistics Canada or the Federal Government of Canada.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Positioning the Research

Many sociologists have argued that the consumption of culture can serve as markers of social status and is imbued with the power to produce and reproduce social position. From the 19th century to the present day (e.g. Adorno and Horkheimer, 1944; Bourdieu, 1984; Bennett et al, 2009; Gans, 1974; Savage et al, 2015; Veblen, [1899] 1934; Weber, [1922] 1978), scholars have debated how these dynamics manifest in societies. Indeed, the relative social position of different cultural objects and activities is a subject of continual sociological debate, particularly compared across generations and geographical contexts. Likewise, the manner in which the patterns of cultural engagement are stratified within societies is still an ongoing matter of concern for sociologists of culture and inequality. While the aggregate conclusion from these decades of scholarly work is that there does indeed exist a clear association between the consumption of culture and social position, what this relationship is has been more hotly debated.

This thesis focuses upon three primary theories of this relationship between social position and cultural engagement. These are the theories of social class and cultural consumption of Pierre Bourdieu, the omnivore thesis of Richard Peterson and colleagues, and individualisation arguments of social class and social behaviour. While each of these theories is ultimately situated in both a time and place, all three, particularly those of Bourdieu and Peterson's omnivore theory, have been confirmed and disconfirmed in many national contexts throughout the last three decades. I seek in this thesis to evaluate the relationship

that social position has to cultural and particularly sporting engagement in the national context of Canada.

Sport is one of the most pervasive cultural products in societies. The sports industry around the globe and in North America grows larger each year. In this decade, the sports industry in North America is projected to increase to 73.5 billion US dollars in 2019, up from approximately 50 billion dollars in 2010, with a compound annual growth rate of 4 percent (PwC, 2015). The importance of sport in Canadian culture can also be exemplified by the fact that the most watched television broadcast in Canadian history was an ice hockey contest that saw 80% of the population tune in at some point in the game (NHL, 2010). The sports betting market in Canada exceeds 15 billion Canadian dollars (Westhead, 2014). In 2010, almost 100,000 Canadian jobs were in the sports sector (Statistics Canada, 2015). Sport is oftentimes bound up in elements of national identity, both in Canada (Krebs, 2012), and beyond (Dóczy, 2012; Popović and Bjelica, 2013; Porter and Smith, 2003). Likewise, differing bodily appearances and ‘differential health status’ (Bennet et al, 2009: 152) are foremost considerations for the most immediate and enduring social judgements (Bennett et al, 2009; Bourdieu, 1978; 1984). Despite the prominent role that sport plays in societies around the world and within Canada, research is still lacking into the social consumption patterns of sport and the intersection of these patterns within broader cultural lifestyles.

The study in this thesis thus proceeds with the assertion that sport is an important aspect of culture that can be studied in similar ways to others. This thesis focuses on the social patterning of direct sports participation and professional sports following in the country of Canada. It also seeks to place this engagement and consumption of sport within the broader cultural activity profiles of Canadians. I do this using a variety of empirical methods and using prominent theorists within the sociology of culture and sport. I seek to fill gaps in both

of these subdisciplines of sociology by considering sport and other areas of culture side by side, and using the results of each analysis to illuminate aggregate patterns within the sociology of culture that while implicitly existing in the previous literature in the sociology of culture, are not often reflexively acknowledged or explicitly described in a meaningful way.

This thesis represents the first large scale sociological analysis of direct sports participation in Canada to employ a sociology of culture perspective and test these theories of cultural consumption within the domain of direct sports participation amongst Canadians. It is also to my knowledge the first large scale quantitative sociological analysis using these theories of a full range of professional sports consumption that expands an investigation beyond attendance at general professional sporting events. It is likewise the first comprehensive analysis of where sports consumption fits more broadly in individuals' cultural lifestyles in the national context of Canada. Finally, it is one of the only studies of the consumption of sport that considers individualisation theories of consumption alongside more structural theories. It is finally the first study of the consumption of sport that explicitly tests omnivorous consumption in the context of Canada, a country within the North American context from which theories of the cultural omnivore arose.

In the rest of this introduction I will first address the theoretical framework taken in this thesis and discuss the choice and importance of the national context of Canada for achieving the aims of this thesis. I will then move on to introduce the research questions that guide the research program of this thesis. Finally, I will provide a chapter by chapter outline that introduces the contents of each of the chapters that are to follow. I will now discuss the formative theories for this thesis.

The theoretical context

While sociologists have long discussed the consumption patterns of various cultural objects and their implications on societies, the full realisation of a comprehensive theory in this vein came with Bourdieu's seminal work, *La Distinction* (1984). Bourdieu outlines in this work the social class divisions in cultural consumption present in France during the 1960s. Put very simply, Bourdieu found those of elevated social position to have taste for and engage in cultural activities of elevated social status while those of lower social position preferred cultural objects and activities that the French society (or at least the privileged classes of French society) valued less highly and looked down upon.

Since Bourdieu laid out this theory of the relationship between social class and the patterning of cultural consumption, this work has been taken up and tested by various scholars in many countries. The most prominent theory of consumption after Bourdieu arose in the 1990s from the United States when Richard Peterson and colleagues conceptualised a cultural 'omnivore'. This cultural omnivore spanned the strict delineation between social class and appropriately circumscribed cultural activities as argued by Bourdieu. Rather, the cultural omnivore distinguished itself as consuming cultural forms of both high and low social status. In contrast, the univore consumed only a limited number of low status activities (Peterson, 1992). These omnivores were found to also be of elevated social status (Peterson and Kern, 1996), while the univore came from lower social class strata.

Yet another set of theories of cultural consumption argue that both Bourdieu and Peterson's class-based theories are either not as powerful as many sociologists asserted, or have waning relevance in the world's developed countries. In terms of cultural consumption, these theories all posit a consumption paradigm that is individually driven, rather than patterned by more structural forces. Theories of cultural consumption that downplay the effect of social class in the lifestyle decisions of persons (e.g. Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991) have been termed

‘individualisation’ theories (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007; Gerhards et al., 2013). These theories proceed from the assertion that the cohesion of social class structures is, and has been, in decline, primarily as a function of increased societal wealth and mobility in modern societies (Atkinson, 2010; Bauman, 2002; Beck, 1992; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010; Giddens, 1991). This decline is argued to be a product of modernisation (Gerhards et al., 2013). Therefore, the influence of social class structures in structuring the cultural consumption of individuals within the society is argued to be not nearly as pronounced as other theories suggest. These theories as they apply to cultural consumption have been argued to be more or less directly contradicting the theories of both Bourdieu (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007: 2), and the omnivore thesis of the social class patterning of cultural consumption.

With respect to my testing of these three theories, if I find that the composition of the cultural consumption profiles found in this thesis are not structured by the socio-economic variables, then this would suggest that theories of individualisation may hold sway in the patterning (or not) of cultural behaviour in Canada. Individualisation theories are thus ultimately based upon the waning influence of class in the structuring of cultural choices. This thesis uses these theories to test their applicability to the Canadian case in order to determine which, if any, are most characteristic of cultural and sports engagement in that national context.

This thesis also has a primary goal to examine the place of sport within the cultural landscape of Canada. Towards this end, it engages all three of these most prominent and prevailing theories of cultural consumption. Within the traditions of these theoretical frameworks, there is little work done on sports. There exists much more work in other cultural domains. Work in these areas generally focuses on music and the arts, with many treating music as the cultural domain *par excellence* to be explored (Bryson, 1996; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010;

Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Savage and Gayo, 2011; Veenstra, 2015). Thus sport as a site of culture that can be consumed in a similar fashion to other cultural forms remains understudied (Warde, 2006; Washington & Karen, 2001; Widdop and Cutts, 2013). This thesis proceeds with the assertion made by Bourdieu that sport can be and should be treated in the same manner as music within studies of culture and consumption (Bourdieu, 1978). Despite the prominent role that sport plays in contemporary societies, this is rarely the case.

There are indeed some studies, however, that apply Bourdieu to sport, particularly sport participation. Many of these studies support conclusions that participation in sport is strongly stratified by social class standing (Bourdieu, 1991; Collins, 2003; Collins, 2014; Scheerder, et al, 2002; Sugden and Tomlinson, 2000; Scheerder et al, 2005, Stempel, 2005; Taks et al, 1995). Other studies suggest that those of higher social classes both participate more in sport and more often attend sporting events (Coakley, 1994; Eitzen and Sage, 1991; Erickson, 1996; Gruneau, 1999; Kahma, 2012; Mehus, 2005; Moens and Scheerder, 2004; Thrane, 2001; White and Wilson, 1999; Wilson, 2002; Hartmann-Tews, 2006). Direct sports participation, however, forms the majority of scholarly work on class and sport, which is the subject of substantially more studies than any other form of sports engagement (Thrane, 2001).

Likewise, although there is a growing corpus of academic literature on the cultural omnivore, few studies have assessed any kind of omnivore concept with respect to sport. Those that do were innovative in doing so and offer necessary and valuable contributions but focused singularly on the domain of sport, without fully accounting for the varied range of cultural engagement (Widdop and Cutts, 2013; Widdop et al, 2016; Wilson, 2002). The existence and nature of the omnivore within the realm of sporting preferences remains very much under-

researched (Widdop et al, 2016). There is also a lack of inter-domain research in cultural sociology, particularly in regards to studies of omnivorousness. Many studies address omnivorous consumption patterns within single fields. Although this has been studied within sports in the United Kingdom (Widdop and Cutts, 2013), this research only dealt with sport omnivorousness fully within the domain of sport (and only direct participation) and within a disparate national context from that which this thesis explores.

Therefore, even as Bourdieu frequently considered sport, few scholars have studied sport as a cultural form that can be consumed in the same way. Since Bourdieu, the tendency of scholars has indeed been to treat culture and sport relatively separately, without combining them in a broader analysis of culture or consumption behaviour. These dynamics are especially so within the social context of Canada and North America more broadly. The North American context is of particular interest here because of the cultural consumption theories that have arisen from it (e.g. Peterson's omnivore). There is also a breadth to the sporting landscape of North America that is of a different nature to other areas of the world. Despite the prominent role that sport plays in Canadian, and other contemporary societies, research is generally absent when it comes to the relationship between social consumption patterns of sport and other cultural activities.

Although some Canadian work on consumption has touched upon sport (e.g. Veenstra, 2010; White and Wilson, 1999), there generally exists a lack of scholarship on sport consumption in the context of Canada. This thesis is thus concerned with how sport operates as another domain of culture generally. Specifically, it seeks to further understand how sport intersects with other forms of culture and fits into broader styles of cultural consumption. This work seeks to fill these gaps in the existing literature, provide innovative applications for sports studies that bring in more traditional sociological analyses of cultural consumption and

provide an additional national context-specific case study for present and future cross-national comparison. This thesis is thus also concerned with how sport operates as another domain of culture and how it intersects with other forms of culture.

While Bourdieu investigated France, arriving at his conclusions out of that specific Western European context, Peterson came to his conclusions from analysis of the American case. Canada is uniquely positioned between these two contexts for a number of reasons. Canada shares an 8,891 kilometre land and sea border with the United States, much of which follows the parameters of the Treaty of Paris of 1783 (CBC, 2009). Total Canada-US trade of goods and services across this expansive border was USD\$673.1b in 2017, making Canada the United States' second largest trading partner, while the United States is by far Canada's largest trading partner (US Trade Representative, 2018). The United States is also the most popular destination for Canadians. In 2017, 42.1 million trips were taken by Canadians to the United States (Statistics Canada, 2018). This, however, is down from 46.4 million in 2013, the last year that the Canadian dollar was at par with the US dollar, and therefore this decline coincides with the drop in the Canadian dollar (Statistics Canada, 2018). The United States also represents the country with the greatest flow of foreign visitors to Canada. In 2017, 24.3 million Americans crossed the border into Canada (Statistics Canada, 2018). Canada and the United States are thus economically intertwined, but they are also culturally intertwined, not least of which in a sporting context, sharing multiple professional leagues (which are in the analyses of this thesis). Therefore, Canada represents a useful case for exploring Richard Peterson's omnivore thesis in another national context that is the most geographically, and indeed perhaps culturally, similar to the United States. However, along with its geographical and cultural proximity to the United States, Canada is also uniquely at the intersection of Francosphere and Anglosphere. As of the 2011 census, nearly 10 million people, or 30.1% of the entire population speak French, while 22.0% speak French as their native language

(Statistics Canada, 2015). While contemporary Canada, even Francophonie Canada, cannot be directly compared to the culture of Bourdieu's France, Canada is indeed unique as being a country where the Francophone context of Bourdieu's theorisations of cultural consumption and the possible influence of the Peterson's United States on patterns of Canadian cultural consumption can be examined together to some degree.

The primary gap in the literature that this work seeks to fill is the lack of consideration of sport as an important element of culture that is worthy of consideration on the wider landscape of cultural engagement. This is the case with sports participation, and is also particularly true as it pertains to sports fandom. Even within the much larger corpus on studies regarding class and sport participation, few studies focus on Canada. Fewer still have had a focus of professional sports consumption. This is so even as professional sport is one of the more pervasive aspects of contemporary societies around the globe. This work also seeks to deepen understanding of cultural consumption more generally. It does so by using two under-investigated areas of cultural consumption – the cultural domain of sport and the national context of Canada. Although this contributes to the wider academic knowledge of cultural consumption, the focus on sport and on Canada starts to provide applications for sports studies and for understanding the wider cultural lifestyles of professional sports consumers. It also provides a national context-specific case study for cross-national comparisons.

As it stands, the only comprehensive studies that attempt to place sport on the wider cultural landscape are Bourdieu (1984) and Bennet et al. (2009), albeit with different methods than I employ in this thesis. These two studies use multiple correspondence analysis to map cultural consumption, with minimal focus on sport and within the national contexts of Western Europe (UK and France, respectively). The sports elements that they do focus upon deal

almost exclusively with direct participation. Although some have addressed intra-domain participatory consumption (Widdop and Cutts, 2013), there is little work that comprehensively analyses whether or not theories of cultural consumption, most often applied to music and art, are as applicable in the realm of sport, particularly non-participatory sports consumption. This study proceeds with the contention that they are indeed applicable and that following professional sport is a cultural practice that is able to be placed within a person's general cultural lifestyle profile. This research will use latent class analysis (LCA) to explore the theoretical salience of cultural consumption theories. I choose LCA because it is more capable of explicitly identifying groups of consumption, rather than overall associations in the data used by the previous comprehensive studies of cultural taste and behaviour. I will now briefly examine the national context of Canada that this thesis explores.

The context of Canada

There exists a lack of work on cultural consumption and sport that is especially true within the social context of Canada. Even as Bourdieu frequently considered sport, few scholars have studied sport as a cultural form that can be consumed in the same way. Since Bourdieu, the tendency of scholars has been to treat culture and sport relatively separately, without combining them in a broader analysis of culture. These dynamics are especially so within the social context of Canada and North America more broadly. The North American context is especially important here because of the cultural consumption theories that have arisen from it (e.g. Peterson's omnivore). There is also a breadth to the sporting landscape of North American that is of a different nature to other areas of the world. Despite the prominent role that sport plays in Canadian, and other contemporary societies, research is generally absent when it comes to the relationship between social consumption patterns of sport and other cultural activities. A foremost aspect of this thesis is thus concerned with how participatory

sport operates as another domain of culture generally. Specifically, it seeks to further understanding of how participatory sport intersects with other forms of culture and fits into typologies of cultural consumption patterning. This work seeks to fill these gaps in the existing literature, provide innovative applications for sports studies that bring in more traditional sociological analyses of cultural consumption and provide an additional national context-specific case study for present and future cross-national comparison.

With regards to professional sports, Canada presents a unique case. Outside of North America, professional soccer most often dominates the landscape, with other professional sports leagues lagging far behind. This is exemplified by the fact that four of the five largest professional sports leagues (by revenue) are located on the North American continent (Kutz, 2016). For context, the revenues of these four leagues are more than five times that of the English Premier League (Kutz, 2016). This is true even as large soccer leagues such as the Premier League and La Liga have much more global potential for revenue flows than these North American sports leagues, given the global nature of soccer and the far less global nature of the North American sports represented by these leagues. The four leagues are Major League Baseball (MLB), the National Hockey League (NHL), the National Basketball Association (NBA), and the National Football League (NFL). Canada has teams in three of these leagues. Although there is only one NBA team and one MLB team, there are seven NHL teams in Canada. The market valuations of these nine teams is approximately 8 billion US dollars. The yearly revenues of these nine teams exceed USD 1.6 billion (*Forbes*, 2017, 2018a, 2018b). There are no NFL teams currently in Canada. However, the Canadian Football League (CFL) operates nine franchises in a Canada-only, professional gridiron football league. Because the majority of teams do not make their books public, much less is known about CFL revenues. However, the CFL sees a total of more than two million fans come through the turnstiles to watch a game in a given year (CFLdb,

2016). This thesis seeks to move one step towards more envelopment of sports, with explicit inclusion of professional sport, into the fold of sociologies of culture.

The sporting landscape of North America thus has a market of a size and scope not seen in other areas of the globe. This makes it the optimal environment in which to conduct this research. Likewise, with regards to professional sport, Canada is the optimal North American location to interrogate this consumption. This is because amateur sports, such as university sport, is not prominent in this country, as it is in the United States, where university teams can often draw larger crowds and interest than professional teams. Therefore, even with this unique sporting landscape, the results of the analysis of this thesis concerning professional sports may also represent a more readily applicable to other areas of the globe, where, like Canada, professional sport represents the prevailing paradigm of sports consumption.

Research into comparative professional sports consumption, specifically, is also greatly lacking in the literature on sports fandom (Pope, 2017). Indeed, in the Canadian case I am unaware of any such research. Rather, much of the literature that exists focuses on the experience and modes of consumption for only one particular professional sport or another, or limited to specific teams (e.g. Nakamura et al, 2012). This is often a product of the qualitative approaches applied in this literature. Sport's cultural penetration is varied, vast, and important in Canada, as it is in many other national contexts. However, there is currently little quantitative work done on sport in Canada, either for direct sports participation or professional sports consumption. Indeed, there is very little quantitative work that is employed in studies of professional sports more broadly. With considerations, then, of direct sports participation, professional sports following, and broader cultural engagement, this dissertation will work towards an analysis of these intertwining aspects of culture to

determine if these patterns exhibit recognisable patterns of distinction or omnivorousness, how they do so, and to what degree they do so.

1.2 Research questions and hypotheses for this thesis

The research questions of this thesis have three primary theoretical dispositions and two substantive ones. From these, I ask a number of more specific research questions. As mentioned earlier, this thesis deals substantively with two areas of sports engagement. The first of these is direct sports participation in Canada. The second is the following of the major professional sports leagues in Canada. Theoretically, this thesis is concerned with the dynamics of consumption within the domain of both direct sports participation and professional sports following. It also focuses on the intersection of broader patterns of consumption with respect to these areas of sports engagement and how they fit within broader styles of cultural participation. All of these theoretical and substantive points of entry, however, are analysed in this thesis through the theoretical lens of the prevailing theories of cultural consumption of Bourdieu's theories, the omnivore theory, the individualisation of cultural taste and behaviour, and those studies that build upon these theories.

Towards an understanding of prevailing patterns of sports participation in Canada, this thesis seeks to find a typology representative of the social patterning of direct sports participation in that country. It also asks, what socio-economic and demographic factors most contribute to this patterning and the representative typology? Answers are needed for both of these lines of inquiry in order to assess which and to what degree prevailing theories of cultural consumption explain and predict direct sports participation. For instance, finding a pattern of omnivorous consumption would not in itself confirm original theories of the omnivore. Rather, it is if this omnivorous pattern of consumption is the profile of those of the highest

social position that will most clearly confirm this theory for the domain of direct sports participation in Canada.

If Bourdieu's theories are most applicable to Canadian patterning of direct sports participation, I would expect to find results showing that there are distinct groups which fully consist of high status sports and low status sports. The groupings of high status sports would necessarily also be associated with higher socio-economic location within Canadian society. In order to confirm the theory of the cultural omnivore, however, the results of this thesis would include a group (or groups) that includes sports of differing status, both high and low. Results for this kind of participation profile would show them to be associated with higher socio-economic position. If none of the various groupings of sports within Canadian society show social patterning by socio-economic position in the results of this thesis, then this suggests an individualisation of sports participation in Canada. Likewise, even in the case that some of the types of participation groups do show some socio-economic stratification, if they are more strongly predicted by demographic variables, such as age or sex, then this would also show important evidence of an individualisation in sports participation.

I seek also in this thesis to answer very similar questions regarding professional sports following. First, what is the social patterning of the following of major professional sports in Canada? Second, what factors contribute, and contribute most to this patterning? It is again answering both of these questions that will illuminate which theories of the relationship between social position and social action that most predict this professional sports consumption in Canada.

In the case of professional sports following, if Bourdieu's theories are most applicable to professional sports following in the Canadian case, I would expect in this thesis to find distinct groups that again only follow high status professional sports leagues and other groups

consisting of those who follow only low status sports. The former group would necessarily be of higher socio-economic location. These results would suggest that professional sports following in Canada is delimited by high and low status professional sports leagues that are followed by those of high and low social position, thus confirming Bourdieu's theories.

This thesis is able to capture more nuance in the analysis of omnivorism of professional sport. In order to confirm the theory of the cultural omnivore by composition (see also Chapter 2), the results in this thesis must show a group that follows both high and low status professional sports leagues. However, to confirm an omnivore by volume (see also Chapter 2) for professional Canadian sports following, the results in this thesis must show a group that follows all of the major professional sports leagues in Canada. For both versions of the omnivore, the results for the omnivorous pattern of consumption would likewise need to show members of this group as having elevated social position.

As before, if none of the typologies of consumption show social patterning by socio-economic position, then this result would suggest a type of individualisation of professional sports consumption in Canada. However, even in the case that groups do show some socio-economic patterning, if they are more strongly predicted by demographic variables such as age or sex, then this would also show elements of the individualisation of professional sports following. Findings of individualisation would be further strengthened and confirmed if there was no socio-economic differentiation between those demographic categories (e.g. female and male, young and old). This would suggest that it is indeed those elements of demographic identity that more strongly structure the following of major professional sports leagues in Canada.

A last key set of research questions of this this thesis seeks to tease out the place of both direct sports participation and professional sports following within a broader set of cultural

activities forming the cultural participation profiles of Canadians. For this I ask, what are the wider cultural consumption profiles of those who engage with sports in Canada? This first involves assessing prevailing patterns of cultural consumption in Canada outside of only the domain of sports. Once this is established however, I will again need to assess the socio-economic and demographic structuring of these broader patterns. This is once again because the analytical force of prevailing theories of cultural consumption is in explaining how social position is reflected and explained through cultural lifestyles. Within these cultural profiles, this thesis asks, are different participatory and professional sports leagues in Canada followed by people that have different patterns of cultural consumption in other areas of their life? Comparing these intra-domain (within the domain of either direct sports participation or professional sports following) with the inter-domain (across broad cultural categories such as watching television, going to movies, etc.) can also illuminate methodological and substantive differences in the structuring of cultural profiles broadly, within a specific cultural domain, and namely within and without the realm of sport. This is able to hint if there are any social judgements drawn within Canadian society between those who consume sport broadly, or not, and also between those who consume various sports (or combinations of sports) and those who consume different sports (or combinations of sports).

For this set of research questions and these lines of inquiry, if those who participate in sports of higher status have differing cultural profiles across domains than those who participate in sports of lower social position, then these findings would suggest a more Bourdieusian type of distinction within this domain. The same assessment applies to professional sports following. If engagement with sport in Canada follows theories of the omnivore, however, I would expect the results of this thesis to place most or all of the sports leagues into a group of cultural behaviour marked by an overall omnivorousness. Likewise, for the data on professional sports following that did find an overall omnivore by volume and omnivore

groups by composition, which, if any (or all), are most omnivorous in their broader cultural participation? This thesis is thus broadly concerned with how professional sports consumption is connected to broader lifestyles and which cultural profiles are most connected to the intra-domain differentiation and omnivorism found in the previous two chapters of this thesis.

1.3 Outline of the rest of this doctoral thesis

In the next chapter, Chapter 2, I introduce key concepts for this thesis and discuss the three foundational theories of the relationship of social position to sporting and broader cultural participation used in this thesis. I particularly use the original writings of Pierre Bourdieu and Richard Peterson to highlight how they conceived of cultural consumption and its relationship to class. I then move on to explain how their theories as outlined in these original works have been taken up in the arena of cultural consumption and employed in academic studies. For each of these theoretical traditions, I take a particular focus on their application to sport and discuss the empirical literature which has applied these theories to elements of sport. Finally I discuss individualisation theories of the relationship between social class and cultural behaviour. All this is done to highlight and introduce the key existing literature on cultural consumption and how it has been, and can further be, applied to the domain of sport. This is to further the argument for the relevance of these theories within an area of culture in which they are infrequently deployed.

In Chapter 3 I discuss in more detail the specificities of the Canadian case used in this thesis. I first discuss a genealogy of the relationship of sport to social position and how these relationships to sport have served to mirror and reproduce the inequalities of class, gender, and race throughout the history of Canada. I then move on to more detailed discussions of the

cases of major participatory sports in Canadian society. These discussions outline how and why these sports occupy the social status that they do in contemporary Canada. Finally, I discuss the professional sports landscape and the variety of major professional sports leagues with teams and followings in Canada. This chapter thus seeks to introduce the reader to the relative social status of participatory sports in Canada and the landscape of major professional sports within Canadian society.

Chapter 4 outlines the data and methods used to test the various theories of cultural consumption that are discussed in Chapter 2 and throughout this thesis. I first describe the data, which comes from Canadian governmental and academic sources. I discuss how this data fits the purposes of the research of this thesis. I then describe the statistical methods that are used in the analysis of this data. This chapter also explains how the data used in this thesis was recoded and condensed in these statistical analyses to best answer the research questions of the thesis. Likewise, I discuss the operationalisation of key measures of capital resources for their use in analysing the results of this thesis through the theoretical framework employed in this work.

Chapter 5 starts the presentation of results for the empirical studies of this thesis. In this particular chapter, I first present the results from an intra-domain investigation of direct sports participation in Canada. Using more than three dozen sports that were included in governmental surveys on the sports participation of Canadians, I find groupings of sports associated with each other and the social make-up of each of these groups. I then discuss the relevance and implications of the three theories for the relationship between social position and cultural tastes and social behaviour for direct sports participation in Canada.

In Chapter 6, the substantive focus shifts to professional sports following in Canada. I therefore first present inductive empirical findings as to the relative social location of each of

the six major professional sports leagues in Canada. In then examining the intra-domain patterning of professional sports following, I again create typological groups that are then also assessed for their social make-up. After taking the six large professional sports leagues in Canadian society and performing similar statistical tests and analyses to Chapter 5 to identify groupings and the socio-economic and demographic relationships of consumption for this domain, I again compare these results to identify the most salient theory of these relationships for the domain of professional sports following in Canada.

Chapter 7 of this thesis is dedicated to an investigation of the patterning of sport within broader lifestyles of cultural consumption. I do this for both direct sports participation and professional sports following. In both instances, I follow similar methodological procedures to chapters 5 and 6 and identify typological groupings for broader cultural lifestyles in Canada. I then analyse where individual sports and groupings of sports fit within these Canadian lifestyles. I likewise follow this same procedure for professional sports following. Results for both analyses are discussed side by side in this chapter and ultimately the patterns of broader leisure lifestyles are discussed according the theories of cultural consumption assessed in this thesis. These conclusions as to the relationship of social position with broader patterns of cultural participation will also be comparatively analysed and discussed with the results from the intra-domain analyses of direct sports participation and professional sports following.

Chapter 8 is the concluding chapter of this thesis. In this chapter, I revisit the theories, aims and objectives of this dissertation and highlight how, and to what extent, the results found through this research process have furthered these theories, aims and objectives, along with how they have answered the research questions of this work. Finally, I identify key research limitations and offer recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2

Theories of cultural consumption and their applications in the study of sport

2.1 Introduction to this chapter

This chapter outlines the key concepts, theories, and literature that form the basis of this thesis. It starts with an introduction to the key concepts that will be mentioned throughout this chapter, even as they may be discussed in more detail within certain specific sections of the chapter. I then move on to discuss the core theories of this thesis. This discussion starts with Bourdieu's field theory of cultural production. The purpose of this section is to introduce sport as its own field of culture to show that sociological theories of culture and cultural consumption can be appropriately applied to this domain of culture. This then leads into the discussion of these cultural consumption theories. Bourdieu's consumption theory of distinction is discussed, followed by the omnivore thesis, and theories of individualisation in consumption. The discussions of these three theories are ordered in this way so as to highlight the chronology in which they appeared and developed in the literature on social position and cultural consumption. Where these theories, and studies using these theories, discuss sport, is prominently mentioned in each of these sections. Finally, I set up the remainder of the thesis by outlining how the empirical evidence of this thesis may lend itself to confirmation or problematization of these various theories of engagement with the cultural domain of sport. In order to engage in the most efficacious explication of these theories, in the next section I introduce some of the key terms and concepts that will appear in these later explications.

2.2 Introduction to key concepts

Culture

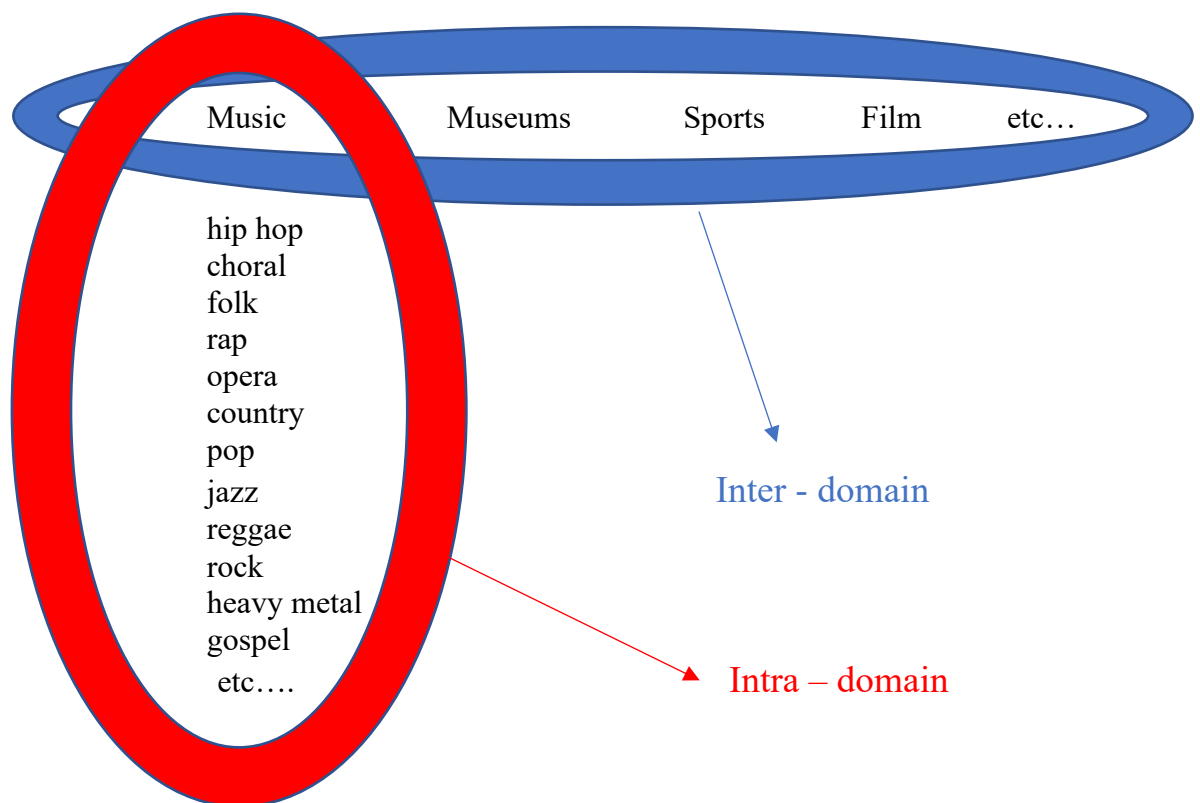
The broad concept of ‘culture’ has been theorised in a variety of ways. This is reflected in both multiple dictionary and social science definitions of the concept. Dictionaries generally define culture as the collective and shared beliefs, customs and material manifestations of societies (Cambridge English Dictionary, 2019; Collins English Dictionary, 2019; Merriam-Webster, 2019; Oxford English Dictionary, 2019). Social sciences disciplines have likewise generally considered culture in these terms. An early social science conceptualisation of culture asserts that it ‘consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiment in artefacts’ (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952: 181). Academic discussions of culture generally fit within these fairly inclusive parameters. Of particular concern for this thesis, the domain of sport fits these parameters. Sports represent a manifestation of the collective organisation of physical leisure and competition within a society. They often reflect shared social histories, such as the formation of native sports, effects of colonial histories, and collective experience of national sporting teams and individuals. They also have internal to their rules and customs broader societal norms and customs of behaviour.

However, while culture is theoretically understood broadly in these ways that clearly include sport, empirical investigations of culture have primarily focused upon arts and music. This thesis therefore makes the argument that sport is an under-investigated domain of culture. The next section of this chapter (section 2.3) provides evidence of how sport operates as its own (Bourdiesian) cultural field, showing similar properties to other domains of culture, such as literature and the arts. Therefore, this thesis considers sports alongside more

traditionally considered elements of culture because of its ready applicability to existing conceptualisations of culture and because its internal mechanisms mirror those of other cultural domains.

Domains of culture

Figure 2.1.



It is also useful for me to offer a definition of cultural ‘domain’, as well as the concepts of ‘inter’ and ‘intra’ domain dynamics of consumption which are used throughout this thesis. When I speak about a cultural domain I am speaking about a form of culture. Film is a form of culture, music is a form of culture, theatre is a form of culture, sport is a form of culture, etc. Within each domain there are a variety of genres. For instance, there are dramatic films, action films, comedic films. Likewise, there are a plethora of musical genres and of particular interest to this thesis, there are dozens of different sports. In parts of this thesis, reference will be made to ‘inter’ and ‘intra’ domain dynamics of consumption. In using these terms I intend

to speak about distinct two distinct areas of study. Intra-domain refers to the plethora of genres fully contained within a domain. Therefore, intra-domain consumption refers to the patterning of consumption of genres within one broader category, or domain of culture.

When I speak of inter-domain consumption, however, I am referring to consumption across these broader categories of culture. For instance, rather than assessing if one plays both ice hockey and badminton, an analysis of inter-domain consumption is concerned with assessing if one goes to museums and plays sports. In a perfect world, this thesis would have the ability to analyse at once all genres of all domains within a single study. Indeed, Bourdieu (1984) and Bennett et al (2009) comes close to this kind of analysis. However, outside of these two studies performing this type of comprehensive analysis, studies generally are concerned with one or the other, i.e. intra or inter-domain consumption, even if they do not reflexively name their study as such. I use these terms so as not to be confused with the previous use of 'cross domain' (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010) in a study that was able to analyse multiple genres across three different domains. Likewise, I use the term domain rather than 'field' because this connotes a particular formal theory that may not necessarily always or fully apply when I use 'domain'. I will now turn to introduce concepts of Bourdieu's theories of culture, class, and consumption.

Distinction

Consumption practices within all of these cultural domains reveal 'distinction' (Bourdieu, 1984). Distinction is the revealed social differentiation between persons, particularly pronounced through the consumption of culture. This is because each act of consumption necessarily consumes a specific product and is done so by a specific person. Therefore, each cultural product consumed, and each person that consumes this product, has a relational

location to all other people who consume other cultural objects. The social judgements bound up in this relational dimension reveals and reproduces social differences. Bourdieu (1984) argues that the consumption of cultural goods is ‘more obviously predisposed to express social differences’ than other areas of life (p. 223).

Capitals, class and habitus

The approach used in this thesis to capture the social positions that reveal and reproduce these distinctions is primarily informed by Bourdieu’s theories of capital possession and habitus. That is, social position is determined in relation to, and by possession of, this capital. Habitus is the socialized internal network of dispositions that are formed and informed in relation to the access and possession of levels and mixtures of capitals. In this way there is a type of socially positioned delimitation, stemming from relationships to capital, that internally structure tastes and social action. This is the essence of Bourdieu’s habitus concept. Bourdieu divides capital into three separate, but related and exchangeable elements. These are economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Bourdieu succinctly explains how his conception of capital is divided:

‘as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations (‘connections’), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility’

(Bourdieu, 1986).

Here Bourdieu also efficiently outlines how each of these forms of capital may be operationalised in an empirical study of their possession. This is to say, that he outlines

economic capital as the ready access to money. Therefore, income and wealth represent economic capital. Similarly, cultural capital and social capital can be represented through educational qualifications and the status and scope of people's social 'connections', respectively. Educational qualifications not only serve as an institutionalised form of cultural capital to be operationalised, but also serve as its objectified and embodied forms (see section 2.3). Because these three are all to a degree convertible to each other, social position is ultimately an aggregate of the three. For instance, greater familial income better facilitates access to the best educational institutions, which in turn can increase immediate and future personal income and expand social networks in terms of both the status and scope of those connections. This is also how social position can be reproduced from generation to generation. Because this research is focused on the consumption of culture, cultural capital is of particular concern for this thesis. Therefore, a significant portion of this chapter is focused on this form of capital. Cultural capital is also a more complex concept than economic capital, and this thesis does not have the theoretical scope or empirical means for a comprehensive assessment of social capital in the consumption of sport. Not only does existing data not allow for such an assessment, but Bourdieu likewise never outlined how he would go about measuring the concept (Pinxten and Lievens, 2014). This chapter's discussion of cultural capital starts in section 2.3.

The final consideration of this chapter is the notion of social 'class'. While the possession of economic, cultural and social capital are able to express relative social position, the concept of class expresses this relational position and represents a more collective category. Bourdieu (1987) argues that objective social position and the subjective understanding of one's class are intertwined when he writes that 'agents are both classified and classifiers, but they classify according to (or depending upon) their position within classification' (p. 2). Bourdieu therefore argues for an integration of objectivist and subjectivist approaches to understanding

class by which subjective self-classification takes place within an objective social location. Therefore, for Bourdieu, the identity and social cohesion of classes is a product of a reflexive understanding of objective social position. This social position is a product of the volume and composition of the capital that they possess (Bourdieu, 1987). Therefore, social position is determined by capital possession for Bourdieu, including knowledge and participation in particular forms of culture. This capital, which in turn is compared to those of similar and different amounts to determine a collective and relative location in the social space, creates objective and subjective social class groups.

The final section of this chapter (section 2.9) presents an alternative theory of the ‘individualisation’ of social position, and hence the ‘death of class’ (Pakulski and Waters, 1996) as a large group category that structures action (Beck, 1992). This process of individualisation is one by which both objective and subjective social position become unmoored from group classifications and thus is argued to be ‘individualised’ (e.g. Beck, 1992). The primary orientation of this chapter towards these concepts of culture, capitals and social class is from the perspective of how these concepts are understood in processes of cultural consumption broadly, and the consumption of sport particularly. The conclusion of this chapter outlines how the data, methods, and course of this research can be interpreted through these theories, providing a way for the reader to most fruitfully read the results chapters of this volume.

Sports consumption: direct participation and professional sports following

For this chapter regarding the methodological approaches to this thesis, it is also helpful to discuss the relevant differences between direct sports participation and professional sports following. The options for direct sports participation in Canada are perhaps even more varied

than the myriad of professional options that one is able to consume. While there are only a handful of top professional sports leagues in Canada, there are dozens of sports that are played by Canadians. These participatory sports are both recreational and competitive. They take place in the neighbourhood, in schools, and in travelling teams. There is a whole apparatus of recreational and elite support staff, from coaches to designated elite development centres. However, while there are a wider variety of sporting options to directly participate in, there are fewer methods by which to consume them, in comparison to professional sports. This is to say, by definition, directly participating in a sport involves actively playing that sport. In the survey data for this thesis, and the thesis more broadly, the intricacies of modes of participation are mostly unable to be considered. While this is particularly for professional sports consumption, it also cannot distinguish between swimming in an indoor pool, outdoor pool, a lake, or account for a fee structure accompanying access to these locations (e.g. an indoor pool of a private health club). Additionally, in the case of the research parameters of this thesis, direct sports participation is defined as regular engagement in whichever sport(s) the survey respondents participate and both recreational and competitive sports are included together. Directly participating in specific sports (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Widdop and Cutts, 2013), and sports more broadly (e.g. Bennett et al, 2009; Widdop and Cutts, 2013; Wilson, 2002) has been found to be associated with elevated cultural capital, as is associated with the cultural capital of a bodily aesthetic that the result of sport and physical activity can provide (e.g. Bennett et al, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984; Warde, 2006).

In comparison, the fandom of professional sport, particularly sports of mass spectacle such as soccer in European contexts, hockey in the Canadian case, and American football in the United States, has most often been considered a more lowbrow cultural pursuit (Bourdieu, 1978). Bourdieu's theories offer an explanation for this in the form of the disinterested

aesthetic where consumption for those with elevated levels of cultural capital emphasises a more intellectual appreciation, shunning more emotional responses (Bourdieu, 1984). Sports fans, particularly those more intense in their following, are argued by Bourdieu (1978; 1984) to represent an emotional consumer of relatively lowbrow and mass culture. This would logically reflect an aversion to those styles of appreciation that most closely mirror the ‘fanatic’, the etymological root of ‘fan’ (Merriam Webster), often associated with sports consumers. This thesis examines the closely related element of professional sports ‘following’. This distinction is essentially again one between taste and behaviour. While able to speak somewhat to taste, following is a more concrete action of consuming professional sports.

In accordance with the survey data used in this analysis, this thesis thus further conceptualises the ‘follower’. This is not the follower as conceptualised in the taxonomy of Giulianotti (2002) regarding football fans in the UK as more passive consumers of sport. For Giulianotti (2002: 34-35), the football follower in the UK ‘arrives at (their sporting) identification through a vicarious form of communion, most obviously via the cool medium of the electronic media’. While this category is subsumed under the term ‘follower’ in the survey data for this thesis, the survey data does not allow for such a detailed parsing of the various modes of following, and therefore includes all modes of following.

The sports ‘follower’ in this thesis is also slightly different from a ‘fan’, at least in terms of the methodology for capturing sports consumption. Asking about following a sport, as a specific activity, is a more precise method of capturing sports consumption than relying on self-description of said ‘fan’. In that instance, asking about fandom in a questionnaire would more precisely capture taste than consumption. The kind of measure that captures action in consumption predominates in much literature of cultural consumption. Fanship is also

immensely more complicated, as many have pointed out in great detail (e.g. Billings, 2011; Giullianotti, 2002; Pope, 2017), and there is no universally accepted definition (Gantz, 2014). However, following professional sport can certainly also go towards speaking to fandom, or taste, while also focusing on the direct action of following, regardless of the mode of that following.

Therefore, also unlike direct sports participation, the following of professional sports can occur in a variety of ways. A person can go to games, one can watch a sporting event on television, or indeed stream it online, either through a television network or through extra-legal means. People can listen on the radio or they can follow the scores in the newspaper the next day or on the internet in real time. They can also partake in many of these activities while also doing other activities. That is, listening to a game on the radio at work or mowing the lawn, watching a game on television at a friend's house or at a sports bar. Following the scores in the newspaper can be done while eating breakfast or lunch while following games and scores online can happen anywhere there is internet or wireless network access. There are, therefore, any number of ways for one to follow professional sports. In general, this would seem to have the ability to break down barriers to entry for following professional sport. For this reason, some of the hypotheses of how socio-economic status affects participation in sport are perhaps stronger than for how these same considerations of capital possession that affect the ability for one to follow professional sport. This is especially true given the prevailing corpus of work around direct sports participation while there is little similar work done on professional sports consumption. However, this thesis broaches specific hypotheses for the consumption of both direct sports participation and professional sports following. These hypotheses are comprehensively explored with direct sports participation (Chapter 5), and with professional sports consumption (Chapter 6) . These chapters will consider the general socio-economic location of these sports within Canadian society, while

the final empirical chapter (Chapter 7) will also assess the broader cultural lifestyles of those who participate in, and follow, sports in Canada.

2.3 Sport as its own cultural field

Bourdieu most often wrote about cultural fields in terms of detailing examples of how specific fields of culture operate. This is to say, rather than writing in the abstract, he wrote about cultural fields in terms of examples. His most famous essay on cultural fields of production came with a 1983 article published in the academic journal *Poetics* entitled ‘The field of cultural production, or: The economic world reversed’. In this work Bourdieu outlines how specifically the fields of art and literature illuminate a field theory of cultural production. This section draws on these examples given by Bourdieu and adopts his style of explaining cultural fields through examples by assessing the specific field under investigation in this thesis – sport. The exercise of explaining how sport may operate according to Bourdieu’s field theory of cultural production is then to provide an understanding of how sport acts as its own form of culture. This is done for the purposes of arguing for the appropriateness of applying Bourdieu’s other theories of cultural consumption and providing a grounding of sport as a domain of culture which is able to be efficaciously compared to others.

While rarely speaking in generalities or the abstract concerning cultural fields, at its core it is a relational concept. Indeed, the field is ‘the space of...*prises de position* that are possible in a given period in a given society’ (Bourdieu, 1983: 311). These *prises de position* are formed and informed by the habitus driven dispositions of actors within a field and their position within it is determined by their allocation of different forms of capital in relation to others within the field (Bourdieu, 1983). Within each cultural field, different types of capital and different types of habitus may be valued more highly. In this way there are specific internal

structuring mechanisms of cultural fields that may differ slightly from society-wide class relations. However, Bourdieu's arguments explicitly put these internal relational dynamics of the field within the broader society wide organisation and distribution of capital in what he terms the 'field of class relations' (Bourdieu, 1983: 311). In this way, while different fields may have particular values that structure positions internal to them, these positions are ultimately also located in the broader social space of class relations and informed by these dynamics.

Specifically regarding sport, Bourdieu outlines which elements are needed to establish first how sport is constructed into a field of production, and then its accompanying consumption demand when he argues:

I think that, without doing too much violence to reality, it is possible to consider the whole range of sporting activities and entertainments offered to social agents – rugby, football, swimming, athletics, tennis, golf, etc. – as a supply intended to meet a social demand. If such a model is adopted, two sets of questions arise. First, is there an area of production, endowed with its own logic and its own history, in which 'sports products' are generated, i.e. the universe of the sporting activities and entertainments socially realized and acceptable at a given moment in time? Secondly...how is the demand for 'sports products' produced, how do people acquire the 'taste' for sport, and for one sport rather than another, whether as an activity or as a spectacle?...More precisely, according to what principles do agents choose between the different sports activities or entertainments which, at a given moment in time, are offered to them as being possible? (Bourdieu, 1978: 820)

From the above quote from Bourdieu, it is clear that he argued for sport to be a distinct domain of culture and function by the logics that govern the various other cultural domains. He argues that the model that is applied to other areas of culture can also be wholly applied to sport. This first part of the chapter is dedicated to demonstrating in brief, ways in which sport

operates as its own field of cultural production and therefore make the argument that sport is able to be similarly treated to other forms of culture in studies of consumption of this product.

Bourdieu's field theory of the production of culture finesses the conceptual space between socially constructed, structural determinism and pure individual creative genius as the drivers of the creation of cultural products. It thus negotiates the space between individual agency in the processes of the production of culture and the structural forces that created the space of possibilities for these actors within the field. Cultural production is a collective endeavour, one that goes beyond the materially productive actions of a group of individual people. There is also symbolic currency that contributes to the symbolic production of the cultural object.

Bourdieu's field is an entity unto itself, with its own internally functioning logics. However, it is an entity that is far from static. It cannot be divorced from its context, external forces, and internal operations. Bourdieu describes the literary and artistic world, and cultural fields more generally, as constituting processes of negotiation and 'position-taking', where each position 'receives its distinctive value from its negative relationship with the coexistent position takings to which it is objectively related and which determine it by delimiting it' (Bourdieu 1983: 313). This describes the internal structure of the field and how the field constructs itself. As broached earlier, the two poles of theorisation on cultural production consist of either a purely subjective creative character or a structural interpretation by which cultural production is more structurally determined, both by economic resources and prevailing social hierarchies. As asserted earlier, Bourdieu seeks to occupy a theoretical space between these two poles. This in turn will inform how he understands the different two positions within the field vis-à-vis their economic relationship outside of the field, by which he will see an inverse relationship. That is to say, Bourdieu ultimately links the autonomy of

any particular cultural field with its ability to not be influenced in lockstep by economic resources from outside of the field. He sets this up by explaining:

In defining the literary and artistic field as, inseparably, a field of positions and a field of prises de position, we also escape from the usual dilemma of internal (“tautegorical”) reading of the work (taken in isolation or within the system of works to which it belongs) and external (or “allegorical”) analysis, i.e. analysis of the social conditions of production of the producers and consumers which is based on the – generally tacit – hypothesis of the spontaneous correspondence or deliberate matching of production to demand or commissions. And by the same token we escape from the correlative dilemma of the charismatic image of artistic activity as pure, disinterested creation by an isolated artist, and the reductionist vision which claims to explain the act of production and its product in terms of their conscious or unconscious external function, by referring them, for example, to the interests of the dominant class or, more subtly, to the ethical or aesthetic values of one or another of its fractions, from which the patrons or audience are drawn...The structural constraints inscribed in the field set limits to the free play of dispositions; but there (are) different ways of playing within these limits. (Bourdieu 1983: 316, 347)

Bourdieu herein also constructs this balance as consisting of both material and symbolic production of the cultural. He locates these cultural fields within the larger environment of power relations and class struggle. However, they also have internal functions and machinations that serve to produce and reproduce the structure of the field. With regard to the historical construction of the sporting field in Canada, these dynamics of cultural fields were critical to the contestation of the early sporting field. Most of this contestation arose around the idea, or perhaps rather the ideal, of ‘amateurism’. Understanding how these dynamics historically created, and continue to influence, the contemporary sporting landscape in Canada is a crucial consideration for this research. For as Bourdieu asserted, ‘It seems to me that it is first necessary to consider the historical and social conditions of possibility of a social phenomenon which we too easily take for granted: ‘modern sport’ (Bourdieu, 1978).

This is discussed further in the sections below where I will show how Bourdieu's theories can be applied to sport. Describing the importance of historically constructing the chronology and genealogy by which fields are created, specifically describing this process in regard to sport, Bourdieu outlines:

One of the most important tasks for the social history of sport could well be to establish its foundations by constructing the historical genealogy of the emergence of its object as a specific reality irreducible to any other. It alone can answer the question – which has nothing to do with an academic question of definition – as to the moment (it is not a matter of a precise date) from which it is possible to talk of sport, i.e. the moment from which there began to be constituted a field of competition within which sport was defined as a specific practice, irreducible to a mere ritual game or festive amusement. (Bourdieu, 1978: 821)

While much of this specific historic and contextual work is done in the next chapter of this thesis, Bourdieu again asserts here that he views sport as its own field of culture, operating in similar ways to other fields of which he wrote about in more detail, namely arts and literature.

Economic and symbolic forces in the field

In this section I discuss further how the relationship between the economic forces on the field and the symbolic forces within the field serve to construct the cultural field. This is particularly important in understanding how sport is constructed and operates as its own field of culture. The intersectional dynamic of sport with the broader social hierarchy provides the most compelling argument for the field because within the processes of cultural production, the economic motive is never silent as a driver of this production. This is true whether it is in positive (economic capital) or negative (symbolic capital) relationship to the product. A positive relationship to the economic motive of cultural production entails a close

relationship between economic motives and cultural production by which economic considerations are a driver of cultural production. These economic motives often come from locations that are ostensibly outside of the field of immediate producers but because of this relationship are ultimately within the field of production. However, in tension with these economic considerations of culture, symbolic value, as primarily determined by those fully within the field of immediate producers, is often defined in opposition to these economic considerations. At the very least, this symbolic value is meant to be defined and ascribed outside of the purview of economic forces of production. In recognising the presence of economic and market forces in the processes of cultural production, Bourdieu sets up a dialectic within and without the field between what he terms the autonomous and heteronomous principles. This dialectic informs the whole of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the cultural field of production. Describing his use of these terms he says:

(The heteronomous principle) 'is success, as measured by indices such as book sales, number of theatrical performances, etc. or honours, appointments, etc. The autonomous principle of hierarchization, which would reign unchallenged if the field of production were to achieve total autonomy with respect to the laws of the market, is degree of specific consecration (literary or artistic prestige)'. (Bourdieu 1983: 320)

Therefore, a perfectly autonomous field is geared wholly towards the other producers that make up the field and a perfectly heteronomous field is one that reacts in lockstep to the demands of the marketplace and audiences. As Bourdieu put it, the autonomy of the field is determined by 'the extent to which it manages to impose its own norms and sanctions on the whole set of producers, including those who are closest to the dominant pole of the field of power and therefore most responsive to external demands (i.e. the most heteronomous); this degree of autonomy varies considerably from one period and one national tradition to another, and affects the whole structure of the field' (Bourdieu 1983: 322). This autonomy represents for Bourdieu a kind of ideal type for the field of cultural production. Because this

is the case, and this autonomous principle operates in negative relationship to economic capital, this is the proximate cause of his thesis that cultural fields are ‘economic worlds reversed’ (Bourdieu, 1983).

Bourdieu suggests that the actions of producers within a specific field of cultural production rely on a variety of factors. One is the degree of responsiveness to the heteronomous principle and the profit motive of economics. Another has to do with one of Bourdieu’s other major concepts, habitus. Habitus is the overarching disposition that one has as the effect of their primary socialization (see also section 2.3). This is necessarily located within a socio-economic position. It is why one can never escape the class structure for Bourdieu. Even many of the subjective, disposition based, actions of the cultural producer cannot be divorced from the socio-economic context that shaped said disposition and subjective character. Therefore, habitus is structurally determined but the actions as a result of the habitus influenced disposition cannot be given the same assessment. Habitus is thus an example of Bourdieu’s insistence on a middle ground between the two extremes and why it is a major driver of action for those within a field. Habitus is a proximate cause of disposition and disposition driven action. However, while influenced by structural factors, these disposition driven actions are not wholly structurally determined. The aggregate of these aspects form the structure of possibilities within a field. Bourdieu reflexively contends that, ‘To make this argument fully convincing, one would have to show how habitus, as systems of dispositions, are effectively realized only in relation to a determinate structure of positions socially marked by the social properties of their occupants, through which they manifest themselves’ (Bourdieu 1983: 352).

The class structure is writ large on the terrain of culturally productive fields. Both field-internal machinations of status structures and subsequent production is a reflection of class

struggles at least and a direct engagement with them at most. Indeed, Bourdieu says that many artists define their artistic endeavours and position their cultural products against the bourgeois apparatus. However, bourgeois consecration offers both an element of status and of economic capital. While not purely adhering to the autonomous principle, this is certainly preferable to mass production for those within the literary and artistic fields. Indeed, this is so existentially problematic because, ‘economic capital provides the conditions for freedom from economic necessity’ (Bourdieu 1983: 349). Therefore, this is where Bourdieu sees those individuals that come from the most privileged backgrounds as the ones who ultimately are able to adopt the most disinterested dispositions in fields of cultural production. Throughout his writings one gets the sense that the ideal type of artistic career within one of these fields is the avant-garde artist that, having produced a sizeable corpus of symbolically impactful works, dispersed during their midcareer, has some small number of works that sell for exorbitant prices to very wealthy art patrons and connoisseurs. This is so as to achieve a sustainable amount of economic capital without reducing the amount of symbolic capital to an untenable point for status within their field. These tensions between economic and symbolic value of culture manifest themselves in numerous ways upon the socio-cultural landscape. While a full accounting of the historical struggles within the sporting field, or a comprehensive analysis of how this field functions contemporarily is outside of the scope of this research, these examples will serve to introduce how Bourdieu’s cultural field can be applied to the domain of culture under examination in this thesis, the domain of sport. This is also continued at the start of the next chapter of this thesis, Chapter 3. These dynamics of Bourdieu’s cultural field served to create the sporting field, have continued to shape it, and inform its structure and operation to this day in Canada.

2.4 The consumption of culture and the historical progression of its theories

There is work going back for decades that has suggested that forms of cultural consumption can serve as markers of social status (Gans, 1974; Weber, [1922] 1978). However, work around the production and consumption of different sets of cultural activities goes back even further, specifically as it relates to ‘popular’ and ‘mass’ culture (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1944; Gans, 1974). Indeed, the genealogy of work on the consumption of culture extends as far back as the 19th century with the work of Thorstein Veblen’s *The Theory of the Leisure Class* ([1899] 1934), in which he outlines the purposeful way in which the upper classes consume leisure. Those of higher classes conspicuously engaged in leisure because they were the only ones who had the means and free time in which to engage such leisure pursuits. This is why Veblen termed them the ‘leisure class’ (Veblen, [1899] 1934). However, after the end of the second world war there was a proliferation of the number and types of persons that have such resources to engage in leisure pursuits. This was the case in Canada as it was in the rest of the developed world. It has continued to be the case, even as evidence shows that those who obtain ‘middle class’ status in Canada by their 20s is less for the millennial generation (59%) than it was for the post war generation (67%) (Blackwell, 2019).¹

The full realisation of a comprehensive theory of the relationship between social position and cultural consumption came with Bourdieu’s seminal work, *La Distinction* (1984), in which he outlines the social class divisions in cultural consumption present in France during the 1960/70s. Since Bourdieu laid out his theory of a class based patterning of cultural consumption, this work has been taken up and tested by various scholars in almost every continent around the globe. The purpose of what follows in the remainder of this chapter is to highlight this scholarly history. The most prominent theory of consumption after Bourdieu

¹The report defines middle class as earning between 75 and 200 percent of the median income for the country.

came in the 1990s when Richard Peterson and colleagues conceptualised a cultural ‘omnivore’. The following section explores how these theories can be applied to sport and describes how they are used in this PhD thesis. This thesis uses these theories to test their applicability to the Canadian case in order to determine which, if any, are most characteristic of cultural and sports engagement in that national context.

The rest of this chapter provides a detailed discussion of the various theories of cultural consumption so that this kind of comparative testing and analysis can be later undertaken. It begins by outlining Bourdieu’s theory of cultural consumption. This section also shows how these theories can, and have been, applied to sport. Next, Richard Peterson’s theory of omnivorousness is discussed in conversation with Bourdieu’s theories, again with reference to sport. Further theorisation in these traditions and their empirical findings are also introduced and discussed. Finally, individualisation theories of social class and their application for cultural consumption are critically discussed.

Bourdieu and cultural consumption

Cultural Capital

Cultural choices can act as assets that people possess and exchange (Savage et al., 2015: 95). These cultural choices are informed by life experience, social class upbringing, and education. The more of this ‘cultural capital’ that one obtains, the more social advantages one accumulates or vice versa. The originator of this kind of theory was the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu found great difference in the forms of culture that were engaged in by the different social classes of France. For instance, those of higher occupational and class status, and higher educational qualification, engaged in ‘legitimate’, or ‘highbrow’ - culture

and ‘high’ art forms (Bourdieu, 1984). Those higher forms of culture are also those that are consecrated in societies as requiring high intellect and/or refined taste – for example, going to the theatre or the opera. Bourdieu (1984: 171) describes that:

In cultural consumption, the main opposition, by overall capital value, is between the practices designated by their rarity as distinguished, those of the fractions richest in both economic and cultural capital, and the practices socially identified as vulgar because they are both easy and common, those of the fractions poorest in both these respects.

The group that decides upon the objects of consecration are thus the elites of a society. Societal elites argue that these cultural forms are more difficult to do, more intellectual, and therefore access to them is limited. This access is limited because of the perceived skill involved, along with more formal barriers. These more formal barriers to access these cultural activities include access to educational opportunities. Educational barriers are constructed from the relative primary socialisation of children from different class backgrounds (Bourdieu, 1984). These barriers are also constructed through the concentration of legitimate cultural forms and activities in members only clubs and organisations (Bourdieu, 1984). These institutions require high levels of economic capital to physically access, and high levels of cultural capital to successfully navigate and fully participate.

With respect to sport, this can include health clubs and golf courses (Bourdieu, 1978; 1984). Initially, access is perhaps most limited by the type of economic resources necessary for their engagement. However, among the higher classes, this economic consideration is intertwined with the first two considerations of necessary ‘natural’ skill and intellect in a process that pathologizes those with lower economic (and cultural) capital as unable to engage in these forms for lack of intelligence or skill.

For an example of the interplay between cultural and economic capital in constructing barriers to entry, take the case of golf in Canada. Indeed, Bourdieu often used golf as the sporting example *par excellence* for his theories (e.g. Bourdieu, 1978; 1984). If one wants to become a member at a ‘middle of the road golf course in a typical Canadian community’, the average membership fee is about CAD\$3,000 (Robinson, 2012). This costing does not include the cost of clubs, which at minimum will be in the hundreds of dollars. Additionally, because golf clubs are size specific, they are hard to share amongst a family. There are also cultural barriers to entry that accompany these financial barriers. Much of these cultural barriers revolve around visual performance and dress. In a 2014 blog post in response to negative press coverage about the cost of golf, Golf Canada finishes by writing:

And don’t worry about having the latest golf apparel. Many courses are relaxing their dress codes and, in any case, outlet stores such as Winners have great golf-appropriate clothing at discounted pricing. (Golf Canada, 2014)

While these sentences sound reassuring, a deeper dive into what they are actually saying possibly reveal otherwise. First, Golf Canada admits in this passage that many golf courses are yet to relax their requirements of dress and still have dress codes. Therefore, one still must buy the appropriate clothing for these courses. While perhaps they do not have to worry about ‘having the *latest* golf apparel’, those wanting to play on these courses will still have to buy clothing that fit these dress codes and that are ‘golf-appropriate’, as well as know and adhere to historically crafted rules of etiquette (Ceron-Anaya, 2010). Second, if many golf courses are just now relaxing their dress codes, this suggests that those who regularly frequent these courses will indeed have these latest styles of apparel or at least clothing that fit the previous dress code that has just been relaxed. Therefore, those who now go and play in their more casual clothes may feel out of place and as though they do not belong in this

environment. Ultimately then, the economic and the cultural are both bound up in potential barriers to entry for golf. Golf's connection to both forms of capital, especially economic, is also bolstered by its historical and contemporary symbolic and physical links with the business world (Ceron-Anaya, 2010). It has also been suggested that the current decline in golf, leading to many of these attempts to bring people in who had previously not had access to the sport, is a function of declining free time, an element of economic capital (Sorensen, 2014).

Legitimate forms of culture are also consecrated in society by being enshrined in institutions such as theatres and museums. They are supported by governments both monetarily and otherwise. They are also enshrined in school curricula. Because these forms are thus institutionalised, they are also the 'established' culture. Because such institutions are controlled by the societally elite, 'elite' culture is also a proper descriptor. Cultural capital is thus 'institutionalised, i.e., widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviours, goods and credentials) used for cultural and social exclusion' (Lamont and Lareau, 1988: 153).

This is contrasted to the cultural engagement of the lower, less educated classes who engaged in less consecrated markers of legitimate taste, or 'lowbrow' cultural forms (Bourdieu, 1984). These are the cultural forms consumed by the largest segments of a society. They are therefore also 'mass' forms of culture, or more commonly, 'popular' culture. They are perceived to be easier to do, easier to access, and less intellectual. A common example in Canada and the United States is basketball. This is because one only need one basketball amongst all players and it can be played on any hard surface. Basketball courts are smaller in size and less complicated to maintain than the playing surfaces of other sports. Therefore, formal basketball courts are fixtures at public parks in North America, thus allowing mass

access to this sport. While proper playing surfaces are not as readily available as those for basketball in North America, soccer also has similar dynamics in other countries around the world.

Ultimately, social elites and higher social classes of society define their own cultural engagement and leisure activity against these 'lower' forms of culture and perpetuate restrictive access to those cultural forms that they glorify as being worthy of consecration. Because elite groups are the most powerful fractions within societies, these elite cultural activities inevitably become enshrined as worthy within the broader cultural institutions of those societies.

Embodied cultural capital, habitus, homology and the 'space of lifestyles'

Where then, do cultural tastes come from? What are the organising internal mechanisms of consumption? This section explores how Bourdieu argued for the structuring of taste and consumption. He does so according to his theories of the possession of capital, a socially positioned 'habitus', and the resulting homologies across the cultural spectrum. These theories help to illuminate Bourdieu's foundational conceptualization of the relationship between social position and cultural consumption.

Bourdieu argued that cultural choices are structured by class based, primary and secondary socialised constitutions. Primary socialisation comes in early childhood. Secondary socialisation occurs primarily through tertiary education and occupational location. Cultural choices are structurally patterned by one's 'habitus'. Recall from the brief definition at the outset of this chapter that this habitus is also necessarily intertwined with Bourdieu's concept of capital. One's habitus is formed by the type primary and secondary socialisation that is informed by a social class position commensurate to the level and mix of their capital

resources. These class embedded and capitally intensive socialisation processes determine one's dispositions towards the world and structure their social action. This includes elements of taste and consumption. Bourdieu's concept of habitus thus refers to the class based dispositions of the individual that subsequently structures taste and social action (Bourdieu, 1984).

The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification (*principium divisionis*) of these practices. It is in the relationships between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of life-styles, is constituted. The relationship that is actually established between the pertinent characteristics of economic and social condition (capital volume and composition, in both synchronic and diachronic aspects) and the distinctive features associated with the corresponding position in the universe of life-styles only becomes intelligible when the habitus is constructed as the generative formula which makes it possible to account both for the classifiable practices and products and for the judgement, themselves classified, which make these practices and works into a system of distinctive signs. (Bourdieu, 1984: 165)

The habitus is therefore the socially conditioned dispositions that guide one's relationships towards cultural objects. Differentiations in these structuring relationships form the basis for broader social judgements and creation of differentiation. These processes of cultural and social exclusion describe the concept from which Bourdieu's work draws its title, 'Distinction'. Recall also from the description at the outset of this chapter, distinction is the produced outcome of these socially positioned cultural differences. The difference in cultural engagement and appreciation between various classes of society form this distinction in contrast, and in negative referent, to the cultural choices and aesthetic profiles of other classes. Bourdieu describes this process of distinction this way:

Tastes (i.e., manifested preferences) are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference. It is no accident that, when they have to be justified, they are asserted purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes. In matters of taste, more than anywhere else, all determination is negation; and tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by horror or visceral intolerance ('sick-making') of tastes of others... Aesthetic intolerance can be terribly violent. Aversion to different lifestyles is perhaps one of the strongest barriers between the classes; class endogamy is evidence of this. The most intolerable thing for those who regard themselves as the possessors of legitimate culture is the sacrilegious reuniting of tastes which taste dictates shall be separated. (Bourdieu, 1984: 56-57)

Bourdieu suggests here that these internal logics form distinctions on the basis of cultural tastes and engagements. This distinction arises out of the cultural capital possession of the higher classes. It includes the two distinct but inexorably linked parts of this cultural capital, embodied cultural capital and objectified cultural capital. There were thus stark social distinctions for Bourdieu based upon the type of culture in which someone engaged (objectified cultural capital) and the sophistication with which they could apparently innately discuss and appreciate these highbrow art forms (embodied cultural capital).

Bourdieu argued that cultural choices exhibit this cultural capital, which can then be used to symbolically and structurally reinforce social position. This cultural capital can also be exchanged in ways that accrues social and ultimately, economic capital. However, these cultural choices, and their subsequent accumulative effect are structurally constrained by societal structures and social class. Bourdieu claimed that this cultural capital was accumulated through the primary socialisation of childhood. The space of possible opportunities for this accumulation depended on the kind of primary socialisation. This was a process whereby those from better educated and well off families were instilled from an early

age with an appreciation and competence in more 'legitimate' forms of culture than their less advantaged counterparts.

Because of the internalised character of this appreciation, it was 'embodied' (Bourdieu, 1986). It was also then often misconstrued by the education system as natural intelligence (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This is because those students from more privileged backgrounds possessed a better and more complete knowledge base of the institutionally consecrated cultural objects of appreciation. Bourdieu (1984: 3-89) describes this as a 'disinterested aesthetic' or an 'aesthetic distancing'. That is, an intellectual understanding of art and other forms of culture rather than an emotional response or one based solely on aesthetic enjoyment. Therefore, it is more 'distanced' or 'disinterested' than those who do not have this intellectual understanding. These internalised ways of 'naturally' appreciating, understanding, and more intellectually discussing 'legitimate' forms of culture is what Bourdieu characterises as embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

When the possession of this disinterested aesthetic is socialised at an early age, the impact that this has in cultivating such a disposition is then compounded by the educational system. These benefits exponentially grow as these children move through this system and produce structural reinforcements to differences in cultural capital that are manifested through educational attainment. Those who consume higher forms of culture thus do so in a more intellectualised and sophisticated manner, through this disinterested aesthetic disposition, while those consuming lower forms of culture do so through a more reactionary, emotional, sensual and hedonistic consumption (Bourdieu, 1984). These different dispositions arise for Bourdieu from different relationships of necessity. Bourdieu (1984: 55) describes these relationships as a 'paradoxical product of a negative economic conditioning which, through facility and freedom, engenders distance vis-à-vis necessity'. This is to say that distinction

grows increasingly acute in all areas of lifestyle choice the further one is objectively from material necessity. Bourdieu goes on to describe these 'tastes of freedom' (Bourdieu, 1984: 56). That is, taste preferences borne out of the freedom from material need.

Tastes of freedom can only assert themselves as such in relation to the tastes of necessity, which are thereby brought to the level of the aesthetic and so defined as vulgar. This claim to aristocracy is less likely to be contested than any other, because the relation of the 'pure', 'disinterested' disposition to the conditions which make it possible, i.e., the material conditions of existence which are rarest because most freed from economic necessity, has every chance of passing unnoticed. The most 'classifying' privilege thus has the privilege of appearing to be the most natural one...it is also a distinctive expression of a privileged position in social space whose distinctive value is objectively established in its relationship to expressions generated from different conditions of existence, it unites all of those who are the product of similar conditions while distinguishing them from all others. And it distinguishes in an essential way, since taste is the basis of all that one has – people and things – and all that one is for others, whereby one classifies oneself and is classified by others.

(Bourdieu, 1984: 56)

Because tastes are located in relation to this material need, or one's habitus, it is likewise unified. Bourdieu (1984) asserted the existence of cultural homologies as a product of this unified habitus. The habitus is unified because it is 'necessity internalised and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions; it is a general, transposable disposition which carries out a systematic, universal application – beyond the limits of what has been directly learnt – of the necessity inherent in the learning conditions' (Bourdieu, 1984: 165-166). Therefore, the habitus is an internalised product of external circumstances that produces particular dispositions and schema by which the world is understood and interacted with. It is how relationships with consumption can be consistent across cultural domains and within class fractions. Bourdieu's framework asserts that one's habitus leads to homologies of taste and consumption across the various domains of culture,

including sport. Describing habitus, homologies, and the relationship between these two concepts, Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1984) writes:

Bearing in mind all that precedes, in particular the fact that the generative schemes of the habitus are applied, by simple transfer, to the most dissimilar areas of practice, one can immediately understand that the practices or goods associated with the different classes in the different areas of practice are organised in accordance with the structures of opposition which are homologous to one another because they are all homologous to the structure of objective oppositions between class conditions...

(P. 171)

These homologies are thus a product of the habitus in that if the habitus is socialised and internalised as a class based phenomena and a function of class based constitutions, then homologies of taste are also a function of these class based processes. Because the classes are defined against each other, so too is the habitus of the individual and the homologies of taste that structure their cultural consumption. 'Lowbrow' cultural forms are thus negative referents by which the dominant class defines and constitutes their taste and cultural behaviour (Bourdieu, 1984; Swartz, 1997; Veenstra, 2015). They are, then, not necessarily defined by the inherent properties of the element of culture that is consumed. However, importantly they are presented and discussed as though they are defined in this way. While these lowbrow forms may be described as 'easy' and/or 'common' by the higher classes, these denotations may not be able to be objectively supported in all cases. Rather, the most important element is not the form of culture itself, but rather the social space that it occupies. This is to say, the most important element for producing distinction in cultural consumption is who consumes what. This can be illustrated by the fluid processes by which various forms of culture become consecrated into the realms of the higher class fractions. For instance, when new cultural forms appear on the social landscape, there are contestation and consecration processes by which their existence as highbrow or lowbrow is a fluid process.

Opera and Jazz are prime examples of this kind of historical contestation through which these forms ultimately arrived as consecrated highbrow forms on the cultural landscape. Opera, from its origins in the 16th Century, operated as a form of mass and commercialised entertainment for almost four centuries before its eventual consecration as a high form of culture in the latter part of the 19th Century and early 20th Century (Story, 2003). This consecration has only strengthened through the remainder of the 20th Century and 21st Century, becoming synonymous with ‘highbrow’ culture and ‘high’ art. Likewise, jazz music originated out of marginalised African American communities in New Orleans and the lower Mississippi River Valley. Indeed, jazz was ultimately a culmination of an ‘Africanisation of American music’ that started during the many years of slavery that preceded the formation of the New Orleans jazz scene, mostly by the African American underclass, in the latter half of the 19th century (Gioia, 1997). However, jazz occupies a space of higher status on the cultural landscape, often consumed by an audience of elevated social position and associated with highbrow culture in the UK (Savage et al, 2015).

Given sport’s existence as its own cultural field that operates in a similar fashion, we should expect these dynamics to function in a similar way and potentially be distinguished by markers of legitimacy along a highbrow/lowbrow spectrum. This is to say, one might expect differences between sports, with some sports being more socio-culturally legitimised than others. These dynamics would thus follow Bourdieu’s theorisations of culture and consumption. But we do not have to make this leap ourselves. Bourdieu, while often admitting his relative ignorance of sport (e.g. Bourdieu, 1978), explicitly connects his theory to sport. In the next section I introduce Bourdieu’s work on sport and how it is been picked up in the scholarly literature on sports consumption.

Objectified and Institutionalised cultural capital

For Bourdieu, objectified cultural capital is a manifestation of these embodied forms of cultural capital. It is manifested through a process by which the privileged objectify their cultural knowledge through the consumption of consecrated cultural objects. They convert their cultural capital and cultural knowledge into implicit and explicit tastes and consumption patterns of legitimate culture and exclusive forms of art. The consumption of these objects is a symbolic marker of social status. Bourdieu describes this objectified state of cultural capital by explaining:

Cultural capital, in the objectified state, has a number of properties which are defined only in the relationship with cultural capital in its embodied form. The cultural capital objectified in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc., is transmissible in its materiality. A collection of paintings, for example, can be transmitted as well as economic capital (if not better, because the capital transfer is more disguised). But what is transmissible is legal ownership and not (or not necessarily) what constitutes the precondition for specific appropriation, namely, the possession of the means of ‘consuming’ a painting or using a machine, which, being nothing other than embodied capital, are subject to the same laws of transmission. Thus cultural goods can be appropriated both materially – which presupposes economic capital – and symbolically – which presupposes cultural capital. (Bourdieu, 1986)

Therefore, cultural capital in its objectified state is the consumption of consecrated ‘objects’ of culture. These include concrete items such as art paintings and sculptures. They also include activities that one participates in, such as attending the opera or actively participating in consecrated sports. Because these objects of high and legitimate culture require high levels of cultural capital in order to consume them ‘correctly’, the embodied state of cultural capital is inextricably linked to its symbolic manifestation that is its objectified state. Likewise, economic capital can help accumulate these objects and provide access to these events and

activities. Therefore, both economic and embodied cultural capital provides a means of access to consumption of consecrated objects of culture. The consumption of those objects in turn provides a more conspicuous cultural capital because of the more concrete nature of this objectified capital. It is more because one can physically possess certain items and be seen at certain events or participating in certain activities. Thus the consumption of these consecrated objects presents cultural capital because those more embodied states of cultural capital are 'transmissible' in the 'materiality' of consecrated cultural objects (Bourdieu, 1986). This interplay, and the social and internal processes that develop it, is, for Bourdieu, a product of one's 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984). The end product of this process is that different cultural forms take on symbolic power of class position and they can be interpreted through the prism of class when in their objectified state. However, they can only be fully appreciated through the embodied character of cultural capital.

The intersection of embodied and objectified cultural capital also appears in academic qualification. It is thus institutionalised in the educational system. This is because formal education and its attendant qualifications provide both the means by which to intellectually appreciate consecrated objects and an objectified marker of this cultural capital that is the qualification. It is able to provide this cultural capital because consecrated cultural objects are institutionalised within the education system. Therefore, formal education provides an intellectual knowledge and appreciation of these forms of culture (embodied cultural capital). It also provides an objectified item (the qualification) by which people infer this knowledge (objectified cultural capital). Therefore, 'by conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed by any given agent, the academic qualification also makes it possible to compare qualification holders' (Bourdieu, 1986). It is for this reason that formal educational qualification is the most commonly used empirical measurement of cultural capital (see also Chapter 4).

2.5 Bourdieu and Sport

Sports participation

Arising out of the colonial relationships with Great Britain, the earliest organised sports in modern Canada revolved around the idea of amateurism. The Victorian ideal of the ‘amateur gentleman’ arose out of the middle and upper class obsession with sporting games in England during the time (Thomas, 1989). This ideal stressed the formation, cultivation, and display of contemporary values of masculinity (Thomas, 1989). These Victorian ideals of masculinity, and their inextricable link to these games of the elite classes, informed the early sporting landscape of Canada, which only saw itself gain independence from British colonial rule during the Victorian era.

It is within this type of genealogy that Bourdieu conceptualizes the relationship of sport to social class. Bourdieu finds similarity in the move away from this upper class conception of amateurism, and the introduction of professionalism, to arguments made by the Frankfurt school, and others, in terms of their lamentation of mass production. Bourdieu (1978:30) asserts that, ‘denunciation of the vices of mass production – in sport as in music – is often combined with aristocratic nostalgia for the days of amateurism’. Bourdieu thus sees a criticism of mass production coming from both sides of the political spectrum.

The concept of amateurism in sport can also help illuminate how the different classed habitus approach sport. Bourdieu (1978: 838) asserts an ‘instrumental relation’ of a working class habitus to the body and to how the body engages in sport. This often manifests itself in more physically risky, painful, even violent forms of sport for this habitus. In contrast, for the habitus of the privileged classes, Bourdieu (1978: 838) posits a relation to the body that treats

it as ‘an end to itself’. This habitus manifests in physical pursuits that focus upon the intrinsic health and functioning of the body as an ‘organism’ and thus also focus upon the off the field benefits to sports participation, rather than having the same kind of emphasis upon the vulgar values of ‘wins’, ‘titles’, or ‘records’, which were emblematic of the shift away from amateurism to professionalism (Bourdieu, 1978). Ultimately, then, ‘class habitus defines the meanings conferred on sporting activity, the profits expected from it; and not the least of these profits is the social value accruing from the pursuit of certain sports by virtue of the distinctive rarity they derive from their class distribution’ (Bourdieu, 1978: 835).

This physical component is the other part of embodied cultural capital for Bourdieu. Bourdieu says that the embodied cultural capital comes ‘in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body’ (Bourdieu, 1986: 47). Therefore, not only does it consist of the internalised knowledge and appreciation of highbrow forms of culture but it also has to do with distinctions that are based upon the judgments of physical bodies. For Bourdieu, the presentation of the body and physical activities such as exercise and eating were able to reflect social class in the same way as other forms of culture. It was part of the unified habitus. Through homologies of taste, these physical considerations are likewise grouped into specific spheres of preferences for other cultural activities that denote a similar class position.

The concern taken for physical presentation of the body and lifestyle considerations thereof reflected one's social position. By contrast then, physical appearance and physical lifestyle could connote the social position of others. Because the physical presentation of bodies is perhaps the most readily observable characteristic by which to create ready distinctions, it is of perhaps more importance than is often afforded it in academic works on class and distinction. On this subject, the words of Bourdieu still seem relevant when he said:

Everything seems to indicate that the concern to cultivate the body appears, in its elementary form – that is, as the cult of health – often associated with an ascetic exaltation of sobriety and controlled diet, in the middle classes (junior executives, the medical services...). These classes, who are especially anxious about appearance and therefore about their body-for-others, go in very intensively for gymnastics, the ascetic sport par excellence, since it amounts to a sort of training (*askesis*) for training's sake. (Bourdieu, 1984: 213)

Another crucial consideration for this analysis and the eminently 'embodied' forms of culture that this study prioritises (sport), are the distinctions drawn on the basis of physical lifestyle and appearance. Sports participation involves the active engagement of the body. Likewise, fandom is ultimately the appreciation of bodily performance. Bennett *et al.* (2009) describe the critical importance of bodies in judgment creation and distinction formation.

All bodies carry marks of their experience. To the extent that a society systematically awards different roles and unequal esteem to men and women, young and old, black and white, bodily appearance offers an initial orientation in many encounters. Bodily properties hence supply the most ubiquitous ways of classifying people – by gender, race and class... Simple observable physical indicators of difference are perhaps in decline, though the prognosis of the emergent 'crisis of obesity' seems to bear with it a revitalized, moralizing, class-based discourse of shame and blame about body shape. (p. 152)

There are numerous studies that support Bourdieu's more structural, class based theories as they pertain to sports participation. Indeed, many support the conclusion that sporting participation is stratified along socio-economic and demographic lines (Bourdieu, 1978; Collins, 2004; Collins, 2014; Gruneau, 1975; Gruneau, 1999; Loy, 1969; Jarvie, 2011; Scheerder et al., 2002; Scheerder, Vanreusel, and Renson, 2005, Taks et al., 1995; Sugden and Tomlinson, 2000; Lamprecht and Stamm, 1996). For instance, Bourdieu (1978) asserts the importance of the upper class origins of sport that he saw manifestly present in both British and French sport during his time for defining the terms of the sporting field and

consecrating particular sports by which the dominant classes defined themselves against other class groups. Collins (2004, 2014) outlines the strong exclusionary effect that poverty and a lack of economic resources has for sports participation, highlighting the persistence of class based difference in this sports engagement and leisure engagement more broadly.

Similarly, and in accordance with Bourdieu's assertions that habitus is structured by socialised capital possession, some studies find that personal exercise acts as a social marker of cultural capital possession (Shilling, 1993; Wilson, 2002; Stempel, 2005). Wilson (2002) performed one of the most influential studies regarding cultural capital and sports engagement, positing a 'paradox' of social class and sports involvement. This paradox was that while those with higher in both economic and cultural capital were more likely to be involved in sports generally, those with high levels of cultural capital were unlikely to participate in what he termed 'prole' sports, so called because they have become associated with the lower and working classes (Wilson, 2002: 5). Wilson argues that 'class-based differences in economic capital enable upper class involvement in expensive sports, leaving 'prole' sports largely relegated to the lower classes (Wilson, 2002: 6). This is consistent with Bourdieu's assertions of cultural capital and how it manifests through objectified forms of cultural consumption.

Another important work on the cultural consumption of sport is Stempel (2005). Using a Bourdieusian theoretical framework (while also testing the omnivore and 'prole' theses), Stempel used a large scale survey of US adults regarding their sports participation, a much larger and well developed sample than previously existed in academic analyses of class and sports participation. In support of Bourdieu's theories, Stempel (2005) finds that:

The dominant classes appear to use strenuous aerobic sports, moderate levels of weight-training, and competitive sports that restrain violence and direct physical

domination to draw boundaries between themselves and the middle and lower classes... Thus, dominant class adults use participation in sports to draw boundaries by strenuously working on their bodies to produce disciplined, high performing and achieving selves. Engaging in strenuous sports is a practical, embodied way to maintain distance from the classes who are lazy 'couch potatoes' that 'let themselves go. (Stempel 2005: 427-428)

Other studies also suggest that those of higher social classes both participate more in sport and more often attend sporting events (Coakley, 1994; Eitzen and Sage, 1991; Erickson, 1996; Gruneau, 1999; Mehus, 2005; Moens and Scheerder, 2004; Thrane, 2001; White and Wilson, 1999; Wilson, 2002; Hartmann-Tews, 2006). Direct sports participation, however, forms the majority of historical scholarly work on class and sport, which is the subject of substantially more studies than any other form of sports consumption (Thrane, 2001). This continues to be true and is so even as sporting viewership, as an activity that is more widely engaged in and more easily consumed in similar ways to other forms of culture, is arguably a better representation of an individual's cultural profile (Kahma, 2010; Warde, 2006). This thesis makes a similar argument for the importance of sport. I argue that the following of professional sport, as something both widely engaged in and culturally pervasive, may be just as important as sports participation, and is of yet an under-researched mode of engagement with sport. It is particularly under researched from a cultural consumption perspective (Kahma, 2012; Warde, 2006; Washington & Karen, 2001; Widdop and Cutts, 2013). This is true even as Bourdieu (1978) assesses professional sport alongside direct sports participation.

Non-participatory sports consumption

While there is very little research into sports consumption that is not directly participatory, there exist a handful of highly applicable studies within this kind of consumption. Indeed, one of the most important studies for the analysis in this thesis and its geographic focus on

Canada is the study by White and Wilson (1999). This was a study of class and sports spectatorship in Canada. Using Bourdieu as their theoretical framework, White and Wilson (1999) set out to analyse the relationship between class attendance at amateur and professional sporting events. In this analysis, they find 'clear socioeconomic imbalances in professional sport spectatorship in Canada, whereby high socioeconomic status appears to be enabling while low socioeconomic status is constraining', particularly among those with high economic capital (White and Wilson, 1999: 260). This thesis will likewise look at the consumption of professional sports in Canada from this perspective. However, this research is concerned with professional sports consumption more broadly, moving beyond the particular focus of White and Wilson (1999) on attendance at professional sporting events.

Thrane (2001) also looks at class and sports spectatorship. It is one of the few other studies that empirically focuses upon class and sports spectatorship. Using a Bourdieusian theoretical framework, and frequently referencing the work of White and Wilson (1999), Thrane (2001) uses data from the mid 1990s on sports spectatorship from three Scandinavian countries; Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. In this replication of White and Wilson's Canadian work, Thrane finds that 'income showed a positive, although not linear, relationship with sports spectatorship' (Thrane, 2001: 158). It was not linear because some of the middle and upper middle income groups showed a greater positive relationship than the highest income category. Regarding cultural capital, as operationalised by educational attainment, Thrane finds that 'this variable showed no (net) effect on sports spectatorship in Denmark, a slightly positive relationship in Norway, and a negative effect in Sweden' (Thrane, 2001: 158). While Thrane's findings regarding economic capital are consistent with White and Wilson's findings, the findings surrounding the relationship between education and sports spectatorship was, at best, inconclusive. This finding being as it was, however, the supremacy of economic capital over cultural capital as a predictor of sports spectatorship is common

between the two studies, and for all four of four different national contexts under examination.

Regarding the consumption of professional sports, it has often been viewed as a more lowbrow cultural activity (Bourdieu, 1978; 1984). The application of the habitus to the spectrum of cultural products commensurate with one's habitus produces homologies of consumption across this spectrum. For Bourdieu (1978), the mass spectacle of professional sport is appealing to the largest, or lower, social classes. Therefore, the consumption of professional sport is associated with those who also consume other forms of popular culture (Bourdieu, 1978). Thus professional sport for Bourdieu is designated as a lower form of culture, one that is not consecrated by those (elites) in society as of high status. Bourdieu (1978: 828-829) describes the social place of sports, and the inability for more intellectualised consumption, when he wrote:

Sport, born of truly popular games, i.e. games produced by the people, returns to the people, like "folk music", in the form of spectacles produced for the people. We may consider that sport as a spectacle would appear more clearly as a mass commodity, and the organization of sporting entertainments as one branch among others of show business... They have become, through television, a mass spectacle, transmitted far beyond the circle of present or past 'practitioners', i.e. to a public very imperfectly equipped with the specific competence needed to decipher it adequately' (1978: 829).

Bourdieu here is responding most directly to the advent of television broadcasts of professional sport. While he writes this at a time before professional sports had become the megalith of media and business that it is today around the world, the subsequent sporting proliferation only further legitimises the claims here of the mass production and dissemination of professional sports as 'spectacle'. This is true even as during this period of media proliferation, the number of physical seats at stadiums have not grown to a

proportionate degree. Therefore, in-person attendance is less of a mass produced commodity and is thus sometimes found to be associated with higher social position, even going back to the time of Bourdieu (Fürtjes, 2016).

Empirical investigations into these dynamics are generally lacking. However, some differ from these assertions by Bourdieu, while some support them. Many more indirectly examine these areas of sporting consumption. While most empirical work on the consumption of sport examines direct sports participation, there are a few existing studies that are key for getting to an empirical analysis of Bourdieu's specific assertions around professional sport. For instance, Wilson (2002), in analysing general sport engagement in the United States, found that those with elevated levels of income and education are more likely to attend sporting events. Similarly, this time in the same national context of this thesis, White and Wilson (1999) found that those with higher levels of income were strongly predicted to more frequent attendance at professional sporting events in Canada. Income was the strongest predictor for attendance at these events (White and Wilson, 1999). However, higher levels of education were also positive predictors of attendance at these events. These two studies would seem to refute Bourdieu's assertions about the nature of sports consumption. However, these studies analyse attendance at sporting events, not general consumption of those sports.

In a more directly comparable empirical examination, Mehus (2005) found that those with higher levels of education attend fewer sporting events and especially watch fewer sports on television. This would seem to generally support Bourdieu in a more directly comparable investigation. Still others find that social class position is a less salient predictor than other factors. Kahma (2012) found that in Finland, demographic factors, such as age and gender, explained more of the difference between spectator sports than did income or education. Thrane (2001) found that in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the possession of capital

resources, particular cultural capital, strongly predicted attendance at sporting events.

However, Thrane (2001) also found that attendance at more highbrow cultural activities also was predictive of attendance at sporting events. This is one of the very few empirical studies that includes considerations of other forms of culture within considerations of sport. It would seem to include attendance at sporting events within a homology of consumption that consumes high status cultural objects.

Distinction within sporting consumption has also been found in different contexts. For example, class difference was found in Australia (Ward, 2009) between high status persons who followed tennis and cricket and lower status persons who consumed rugby league and motor sports. Likewise, in the United Kingdom, a number of scholars have observed class differences between higher status persons who consume rugby union and working class persons who consume soccer (Collins, 2009; Holt, 1992; Kitson, 2011; Pope, 2015). Within this particular comparison of two sports in the UK, Pope (2015), using case studies of rugby union and soccer teams in the same English city finds that ‘there was a strong sense of rivalry between the two sets of supporters, with rugby union fans labelling (soccer) fans as ‘thuggish’ or ‘violent’ and football fans critiquing the supposed social superiority of rugby fans and their ‘middle class’ styles of dress and highly restrained modes of support’ (Pope, 2015: 11).

While some studies around class and sport, specifically direct sports participation, suggest agreement with Bourdieu’s assessment of this cultural domain, others argue that his theories of cultural consumption broadly are outdated (Savage et al, 2015) and/or of limited geographical range. The next section of this chapter starts a discussion of theories of cultural consumption post-Bourdieu. These includes theories of ‘emerging culture’, and most importantly for this thesis, the theories of the cultural omnivore and the theory of the individualisation of cultural lifestyles.

2.6 Continued relevance of Bourdieu and ‘emerging culture’

The most criticized element of Bourdieu’s cultural considerations among contemporary studies is the emphasis upon traditionally ‘highbrow’ cultural forms. According to Savage et al. (2015: 101-102), there are four primary reasons for the reduced efficacy of focusing upon these forms as primary drivers of cultural distinction. First, Bourdieu’s emphasis on the elitism in these highbrow arts has caused increased reflexivity within these art forms about their own elitism. Therefore, museums and other cultural institutions now display a more varied array of cultural works and reach out to increase access to these works and the institutions generally. Second, contemporary society is markedly more ‘cultural’ (Savage et al, 2015: 101-102). There are more cultural choices, mediums, and methods by which to access this culture. Thirdly, since Bourdieu, there have been proliferations of new cultural forms that have not traditionally been viewed as highbrow cultural forms. And ‘Fourthly, in recent decades, cultural appreciation has been massively transformed by globalization and flows of immigration which have eroded the appeal and significance of older classical forms of culture which used to be held up as the markers of national excellence’ (Savage et al, 2015: 102).

While Savage et al. (2015) are writing explicitly about the UK, as well as Bourdieu’s French roots in Western Europe, all of these reasons are also present in the Canadian context.

Regarding the continued relevancy of traditionally highbrow culture, Van Eijck, Koen and Knulst (2005: 527) suggest that ‘people who had been enrolled in intermediate and higher education in or after the late 1960s were no longer socialized with a firm belief in the supremacy of Western elite culture...If no transmission of respect for traditional high-brow culture takes place, people apparently lose the inclination to participate’.

Since Bourdieu, there is thus argued to have been a ‘waning self-evidence of highbrow culture’ (Van Eijck, 2000: 208). This is accompanied by the proliferation of technologies that facilitate new and more accessible forms of culture. According to Savage et al. (2015: 102), one of the primary reasons for the reduced efficacy of focusing upon these highbrow forms as primary drivers of cultural distinction is that since Bourdieu, there have been proliferations of new cultural forms that have not traditionally been viewed as elements of highbrow culture. Instead of labelling all of the cultural forms that either emerged or increased in relevance upon the cultural landscape since this time by the relatively derogatory moniker ‘lowbrow’, Prieur and Savage (2013) theorize a new form of culture that they term ‘emerging’. They argue that these forms are marked less in terms of the actual activities people enjoy, but more in the way that they enjoy them, and talk about them. Other studies have come to similar conclusions about the importance of method of consumption over the substance of what is consumed (Friedman, 2011; Jarness, 2015). Therefore, the force of this argumentation is weighted towards an argument of the increased importance of embodied cultural capital and the decreased importance of objectified cultural capital in structuring culturally based social distinctions. These arguments assert that these emerging forms of culture are still not consecrated as legitimate forms of culture, sites where objectified cultural capital could be deployed, but rather have become a site where more embodied forms of capital are deployed (Friedman 2011, 2014; Savage et al., 2015). This then signals a decline of objectified cultural capital in favour of a very embodied cultural capital as forming the basis of social distinction born from culture, particularly among younger generations. These more recent arguments echo Holt (1997: 103), who theorized that ‘As popular cultural objects become aestheticized and as elite objects become popularized the objectified form of cultural capital has in large part been supplanted by the embodied form’.

The primary large-scale empirical evidence proposed in support of this type of emerging cultural capital is a distinct age stratification between traditionally highbrow forms of culture and others (Coulangeon, 2017; Roose, 2015; Savage et al, 2015). Indeed, Savage et al (2015) argue that ‘this age gap is more profound and significant than Bourdieu realized and seems strongly etched into contemporary British Culture’ (p. 112) and that ‘this leads us to argue that there are two modes of cultural capital, one which we term ‘highbrow’ and the other ‘emerging’ (p. 113). This age divide is thus foundational to theories of emerging culture. The observed difference between highbrow and emerging cultural engagement is almost exclusively one born of a generational divide. This is in contrast to any significant class or capital difference in structuring consumption. Empirical evidence for this comes because while there is a large age divide in cultural behaviour, those younger generations possess roughly equivalent levels of income and especially education. These are the primary operationalized measures of economic and cultural capital, respectively. Therefore, it is argued that this age difference in patterns of consumption behaviour is most efficaciously interpreted through a cohort, rather than an age effect (Coulangeon, 2017). This is to say, it is not a product of fundamentally different aesthetic dispositions. Rather, it is a product of privileged members of older generations preferring certain generationally specific cultural forms while privileged members of younger generations prefer similarly generation specific forms. Thus, the generations deploy similar aesthetic dispositions that represent an intellectualized appreciation and more discerning and distanced appreciation of the forms for their respective generations.

Arguments of emerging culture suggest alternative mechanisms (to objective cultural capital) for the creation of distinction. Pursuant to the specific forms of culture explored in this thesis, one of the ways this can happen is through more cultural markers of distinction, such as ‘openness’ (Coulangeon, 2017; Ollivier, 2008) or ‘cosmopolitanism’ in consumption

behaviour (Cappeliez and Johnston, 2013; Emontspool and Georgi, 2017; Prieur and Savage, 2013; Rössel and Schroedter, 2013; 2015). Such an emphasis on openness may reconfigure and reinforce salient lines of distinction within the consumption of culture (Ollivier, 2008). Ollivier (2008: 143) finds that dispositions of openness mirror the ‘persisting influence of socio-economic inequalities and cultural hierarchies in the field of leisure and cultural consumption’. Indeed, Holt (1997: 112) argues that the most powerful expression of cosmopolitan taste is through the consumption of the exotic. This is because they are forms that garner much of their appeal in orientalising discourses of the spiritual and ‘natural’ East, offering something exotic to the material West (Strauss, 2005). Higher education institutions, where values of openness and appreciation of other cultures are often affirmed, are likely places where these values are reproduced. This relationship to higher education and a more general educated class ethos may develop a more ‘reflexive appropriation’ of these forms ‘in a spirit of openness’ (Bennett et al, 2009: 194). Coulangeon (2017) likewise argues that cosmopolitan taste may contemporarily represent its own form of cultural capital.

This updated framework for understanding divides in culture also problematises, but does not necessarily contradict Bourdieu’s theories of cultural consumption. It problematises Bourdieu’s assertions that there are many types of culture that are most likely to be done by lower status classes and persons. It suggests that this is not empirically the case contemporarily. However, it does not contradict the dynamics of distinction that Bourdieu posits. This is to say, this framework does not negate the possibility that those who engage in established forms of culture do not form similar forms of distinction between themselves and those who engage in these emerging forms of culture, or vice versa. Indeed, what is termed here ‘emerging’ forms of culture were previously ‘popular’ or ‘lowbrow’ forms. It speaks more to the changing landscape of the composition of cultural engagement rather than the

possibility, or not, for the formation of types of ‘distinction’ and symbolic judgements based upon cultural consumption.

While emerging culture is one of the ways that Savage and colleagues have negotiated the arguable decline in the relevance of Bourdieu’s theories, the most prominent step in this direction comes from Richard Peterson’s omnivore theory of class and consumption. While not denying the class bases of consumption, the omnivore theory does argue against how Bourdieu conceived of its structuring effect. The most extreme critique of Bourdieu’s theories argues for its contemporary irrelevance and comes in the form of individualisation theories of consumption that denies the structuring effect of social class in consumption. I therefore now move on to discuss the omnivore and individualisation theories of cultural consumption that present alternative models of the relationship between social class and the consumption of culture.

Cultural homologies, and their underpinnings in a Bourdieusian habitus that ‘is the basis from which life-styles are generated’ (Bourdieu, 1978: 833) is the starting point here in an analysis of Canadian cultural and sporting preferences. Homologies of cultural engagement, and their underlying habitus, may be a function of the accumulation, possession, and make up of different forms of capital. Because of this, this thesis seeks to analyse cultural and economic capital to test these concepts. However, there is scholarly and historical momentum that suggests that Bourdieu’s theories wane in significance as time passes and/or are temporally and geographically context specific. Therefore, the research also explores the most prominent successor to Bourdieu’s theories of cultural consumption, the concept of the ‘cultural omnivore’. This theory is also of primary consideration because it arises out of the United States as a distinctly American critique of Bourdieu and his context specific findings on culture. As a country with both deep historical (and also contemporary) ties with both France

and England, and their inextricable link to the United States today, Canadian society is uniquely positioned at the crossroads of these different cultural theories, particularly if they are as context specific as their opponents often charge. I will now introduce the more 'American' of the theories of cultural consumption, the cultural 'omnivore' thesis. The next section of this chapter explores the omnivore thesis and similar theories of consumption that build upon or have arisen in critique of the theories of these foundational theories of Bourdieu.

2.7 Peterson and the cultural omnivore

When scholars took up the work of cultural analysis in North America, they found that Bourdieu's theories based on his analysis of mid twentieth century France did not map all that well onto the American landscape (DiMaggio, 1987; Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Simkus; Peterson and Kerns, 1996). For instance, DiMaggio (1987) argues that cultural boundaries in the United States are less rigid than the characterisations that Bourdieu argues for France. The 'omnivore' thesis asserts a less rigid structuring of cultural tastes patterns than that of Bourdieu. This is also eminently true with individualisation arguments of consumption, which assert that individual choice, rather than structural influences, are the primary drivers of taste and cultural behaviour. This thesis brings these analyses into the domain of sport. This chapter will now introduce the theories of the omnivore and individualisation and will discuss these theories in relation to the consumption of sport.

The idea of a 'cultural 'omnivore' was first theorised by the American Sociologist Richard Peterson. It introduces the concept of a cultural consumption profile that spans traditionally highbrow and lowbrow cultural lines, consuming forms on either side of this line (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Peterson and Kerns. 1996; Peterson 1997). Peterson theorised that Americans of high status are more likely than ever to engage in low-status

activities (Peterson and Kern 1996: 900). This type of inter-status consumption would not be found within a Bourdieusian analysis of distinction. Bourdieusian conceptions of class consumption posited that these high-status individuals would shun these lower forms of culture because they were beneath them. Stooping to these lower forms of culture corrupted morals and were anathema for high-status individuals (Peterson and Kern 1996: 900).

Peterson and Kern (1996: 900) assert that the empirical patterns of cross-status consumption represent a shift 'from snobbish exclusion to omnivorous appropriation'. Peterson highlights that this omnivorousness is not indiscriminate consumption void of discernment, but rather it is the 'openness to appreciate everything' (Peterson and Kern 1996: 904)'. In terms of how omnivores consume, a type of 'intellectualized appreciation' is identified and omnivorous consumption has as a catalyst the accumulation of the necessary tools for such consumption, regardless of genre (Peterson and Kern 1996: 904).

In a 1992 article, Peterson and Albert Simkus similarly outline one of their first definitions of the omnivore. In describing the rise of the omnivore and defending and defining it as a concept they write that:

elite taste is no longer defined as an expressed appreciation of the aesthetic expressions. Now it is being redefined as an appreciation of the aesthetics of every distinctive form along with an appreciation of the high arts. Because status is gained by knowing about and participating in (that is to say, by consuming) all forms, the term *omnivore* seems appropriate. (Peterson and Simkus, 1992: 169)

With respect to music, Peterson (1992) also theorises the 'univore' as only liking one type of lowbrow musical form. In contrast to the omnivore, the univore engages in fewer cultural forms, in this case musical genres. Indeed, they may only have a taste for one of the various musical genres, such as country and western music. These univores were found to be

associated with the lowest status occupational groups while those who engaged in omnivorous patterns of musical consumption were from higher status occupational classifications (Peterson, 1992). Comparing the omnivore to the univore, Peterson and Simkus (1992: 170) write:

The omnivore, we suggest, commands status by displaying any of a range of tastes as the situation may require, while the univore uses a particular taste to assert differences from others at approximately the same level holding a different group affiliation. Thus, the elaborated musical taste code of the omnivore member of the elite can acclaim classical music and yet, in the proper context, show passing knowledge of a wide range of musical forms. At the same time persons near the bottom of the pyramid are more likely to stoutly defend their restricted taste preference, be it religious music, country music, the blues, rap, or some other vernacular music, against persons espousing another of the lower-status musical forms.

In another 1992 article, entitled 'Understanding audience segmentation: From elite and mass to omnivore and univore', Peterson sets out to:

suggest that the elite-to-mass hierarchy, which may once have been an accurate depiction of how the class hierarchy was seen, at least from the top (Goffman 1951; Baltzell 1964), does not now fit patterns of leisure time activities and media consumption in the United States. (Peterson, 1992: 244)

The elite to mass hierarchy of which Peterson speaks in this passage is the kind of hierarchy that Bourdieu envisions as governing the hierarchy of taste in mid-twentieth century France. Through an analysis of occupational groups in the United States and ten different musical genres, Peterson (1992) hypothesises two different pyramids of taste and social stratification. Describing these two pyramids he writes that:

One right side up and the other upside down. In the first representing taste cultures there is at the top one elite taste culture constituting the cultural capital of the society

and below it ever more numerous distinct taste cultures as one moves down the status pyramid. In the inverted pyramid representing concrete individuals or groups, there is at the top the omnivore who commands status by displaying any one of a range of tastes as the situation may require, and at the bottom is the univore who can display just one particular taste. This taste is nonetheless greatly valued by the univore because it is a way to assert an identity and to mark differences from other status groups at approximately the same level. (Peterson, 1992: 254)

In this conceptualisation, Peterson is tacitly repeating Bourdieu's assertion of embodied cultural capital. That is to say, Bourdieu's descriptions of pleasure and enjoyment that the lower classes receive from their cultural engagement and how it contrasts to the disinterestedness with which the elite treat much of their cultural interactions. However, where Peterson departs from Bourdieu is in how these elites treat more popular cultural forms. Rather than necessarily defining themselves against these more popular forms of culture, they see cultural flexibility as something to be desired, as a net benefit. Therefore, cultural flexibility becomes an increasingly important element of cultural capital. This flexibility is a manifestation of omnivorous cultural consumption. The flexibility to have 'passing knowledge of a wide range of musical forms' (Peterson, 1992: 255) is to Bourdieu's embodied cultural capital as omnivorous consumption of these various musical forms is to Bourdieu's objectified cultural capital. This is indeed the theory that distinguishes Peterson's omnivore from Bourdieu's theorisations of cultural consumption. However, Peterson's idea of 'passing knowledge' is not fully fleshed out in a way that suggests that this knowledge distinguishes the 'how' of popular culture consumption of the elites truly differs from those of lower socio-economic groups. This kind of intra domain differentiation of consumption is one of the primary aspects under examination in the consumption of sport in this analysis. This is especially true of more fandom based consumption, such as following professional

sports leagues, as this is traditionally thought of as more of a popular cultural form (Bourdieu, 1978).

Types of omnivorous patterns of consumption

Peterson and colleagues thus outline a specific type of omnivore, while precluding others. They outline a theory of the omnivore by which consumption occurs across a range of necessarily high and low cultural objects. This style of omnivorous consumption represents what has been come to be known as the omnivore by ‘composition’, contrasting to an omnivore by ‘volume’ (Vanzella-Yang, 2018). The omnivore by volume concept does not emphasise the nature of the types of products consumed, but rather is characterised by the number of products consumed. Therefore, Peterson, through the univore concept, precludes this second type of omnivore. That is to say, this univore concept does not account for a consumption profile that might consume a plethora of low status musical genres. Subsequent studies on omnivorous consumption have generally found omnivorous groups.

However, those that find this omnivorous group associated with higher social strata (e.g. Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007; Vanzella-Yang, 2018; Veenstra, 2010) are those that generally assess an inter-domain concept of omnivorism. This is to say that these studies focus on a variety of broad cultural domains, without the ability to account for intra-domain differentiation by which high or low status objects within each field may more reasonably be ascertained. In inter-domain assessments, there are generally few to no cultural activities that present as representative of low status individuals (Veenstra, 2010; Vanzella-Yang, 2018). In contrast, those studies that analyse specific cultural domains, be it music, food, comedy, sport, or other, often find that omnivorism, either does not exist, or is not fully associated with persons of the highest social position (Friedman, 2011; Flemmen et al, 2018; Veenstra,

2015; Widdop and Cutts, 2013). Most studies that take this intra-domain approach often find elements within their fields that are identifiably lowbrow, or at least associated with those of lower economic and/or cultural capital resources. Therefore, the force of the existing literature seems to highlight that an omnivore by volume may be the paradigm for consumers when observed across cultural domains, but not necessarily so within each distinct cultural domain. Within these specific cultural fields, Bourdieu's theories of distinction are still often found to be exceedingly relevant.

Some studies hint at why this may be the case. For instance, Atkinson (2011) suggests that in the realm of music, people likely only have fluency in a few types of music. If this is the case, and other cultural domains operate in a similar way, then it is perhaps a product of over saturation, or a ceiling on the number of forms that are reasonably consumed, that is leading to these varied results. This is to say, it may be the case that it is hard to be an omnivore in each and every area of culture. Rather, if there are cultural fluencies observed in every area of culture (omnivore by inter-domain volume), then it is likely that these omnivores only consume a small handful of objects within each cultural domain. If these intra-domain cultural objects correspond to their position as higher status persons, then intra-domain patterns of consumption across the cultural spectrum are likely to also correspond to this social position. Therefore, pursuant to the existing literature, intra-domain consumption may correspond to a Bourdieusian habitus, and the inter-domain omnivorousness by volume may ultimately be masking homologies of the application of this habitus. In this way, the arguments of both Bourdieu and Peterson may be eminently relevant and intertwined in contemporary paradigms of consumption.

If these dynamics are leading to the current results in sociological research, I therefore posit in this thesis additional classifications of the omnivore. These additional classifications are an

omnivore by inter-domain volume, omnivore by intra-domain volume, omnivore by inter-domain composition, and omnivore by intra-domain composition. Therefore, these categorisations suggest that there is no such thing as a cultural ‘omnivore’. Rather, there are different types of omnivores, and types that are more or less mutually exclusive, given intra-domain saturation. The force of the literature thus far suggests a paradigm whereby the privileged classes are generally inter-domain omnivores by volume, and more often exhibit Bourdieusian forms of distinction creation within each different cultural domain. An additional descriptive representation of these four potential types of omnivores can be viewed in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1.

Inter – domain omnivore by volume	Inter – domain omnivore by composition
Consumption across a large number of cultural domains regardless of social position of those domains. The total number is positively associated with higher social position.	Consumption across necessarily both ‘high’ and ‘low’ forms of culture. These broad cultural domains therefore must have social differentiation at this broad domain level. This consumption of high and low cultural domains is positively associated with higher social position.
Intra – domain omnivore by volume	Intra – domain omnivore by composition
Consumption across a large number of genres fully within a cultural domain (e.g. sport) regardless of social position of those domains. The total number is positively associated with higher social position.	Consumption across necessarily both ‘high’ and ‘low’ genres fully within a cultural domain. This consumption that is composed of both high and low consumption of genres within a cultural domain is associated with higher social position.

Many other academic studies since Peterson have sought to test his omnivore-univore taxonomy and his omnivore theory of cultural consumption. Many suggest that

omnivorousness maps strongly onto socio-economic difference. Indeed, omnivorous cultural consumption is frequently asserted as being associated with groups of high social position (e.g. Erickson, 1996 Katz-Gerro, 2006; Sintas and Alvarez, 2002; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007; Tampubolon, 2008; ; Van Eijck, 1999; Van Eijck, 2001). Using data on music consumption from the Arts in England survey, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007a) find three distinct groups of music consumers in England – one that was univorous, one whose members were omnivore ‘listeners’ (listeners to music through any medium), and a final group of ‘true omnivores’ that both listened to and attended events of a variety of musical genres. Therefore, within these groups were both univorous and omnivorous consumption profiles, echoing the taxonomy of Peterson. Likewise, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007a: 14) found that ‘omnivores tend to be of higher status and also to have higher levels of education than univores’. However, in another 2007 article testing omnivorousness in the domain of the visual arts, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007b) did not find the same kind of evidence that they found in English musical consumption. Rather, they find that the small omnivorous group, had lower levels of economic capital than less omnivorous consumers (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b). They suggest that this could be understood through the argument ‘that distinctive cultural consumption, and perhaps the visual arts especially, is a means of establishing and maintaining status that is favoured by occupational groupings *within* generally more advantaged classes whose balance of cultural and economic resources is better suited to a strategy than to one based upon conspicuous material consumption’ (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b, emphasis in original). However, testing across three domains, music, theatre, dance and cinema, and the visual arts, Chan and Goldthorpe (2010) echoes other inter-domain consumption research in finding that inter-domain omnivores are highly stratified by social position. However, they note that, ‘At the same time, though, we recognize that

univorousness, or perhaps cultural inactivity, is more likely to be associated across domains than is omnivorousness' (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010: 229).

Research on cultural consumption in Canada likewise finds somewhat mixed results.

Veenstra (2010) suggests that the omnivore theory might also be relevant to the Canadian context. This conclusion comes because almost all cultural activities in Canada were found to be associated with higher class persons within a correspondence analysis (Veenstra, 2010).

This could suggest omnivorousness, but it is not conclusive. It is not conclusive because a correspondence analysis is less capable than latent class and cluster analyses to explicitly outline case-level consumption of multiple items. Therefore, through a correspondence analysis, this study rather shows aggregate associations of cultural items in the social space.

In the most recent examination of broad omnivorism in Canada, Vanzella-Yang (2018) uses similar data to this thesis to identify attendance at cultural activities in Canada. Vanzella-Yang tests omnivorism in this study primarily according to an 'omnivorousness by volume' concept (Vanzella-Yang, 2018: 482), and generally an inter-domain approach to testing this consumption. This is because Vanzella-Yang (2018) admits that the survey data 'lumps together different genres into broader categories' (p. 482). In this inter-domain investigation of cultural activities in Canada, Vanzella-Yang identifies an inactive, a univorous, and two omnivorous groups. The two omnivorous groups are separated into 'highbrow' and 'selective' omnivore categories. This is because one is more likely to 'attend the traditionally highbrow set of activities as well as other activities not associated with cultural and economic elites', while the second group 'have neither a broad nor narrow set of preferences for cultural activities, but who demonstrate a preference for activities that are less highbrow' (Vanzella Yang, 2018: 488). Therefore, this study does also use a watered down omnivore by composition conception to differentiate the clusters of the latent class analysis. It is watered

down because these ‘highbrow’ activities include those such as going to theatrical performances, which ‘includes genres as diverse as drama, dinner theatre, musical theatre, and comedy, which are arguably situated in different positions along the highbrow-lowbrow spectrum’ (Vanzella-Yang, 2018: 482). Thus, this most recent study of cultural consumption in Canada is primarily and self-descriptively an inter-domain study of omnivorousness by volume. It confirms the omnivore thesis by finding that those with the highest levels of both cultural and economic capital are most predicted to be omnivorous in their cultural activity (Vanzella-Yang, 2018). However, it also asserts a domain level differentiation of status between the more ‘highbrow’ attendance of theatrical performances and the more ‘lowbrow’ attendance of movies. In this way this study also uses some elements of an omnivore by composition, but only at the inter-domain level.

However, in an intra-domain investigation of musical tastes in English-speaking urban Canada, Veenstra (2015) did not find evidence of omnivorism and did not confirm this theory. Rather, Veenstra (2015) argued that Bourdieu’s homology thesis was most appropriate for describing musical taste and consumption amongst this group. This arose from an investigation of 21 different musical genres. Therefore, the data used for this research was focused on one domain (music) and encompassed a near full range of genres within this domain. Using a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) approach, Veenstra (2015) rules out an omnivore by composition. However, from the MCA he finds sufficient suggestion of an omnivore by volume to explicitly test this consumption pattern. Explicitly testing the omnivore by volume concept within the musical tastes of this subset of the Canadian population, Veenstra (2015) finds that ‘neither education nor income makes a meaningful contribution to explaining this measure of musical omnivorousness’ (p. 150). Because the total number of musical tastes was not associated with social position, Veenstra (2015) denies the omnivore by volume in this instance. However, because Veenstra’s (2015)

study found that those with higher educational credentials were most likely to have ‘highbrow tastes’, such as ‘classical, choral, jazz, opera, and world/international music’ (p. 155), he concludes that Bourdieu’s homology thesis is more representative of the musical taste patterns of urban English-speaking Canadians than any kind of omnivore concept. This study thus represents an intra-domain investigation of musical consumption in Canada within which the omnivore thesis is not confirmed. Rather, these types of intra-domain studies generally find in favour of Bourdieu’s theories of homology and distinction.

Synthesizing the omnivore with the theories of Bourdieu

One of the most prominent studies after Peterson to take up the work of examining the omnivore was done by Bethany Bryson (1996). Using musical taste in the United States, Bryson set out to explore omnivorism and the power of distinction in this cultural domain. In particular, Bryson focused upon cultural exclusion in this realm and what the social patterning of this exclusion entailed. She ultimately finds that:

By analysing dislikes of 18 types of music, I show that education significantly decreases exclusiveness in musical taste. Thus, the high-status exclusion hypothesis (Hypothesis 1) does not accurately describe the distribution of musical taste in the contemporary United States. Respondents with high levels of education reported more tolerant musical taste than those with less education. This supports the first educated tolerance hypothesis (Hypothesis 2). (Bryson, 1996: 895)

This finding, while slightly different in focus and not explicitly searching for the omnivore, is one of the early studies that confirms these kinds of dynamics surrounding music in the United States. However, Bryson also notes that while this supports the omnivore thesis as the most probable for music consumption in the United States, it may also suggest that ‘tolerance itself may separate high-status culture from other group cultures’ (Bryson, 1996: 897).

Other studies also contend that the concept of the omnivore is not as incompatible with Bourdieu's theoretical framework of the social structuring of cultural consumption as it might first appear. Indeed, while the omnivore thesis presents a different consumption profile than Bourdieu's approach, both theories are similar in that they find that consumption is strongly patterned by social (class) position. Some argue that the cultural omnivore can also be considered a manifestation of Bourdieu's theoretical framework and his habitus and homology theses. A prominent work that argues such a position is Lizardo and Skiles (2012), where they argue that omnivorousness is ultimately a manifestation of Bourdieu's aesthetic disposition. Their argumentation is as follows:

Following (Bourdieu's) line of argument, we propose that the aesthetic disposition is an amalgam of two distinct capacities. The first has to do with the ability to 'consider, in and for themselves, as a form rather than function, not only the works designated for such apprehension, i.e., legitimate works of art, but everything in the world, including cultural objects which are not yet consecrated' (Bourdieu, 1984: 3). The second one is the capacity to 'constitute aesthetically objects that are ordinary or even 'common'' (Bourdieu, 1984: 40). Note that these are two distinct capacities: neither (on their own) is sufficient to generate manifestations consistent with omnivorousness at the empirical level, but both are necessary for it. Furthermore, the relationship between these capacities is asymmetrical; the second capacity builds on (and thus implies the prior existence of) the first, but not the reverse. That is, the aestheticisation of common objects relies on the capacity to appreciate form in separation from function. (Lizardo and Skiles, 2012: 267)

Pursuant to this line of reasoning, then, this disinterested aesthetic disposition is transposable to all existing cultural domains and also to new cultural domains (Lizardo and Skiles, 2012). Therefore, it is this disinterested aesthetic that is the common thread between Bourdieu and Peterson. Rather than homologies of taste per se, it is thus more of a homology of application of the disinterested aesthetic that distinguishes omnivorousness and ties it to Bourdieu's

theories. Likewise, Lizardo and Skiles (2012) adhere to Bourdieu's habitus thesis and conception of embodied cultural capital because they argue 'that omnivorousness can be most profitably thought of as a form of skilful cultural competence, accumulated via early experiences in the family environment and enhanced by formal and extracurricular education and occupational experiences' (2012: 277). They also argue that they make 'theoretical sense of previous findings of age/cohort effects on aesthetic choice' because they contend that younger groups of omnivores will appropriate into their omnivorous lifestyles cultural objects and activities that their predecessors did not (Lizardo and Skiles, 2012: 278).

Through the theory of emerging culture, this difference between highbrow and emerging cultural engagement is thus mostly one born of a generational divide, rather than any significant class or capital difference. However, some argue that these emerging forms of culture are still not objectively consecrated as legitimate forms of culture but rather have become a site where more embodied forms of capital are deployed (Friedman 2011, 2014; Savage et al., 2015). This then signals a decline of objectified cultural capital in favour of a very embodied cultural capital as forming the basis of social distinction born from culture, particularly among younger generations. Any presence of a type of cultural 'omnivore' as described by Peterson (1992; and Simkus, 1992; and Kern, 1996) may also exist among younger generations because they are most likely to be upwardly mobile.

Bourdieu's disinterested aesthetic has allowed the literature on cultural consumption a significant pathway into understanding of how Bourdieu's theories may be reconciled with, or at least nuance, the omnivore thesis and account for emerging forms of culture. Describing his conception of the disinterested aesthetic disposition Bourdieu (1984: 32) writes:

Thus, nothing more rigorously distinguishes the different classes than the disposition objectively demanded by the legitimate consumption of legitimate works, the aptitude

for taking a specific aesthetic point of on objects already constituted aesthetically – and therefore put forward for the admiration of those who have learned to recognise the signs of the admirable – and the even rarer capacity to constitute aesthetically objects that are ordinary or even ‘common’ (because they are appropriated, aesthetically or otherwise, by the ‘common people’) or to apply the principles of a ‘pure’ aesthetic in the most everyday choices of everyday life, in cooking, dress or decoration, for example.

Bourdieu’s arguments here seem to open up the possibility that all forms, no matter how ‘common’ or popular, can be subjected to this disposition. Indeed, Friedman (2011) argues that Bourdieu’s arguments for the possession of embodied cultural capital among the socially privileged provides a way that they can consume more popular forms of culture in a more exclusive manner. Friedman argues that:

(High cultural capital) respondents draw strong symbolic boundaries between their darker, more disinterested style of comic appreciation and what they perceive to be the more simplistic or learned readings of those from (middle cultural capital) and (low cultural capital) interpretive communities...the culturally privileged may be potentially cultivating new forms of distinction in myriad other fields of popular culture’. (Friedman, 2011: 368)

This was the finding of Friedman (2011) in a study on comedic taste in the UK which drew on a survey and follow up interviews performed at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival. Describing comedy as ‘traditionally considered a lowbrow art *par excellence*’ (Friedman, 2015: 347), Friedman still found that the most salient nominal cleavage in consumption was between ‘highbrow’ and ‘lowbrow’ comedy taste (Freidman, 2015: 354). However, more so than this observed divide, Friedman found that those with high levels of cultural capital sharply differentiated their comedic tastes from those of others with lower levels of cultural capital. This drawing of distinction was primarily the result of a perceived intellectual nature to both the comedy that they consumed and their own consumption of that comedy. This high

cultural capital group emphasised that they enjoyed comedians that were ‘intelligent’, ‘complex’, ‘intellectual’, and ‘clever’ (Friedman, 2015: 359). Likewise, this group argued that those who could not appreciate genres like ‘dark’ comedy revealed themselves to have a ‘less critical and nuanced comic appreciation’ (Friedman, 2015: 360). In these ways this study shows the extension of intra-domain domain distinction to domains considered broadly as ‘lowbrow’ on the whole. Even as objectified cultural capital reflected this intra-domain differentiation between high and low types of comedy, it was primarily through an application of an intellectualised appreciation and disinterested aesthetic that the strongest lines of distinction were drawn in the consumption of comedy in this study.

Friedman examined the traditionally lowbrow cultural form of comedy in the United Kingdom. This research explores a similar form in sport. Professional sport, in particular is a cultural form deeply embedded as a popular form of culture. This study explores these relationships with regards to sports consumption. Other studies that advocate that the ‘how’ of cultural consumption is increasingly more important than the ‘what’ include Jarness (2015), who identified a typology of four different modes of consumption, even of the same or similar object, that he argued was consistent with Bourdieu’s homology thesis (see also Holt, 1997; Coulangeon, 2005).

A synthesis of the omnivore theory and Bourdieu’s distinction can also happen through more cultural markers of distinction in consumption, such as ‘openness’ (Ollivier, 2008) or ‘cosmopolitanism’ (Cappeliez and Johnston, 2013; Emontspool and Georgi, 2017; Prieur and Savage, 2013; Rössel and Schroedter, 2015). A similar kind of dynamic has been found in non-Western contexts, where openness to, and cosmopolitan consumption of, Western cultural goods reflects levels of distinction in these contexts (Bekesas et al, 2016; Rankin et al, 2014; Schwedler, 2010). This, then, is a second connective thread between the theories of

Bourdieu and Peterson. That is, particularly in an age of globalization, the omnivore has the potential to reflect and display a distinctive ‘cosmopolitan’ profile of consumption. In this way, more cultural shifts in the emphasis of omnivorous consumption, such as an emphasis on openness, may simply reconfigure and reinforce distinctive lines of cultural consumption (Ollivier, 2008). Ollivier (2008: 143) finds that this openness mirrors the ‘persisting influence of socio-economic inequalities and cultural hierarchies in the field of leisure and cultural consumption’. With respect to openness, cosmopolitanism, and the appreciation of other cultures, these values are often highly salient in the ethos of elite and higher education institutions. Therefore, these institutions often reproduce the values of openness and cosmopolitanism in tandem with cultural capital accumulation. From a non-Western perspective, ‘levels of engagement and orientations towards Western culture – appear to be strongly associated with differences in education, income, and age, and to a lesser extent, gender’ (Rankin et al, 2014: 172). In non-Western contexts, a cosmopolitan consumption profile likewise requires a value proposition and means of accessing and interacting with these cultural items. These studies therefore highlight the commonality of the cosmopolitan consumer in different contexts. In both instances, increased levels of economic and cultural capital instil persons with both the value of, and means of access to, forms of culture that would make up an open and cosmopolitan consumption profile. In these ways, various forms of consumption that emphasize cultural values such as openness, are used to create distinctions in consumption by defining themselves against consumers that may be ‘closed’, as highbrow was to lowbrow for Bourdieu. These dynamics of cosmopolitanism have also been observed specifically in the realm of sporting consumption (Lozada Jr., 2008; Rowe and Gilmour, 2009; Rowe and Gilmour, 2010).

Voracious consumption and the omnivore

In recent years, another dimension of omnivorous consumption has begun to be explored. This dimension is the ‘voraciousness’ in consumption. Voracity in consumption is the dimension of ‘frequency of leisure participation’ and represents a move away from what is consumed to adding a dimension of how culture is consumed (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007: 123-124). This is to say it is a move away from objectified cultural capital and the contents of consumption and a move towards more embodied forms of cultural capital and the practices of consumption (Holt, 1997; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007). To my knowledge, this is the only method by which large scale quantitative studies are employed to get to these dimensions of consumption. Just as a broader range of consumption is associated with higher social status within theories of the omnivore, so too is the relationship of voraciousness in consumption. Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) find that that higher levels of education are predictive of more voracious consumption profiles. They therefore assert that this voracious consumption represents ‘status distinction, a cultural boundary, and a sign of social exclusion’ (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007: 133). Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) use time use data to analyse the frequency of behaviour in various leisure activities and argue for a temporal dimension of omnivorousness that is frequency of participation, or ‘voraciousness’. They argue that this temporal dimension is a separate, but related dimension of omnivorous consumption, even mirroring the socio-economic and demographic make-up of the traditional dimension regarding the breadth of consumption (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007). They interpret their findings ‘as depicting a culturally active leisure-style, a tendency to seek diverse experiences (Holt, 1997; Schulze, 1992), an insatiable consumer behaviour (Campbell, 1987), and a plentiful cultural tool kit (Swidler, 1986) among higher status groups’ (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007: 133).

While there are very few subsequent studies, those that have been undertaken generally support the findings that those with higher levels of capital possession are more voracious in their consumption patterns (Cutts and Widdop, 2017; Katz-Gerro and Sullivan, 2010). They also find a gendered difference in voracity, with men being more voracious (and more omnivorous) because of gendered inequalities in the amount and quality of leisure time (Katz-Gerro and Sullivan, 2010). Likewise, Stichel and Laermans (2006) find that the higher the level of education, the higher the level of frequency of participation in various cultural activities. Lastly, Cutts and Widdop (2017) use data from the 2005-2006 iteration of the Taking Part Survey in England to test voracious consumption. Using six different activities, and three levels of participation, they find that ‘the socio-economic make-up of this ‘voracious omnivore’ group shared many of the characteristics noted in other scholarly work: largely high-status individuals, particularly in relation to occupational class and educational qualifications’ (498).

2.8 Sport and the Omnivore

Few studies have assessed any kind of omnivore concept with respect to sport. The existence and nature of the omnivore within the realm of sporting preferences is thus very much under-researched (Widdop et al, 2016). There is also a lack of cross domain research in cultural sociology, particularly in regard to studies of omnivorousness. Many studies address omnivorous consumption patterns within single fields. While this has been studied within sport in the UK (Widdop et al, 2016), this research only dealt with omnivorousness within the domain of sport and only within the national context of the UK. This PhD is thus concerned with how sport consumption is connected to other cultural domains and will test the conclusions made within this analysis within a different national context. It will also test those studies that have addressed questions of omnivorousness in other cultural domains and

in other national contexts. Wilson (2002) asserts that because those with higher capital possession were more likely to participate in most sports, this is also not inconsistent with Peterson's omnivore thesis. This being so, the most classic omnivore, as Peterson conceived of it, would not just consume a variety of non-prole sports but would also consume these so called prole, or lowbrow sports, along with the variety of non-prole sports.

Widdop and Cutts (2013) is one of the few examples of a study that focuses explicitly on class, sport and omnivorism. Using a latent class analysis of the 2005 – 2006 Taking Part Survey data in England, this study found a five cluster solution for sports participation in England. They find a first cluster that are the 'classic omnivores', who participate in a wide variety of sport across the sporting spectrum, a second 'fitness class' that engages in fitness activities and little else, a 'lowbrow omnivore' cluster (consisting of high levels of football, moderate level of fitness, and low levels of highbrow sport), a 'highbrow' cluster of cycling, golf, water sport and adventure sport, and finally, an inactive cluster (Widdop et al, 2013). As far as the class composition of these clusters is concerned, they found that classic omnivores and highbrow groups came predominantly from high social strata, the lowbrow omnivores and inactive cluster came predominantly from lower social strata, while the fitness class was less distinguishable by class.

The most recent example of an existing study of sport and omnivorousness is indeed the study of sport participation in the UK by Widdop et al. (2016). With a theoretical focus on the omnivore, they set out to analyse the social capital resources of those who are omnivorous in direct sports participation. Performing a Latent Class Analysis, they found an optimal four clusters of sports participation in the UK. Using data from the 2007 – 2008 Taking Part Survey, they found a 'highbrow omnivore' cluster, whose members were 'highly distinguishable from the other classes for its extremely active participation and sheer

insatiable appetite for all the sporting items’, a ‘lowbrow omnivores’ group that was distinguished by their high levels of soccer participation and low levels of highbrow sport participation, a ‘fitness class’ that engages in fitness activities and little else, and an inactive cluster (Widdop et al, 2016). In this study, highbrow omnivores possessed the highest levels of education and both omnivorous clusters had the most social capital, according to the operationalisation of social capital by Widdop et al. (2016)². They conclude by saying that ‘Not only were we able to further validate the existence of omnivorous patterns – the existence of two omnivore groups - in the sporting field...the two omnivore groups distinguishable from each other on the basis of class and education, even controlling for these factors, trust, belonging and networks are key determinants of membership’. Chapter 4 in this dissertation tests omnivorism of sports participation in Canada. However, this thesis also seeks to deal with sports consumption that is not directly participatory and analyse these on the broader cultural landscape.

Finally, while primarily finding Bourdieusian type distinctions, Stempel (2005) also considered the omnivore. Secondly testing the omnivore and prole theses, Stempel (2005: 428) finds that those in the dominant classes play a variety of sports, including many prole sports (Stempel, 2005: 428). Therefore, he asserts that this is evidence also for the omnivore thesis being a relevant theory of sports consumption amongst adults in the United States (Stempel, 2005: 429). This is a finding that more closely aligns with Peterson’s original arguments of his omnivore thesis, suggesting that indeed omnivorousness is found in sports participation in the United States. This is not necessarily a repudiation of Wilson, however, as Wilson was also using attendance at sporting events as well as participation in sports to come

² Social capital was operationalised using questions from the survey regarding: ‘neighbourhood trust, belonging, social participation (socializing with friends and family) and network resources’ (Widdop et al, 2016: 604).

to his conclusion. As the reader can tell by the relative brevity of this section on the sports omnivore, this area remains under-researched.

2.9 Individualisation theories of lifestyles

Yet another theory of cultural consumption argues again that both of these theories of the relationship between social class and lifestyle differentiation were either not as powerful as many sociologists asserted, or had waning relevance in the most modern societies and were outdated (e.g. Baumann, 1988; Beck, 1992) . While less space is devoted here to the intricacies of how these various theories reach their conclusions, this is primarily because theories that assert these dynamics with regard to cultural consumption are less frequent in the cultural consumption literature and are indeed in most respects a negative referent to, and null hypothesis of, the theories of Bourdieu and Peterson.

While some make reference to the theory of the cultural omnivore as a theory suggesting a move towards an individualisation of cultural consumption (e.g. Miles and Sullivan, 2012), it is still the case that the omnivore thesis relies on a class-based patterning of consumption that is omnivorousness. While not as rigidly bound within silos of class appropriate relationships to culture as argued by Bourdieu's theories of habitus and homology, the omnivore thesis is still a class-based theory. However, unlike Bourdieu's theories, theories of the omnivore most specifically concern relationships to culture. This is to say, that while Bourdieu's theories offer a macro theory of class relations through which engagement of culture is but one constituent part, the theory of the omnivore does not offer such a macro theory of class. However, those that argue for the individualisation of lifestyles (e.g. Baumann, 1991; Beck, 1992; Featherstone, 1991; Lash, 1994), generally do so as a constituent part of a macro theory of class that asserts the waning of social class as a salient and structuring concept in

contemporary societies, even provocatively announcing its 'death' (Pakulski and Waters, 1996), and thus class as a concept as a 'zombie category' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). These more macro theories generally do not engage with culture at the level that Bourdieu's theories did. This section is concerned with introducing these macro theories and asserting how they do ultimately describe the patterning (or not) of cultural engagement.

This theory of individualisation in cultural consumption rejects the explicit macro patterning of tastes that accompany the theories of Bourdieu and Peterson. Theories of cultural consumption that downplay the effect of social class in lifestyle decisions (such as Beck, 1992 and Giddens, 1991) of persons have been termed 'individualisation' theories (Chan and Goldthrope, 2007; Chan, 2010; Gerhards et al., 2013). In terms of cultural consumption, these individualisation theories all posit a consumption paradigm that is individually driven, rather than patterned by more structural forces. The most important thing to remember about these theories for this, then, is that they oppose the previous two theories of cultural consumption by asserting a decline of social class patterning of cultural tastes and social behaviours. These theories proceed from the assertion that the cohesion of social class structures is, and has been, in decline, primarily as a function of increased societal wealth and mobility in modern societies (Chan, 2010; Atkinson, 2010; Bauman, 2002; Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991). This decline is argued to be a product of modernization (Gerhards et al., 2013). A primary proponent of the idea of individualisation in modern societies, Ulrich Beck, distils these theories in relationship to lifestyles when he writes that:

As a result of shifts in the standard of living, subcultural class identities have dissipated, class distinctions based on status have lost their traditional support, and processes for the 'diversification' and individualization of lifestyles and ways of life have been set in motion. (Beck, 1992: 91)

Therefore, the influence of social class structures in structuring the cultural consumption of individuals within society is said to be not nearly as pronounced as other theories suggest. Instead, 'rising standards of living, greater geographical and social mobility and exogamy and a growing awareness of alternative social bases of identity – for example, gender, ethnicity or sexuality – all help to free individuals from class constraints and status preoccupations and allow them to develop their own lifestyles as a matter of personal choice' (Chan, 2010: 6). These theories as they apply to cultural consumption can be seen 'if not as a more or less direct contradiction of the homology argument, then at all events as an attempt to restrict the validity of that argument to the past' (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007).

The 'risk society' and the decline of class

The primary scholar espousing an individualisation theory of modern societies was Ulrich Beck. Making arguments upon his observations of the German context (and other Western contexts), he describes the processes of the second half of the 20th century by which social class as a coherent and influential grouping of society no longer held the influence that it once had. In his book *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, Beck argues that expansion of the labour market, along with the erosion of communal units (e.g. family through divorce) requires more persons to be their own sustenance and thus their economic self-reliance ushers in a state by which they are increasingly self-reliant in all areas of life and are now more orientated towards risk as an informative aspect of their lifestyle. Modern societies have thus developed to become 'risk societies' (Beck, 1992). In this kind of risk society, concepts of social class take a backseat to the more pressing issues of democratised risk for all individuals across a society, and indeed the world. This risk society replaces a 'first modernity' which was characterised by 'Weberian instrumental control over nature for our own ends, the centrality of industrial society, and the authority of social frames of reference

and identity such as class and gender (Beck, 1999: 2, 63)' (Curran, 2018: 30). This first modernity, then, was preoccupied with questions of how the socially produced wealth of the instrumental domination of nature through industrialisation was distributed among large group categories of society (Curran, 2018). This time of the first modernity therefore saw strong labour movements, and the first two waves of feminism – movements highly concerned with the societal organisation of and access to material goods and wealth (e.g. property rights, minimum wages, workplace access and workers' rights).

A shift from a first modernity to a risk society in Beck's work relies on a type of risk egalitarianism (Curran, 2018). This is to say that global risk factors affect all of society, both rich and poor. For instance, Beck (1992) asserts that:

. . . in the water supply all the social strata are connected to the same pipe. When one looks at 'forest skeletons' in 'rural idylls' far removed from industry, it becomes clear that the class-specific barriers fall before the air we all breath. In these circumstances, only *not* eating, *not* drinking and *not* breathing could provide effective protection . . .
Reduced to a formula: *poverty is hierarchic, smog is democratic.*

(P. 36, emphasis in the original)

The logic of this idea is reminiscent to that of an American adage, one that roughly goes as follows: 'God made humans, Samuel Colt made them equal'. In a recognition that relations to the means of force inherently make people unequal to each other, the second half of this saying refers to Samuel Colt, an American inventor who introduced the viability of mass commercial production of firearms, particularly his signature revolving pistol, the 'revolver'. In this way, the relationship to the means of force was democratised. This democratisation occurs because of the basic truth that in a vacuum a bullet does not discriminate between rich and poor.

It is this kind of democratisation process that Beck sees increasing with the advent of truly global risk factors. For there is a reason that nuclear weapons states are in decreased danger of foreign invasion, regardless of size or wealth of that country. Nuclear war is one of the most democratised of global risks, affecting all within a society that experiences it. Beck would also likely assert the global risk of climate change as an example *par excellence* of his assertions around the reconfiguration of societies from nationalised classed societies to a more globalised risk society.

Indeed, Beck asserts that these risk societies cannot be class societies (1992: 47). Thus is it the advent of these global risks – nuclear war, global warming, etc. – that structures societies and supersedes the social class structures contained within nation states. In a similar manner, Beck argues for a democratisation of employment precarity in the risk society. It is not the case for Beck that material well-being is no longer important, but with the increased affluence of developed societies and social safety nets of their accompanying welfare apparatus, the primary orientation of the individual is not inwards towards their social class group, but rather outwards to those insecurities that they may face and the logics of risk organisation take precedent over those of wealth organisation (Beck, 1992; Atkinson, 2007).

Thus social class as a large group category begins to lose its meaning for Beck and it is rather an individual's relationship to the various risks and insecurities of life that influence that person's 'biography'. One of the primary insecurities that Beck identifies as crucial to the individualisation of societies is the changing labour market. Inequalities within such societies are thus not distributed according to large group categories (social classes), but are rather a product of the contemporary labour market and distributed by 'phases in the average work life' (Beck, 1997: 26; Beck and Willms, 2004: 102). This is to say that 'People come and go into economic hardship for a variety of (non-class related) reasons at different stages of their

lives – as university students, as pensioners, after redundancy, following divorce – and this applies to the (temporarily) rich and poor, managers and manual workers alike’ (Atkinson, 2007: 354).

For this reason, Beck and Beck Gernsheim (2002) argue that inequality is no longer classed in large groups that reproduce themselves in similar locations in the social hierarchy, but is rather defined in terms of movement – a movement that arises out of the changing nature of the labour market (Beck and Gernsheim, 2002). Beck argues that this is because ‘there is a *hidden contradiction between the mobility demands of the labour market and social bonds* (p. 94, emphasis in original).

Individualisation of lifestyles

The increasing competition of the labour market leads to increased demand for those to differentiate themselves within the workplace, even with similar qualifications, and thus creates the ethos of individualisation and ‘undermines the equality of equals without, however, eliminating it’ (p. 94). In a direct assertion for how this increased labour market participation affects the areas of concern in this thesis, Beck (1992) writes:

Ties to a social class recede mysteriously into the background for the actions of people. Status based social milieus and lifestyles typical of a class culture lose their luster. The tendency is towards the emergence of individualized forms and conditions of existence, which compel people – for the sake of their own material survival – to make themselves the centre of their own planning and conduct of life. Increasingly, everyone has to choose between different options, including as to which group or subculture one wants to be identified with. In fact, one has to choose and change one's social identity as well and take the risks in doing so. In this sense, individualization means the variation and differentiation of lifestyles and forms of life, opposing the thinking behind the traditional categories of large group societies – which is to say, classes, estates, and social stratification...there is the collective upward mobility and

increasing standards of living and higher income in Germany during the last four decades. At the same time the distance between different income groups has persisted. Nevertheless this means a *democratization of formerly exclusive types of consumption and styles of living*, such as private cars, holiday travel and so on.

(P. 88, 95) (emphasis in original)

Therefore, Beck is arguing that mobility can provide people with vastly different social locations, both within their national contexts and in the case of economic migrants or expatriates. Thus a notion of class contained within the nation state loses its ability to provide identity to the individual or provide compelling information about their life more broadly. Mobility, education, and competition are thus the primary labour force drivers of individualisation. These are not independent, but rather attendant influences, that drive the individualisation forces of the labour market. To the extent that there is one, it is perhaps competition that is the end product of education and mobility. Speaking of mobility, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) assert:

Competition rests upon the interchangeability of qualifications and thereby compels people to advertise the individuality and uniqueness of their work and of their own accomplishments. The growing pressure of competition leads to an individualization among equals, i.e. precisely in areas of interaction and conduct which are characterized by a shared background (similar education, similar experience, similar knowledge). Especially where such a shared background still exists, community is dissolved in the acid bath of competition. In this sense, competition undermines the equality of equals without, however, eliminating it. It causes the isolation of individuals within homogeneous social groups. (P. 33)

It is in this way that individual differentiation is the driving force of the labour market. As more and more people receive similar levels of education, and there is more mobility leading to an influx of even more competition, there exists a kind of hyper-competition that drives individualisation within the labour market and bleeds into each individual's life world.

With respect to cultural consumption, he argues here for the decreased exclusivity of highbrow culture, downplaying its importance within a society that has increased access to these forms. Even as acknowledging that social inequality persists as it always has, Beck argues that people's connection to their relative position within society (their social class) has weakened considerably and has 'much less influence on their actions' (Beck, 1992: 92). This includes these acts of consumption. This is in starkest contrast to Bourdieu's habitus conception of class-based constitutions that structure consumption in classed patterns. For Beck, one's social class, and indeed the concept more broadly, is a 'zombie category' because 'the idea lives on even though the reality to which it corresponds is dead (Beck and Willms, 2004: 51-52). These changes are not solely subjective, but rather represent structural changes to the organisation of societies. To say that they are solely subjective would be to argue that these subjectivities could be confronted with the realities of objective class realities, which Beck and Gersheim (2002) argue is not the case for their theory of individualisation.

Beck and the 'cosmopolitanisation' of inequality

Critiques of Beck's work abound. Many argue that Beck fundamentally misunderstands social class (e.g. Atkinson, 2007a; 2007b; Ball et al, 2000; Walkerdine et al, 2001; Hey, 2001; Reay, 2003). Others argue that Beck's focus on women's liberation from traditional family roles as a driver of individualisation is a reification in the trajectory of the inter-relationship of gender and power (Banks and Millstone, 2011; Mulinari and Sandell, 2009; Skelton, 2005). While not abandoning his theories of the importance of risk and individualisation in risk societies, for his part, Beck's later work slightly re-oriented his theories with a focus on a 'cosmopolitanism' orientation of contemporary societies in an age of globalisation (Beck 2006; 2007; 2010; 2012; Beck and Grande, 2007; 2010; Rasborg,

2018).

Similar to how risk societies are ultimately outward facing towards the largest global risks, globalisation has also reconfigured societies in a way that Beck still sees as insufficiently explained by traditional social class theories of inequality (Beck, 2006). Transnational and global outlooks reposition social position beyond the nationalist territorial model in favour of more global inequalities. In a world of hyper globalisation, social position is imbued with increasing transnational complexity. For Beck this ‘cosmopolitanisation’ of the world is a product of increasing global contact, reliance and risk, exogamy and ‘global families’, and fierce global competition between peoples and ‘national populations of workers’ (Beck, 2012). It is in these ways that traditional notions of the nationally bound social class structure fail sociology as a concept for Beck. In this later work, however, Beck moves towards a more nuanced analysis of globally interconnected inequalities. Here Beck argues more simply that social class is too ‘soft’ a category to capture the complexities of inequality in the globalised world of the 21st century (Beck, 2012).

This softening of Beck’s criticism of class thus reveals a spectrum of theories on individualisation. At its most extreme, Beck argues for the dissolution of all large group categories and identities that are based around social status. Within these assertions, then, these large demographic categories are similarly ‘large group categories’ upon which identities are formed. Indeed, it is hard to see how the logic of Beck’s theory of a shift towards risk societies does not eliminate all such groups. This is because the logic of democratisation and egalitarianism of risk necessarily includes these groups. For instance, the nuclear weapon not only does not distinguish by social class, but it also does not discriminate on the basis of age, race, gender, or geography. However, in Beck’s ‘cosmopolitan’ turn (Beck and Edgar, 2010), one can indeed find a ‘softer’ version of individualisation. In a

global society, it may well be the case that nationalised social class standing may be a weakening category as Beck suggests. However, this cosmopolitanisation may not weaken issues of the structuring force of age or gender, as these categories persist throughout all societies. Likewise, globalization makes geographic competition and more interaction between various racial and ethnic groups perhaps even more salient factors than they have ever been. It is on this spectrum that this thesis will test these theories of individualisation.

Testing individualisation

In an empirically driven longitudinal investigation of Beck's claims, Heath et al (2009) utilise representative survey data to analyse the British case, with an eye towards its relationship to British politics. They first identify four distinct claims of theories of individualisation and the decline of class as a coherent concept. These four claims are as follows (Heath, 2009: 22-23):

1. Social class no longer provides as strong a basis of social identity as it once did.
2. Collective class identities have reduced force and are less influential for social action.
3. Because people now choose their own life-worlds and biographies, social identities are no longer inherited in the way they once were.
4. One's own current occupational position will be more weakly related to class identity.

Towards these claims they general find support for movement in the direction suggested by Beck. This is to say, they find that while people still use the language of class to describe themselves, there has been a subjective decline in the strength of these self-categorizations of identity (Heath et al, 2009: 37). Likewise, they find that class identities are increasingly unmoored from occupational definitions, as well as definitions arising out of parental class location (p. 37). Finally, they assert a 'dramatic decline in the strength of class as a normative reference group, at least as measured by its relationship with support for the Labour Party' (p. 37).

These findings all generally support Beck's theories of the how the forces of (post) modernisation affect elements of social class in contemporary societies. While they assert that they 'do not see a single example of a counter-trend', they are also quick to point out that 'all the changes we have identified are in the direction, although far from the magnitude, predicted by Beck (Heath et al, 2009: 37).

Within the specific realm of cultural consumption, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007a) seek an analytical approach to theories of cultural consumption that is also taken up in this PhD thesis. This approach is testing cultural consumption against all three of the theories of this chapter; Bourdieu's theories of habitus and homology, Peterson's omnivore thesis, and individualisation theories of lifestyles. While, as we have seen, most work in the sociology of culture and sociological understandings of cultural consumption have approached these topics from either Bourdieu or Peterson (or a comparative approach of these two), this third theory of individualisation is particularly interesting and perhaps compelling for the primary substantive topics of this thesis. Chan and Goldthorpe (2007a) describe these theories in this way:

In weaker versions of the argument, the suggestion is that other structural bases, such as age, gender, ethnicity, or sexuality, are now at least as important as class or status in conditioning lifestyles...in stronger versions, often developed under postmodernist influences, lifestyles are seen as now lacking any kind of structural grounding or indeed inherent unity. Individuals are increasingly able to form their own lifestyles independently of their social locations and primarily through their patterns of consumption and demonstration of taste, to 'construct' their own selves more or less at will (e.g. Bauman, 1988, 2002). (P. 2)

These types of theories may be particularly applicable to elements of sports fandom. This is true as arguably sports fandom represents one of the most fertile forms of culture by which elements of identity formation can take root. Studies have also showed that sports fandom is

an important element of identity construction (e.g. Giulianotti, 2002; Pope, 2017). If these theories of individualisation are the most prominent in sport in Canada then we would expect the results of the quantitative portion of this research to downplay the importance of socio-economic markers while perhaps showing other markers, such as demographic and geographic makers, to be more significant in predicting this kind of engagement with the cultural form of sport. However, as argued by Chan and Goldthorpe (2007a), these results would only provide evidence of a weakening of socio-economic patterning in favour of others. Therefore, as argued at the end of this section, the stronger evidence of individualisation in consumption would be if patterns of sports consumption were found to not be structured by *any* large group categories.

Using a large scale survey of arts participation in England from 2001, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) utilise Latent Class Analysis (LCA) to test these three prevailing theories of cultural consumption. From their results they reject Bourdieu's homology thesis because they find both that elites do not confine themselves to highbrow music forms and also that many of these elites in society do not consume elite music at all (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007). They likewise reject individualisation theories of this consumption both because they find clear groupings of music consumption and some of these groups to a certain degree do map onto hierarchies of education and social status (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007). Finally, then, they confirm Peterson's omnivore-univore framework because they find groupings of omnivorous and univorous musical consumption and these groups map onto educational and social status markers, with omnivores generally having higher social status and educational attainment than univorous musical consumers (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007).

Empirical studies which confirm the individualisation thesis as it relates to cultural consumption also exist. In a recent study, Gerhards et al. (2013) test this theory with data

from 27 European countries. Given the theories of individualisation, they form two hypotheses; ‘that increasing societal wealth leads to an increase in the spread of highbrow lifestyles’ and therefore ‘that the influence of social class on highbrow consumption decreases with the growing affluence of a society’ (Gerhards et al, 2013: 165). The data for this analysis came from face to face survey interviews of approximately 1,000 persons in each of the 27 European countries (Gerhards et al, 2013: 168). Controlling for cultural and economic capital, as well as the degree of modernisation for each country, they performed regression analysis upon this data. The results of Gerhards et al (2013: 167) results suggest that ‘the influence of class structure on lifestyle is waning’. Ultimately, they conclude that their results confirm both of their hypotheses, that the orientation and spread of highbrow cultural consumption increases as a function of increased modernisation and that ‘the higher the degree of modernisation of a country, the less highbrow consumption is linked to the class status of an individual (Gerhards et al, 2013: 178).

Individualisation in this thesis

While individualisation theories could potentially explain some of the shifts in cultural consumption in recent decades, it might not be the case that it is a primary force in cultural consumption contemporarily. The results of this thesis will thus test all three of these consumption theories (Bourdieu’s homology thesis, Peterson’s Omnivore thesis, and the Individualisation thesis). Regarding the possible cultural consumption profiles that come out of the empirical analyses in this thesis, confirmation of individualisation theories will see a loose or non-existent patterning of consumption with social position.

If the individualisation thesis of Beck describes a dwindling influence of social class for the patterning of action, the empirical evidence found from the survey data used in this thesis would not disconfirm the existence of hierarchies in consumption patterns, but will rather fail

to identify linkages between these social hierarchies and cultural and sporting behaviour. Adhering to individualisation theories, any identified stratification within Canadian society would not have a perceivable link to the cultural practices of those of each strata. This would reflect 'a decoupling of the objective and subjective aspects of class' (Heath et al, 2009). Likewise, Beck's individualisation thesis asserts the dissolution of all large group categories that are based upon social position (such as class) – these being replaced by individual choices in constructing the 'biographies' of their lives (Beck, 1992).

The preoccupation with the economic in Beck's theories of class would suggest that empirical results that point to groupings of consumption primarily outside of income and education (e.g. by sex, age, race) confirm his theories of individualisation. This is especially true when considering Beck's later work on cosmopolitanisation. These results would show the decreased influence of class position and identity in structuring consumption behaviours. This appears to be the position of the recent literature considering individualisation theories within studies of cultural consumption (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2006; 2007).

Therefore, it is for these reasons that split sample analyses follow all sample wide analyses. This is to say, this thesis employs a two-step process approach by which broader sample patterns are identified first, but if certain demographic categories show stronger predictive capacity than income or education, split sample analyses of these categories will be done. While the finding that other factors beyond those of economic and cultural capital are stronger predictors of consumption patterns is in itself sufficient to confirm some gradient of the individualisation thesis, a split sample analysis will also provide a more complete picture.

This is to rule out (or in) a patterning of consumption within these demographics that is based around income and education. If, for instance, there is strong differentiation in consumption based upon sex, and a split sample analysis shows that it is indeed the case that neither males

nor females show differentiation based upon measures of economic or cultural capital, this would confirm elements of the individualisation thesis of contemporary lifestyles. This then, is how the analyses of this thesis will consider the empirical evidence of individualisation. Likewise, a similar distribution of economic and cultural capital between demographic groups will likewise highlight the important differentiating effects of the demographic category itself.

2.10 Conclusion

Academic studies have ultimately confirmed and disconfirmed each of the theories in this chapter regarding the relationship of socio-economic position to styles of cultural consumption and cultural lifestyles. Because of these findings from around the globe and in many different cultural domains, this study is concerned with each of these prevailing theories of cultural consumption. This PhD thesis will test the Bourdieu's habitus-homology theses, along with Peterson's omnivore-univore framework and more recent work on these theories to explore which theory is most representative of the patterning of cultural and sports engagement in Canada. The results of this testing will also hopefully reveal the most productive theory for analysing this engagement.

In this endeavour, empirical results that suggest a close linkage between class and exclusionary cultural consumption will be deemed to provide evidence for Bourdieu's theories of this relationship. This will be bolstered if these exclusionary cultural lifestyles revolve around clusters of particularly elite or particularly common cultural forms of taste and engagement. While Lizardo and Skiles (2012) push back at this characterisation as overly simplistic because of the ways in which Bourdieu's theories might potentially be reconciled with Peterson's omnivore, it is the most common method of interpretation of Bourdieu's theories and indeed the most heuristically viable for this cross theory comparison.

Additionally, as outlined in this chapter, this thesis does not ignore this theoretical complexity.

If the results do not support Bourdieu's theories, evidence to support the conclusion that they support Peterson's omnivore theory and his omnivore-univore framework would come in finding clusters of cultural engagement that show willingness (as evidenced through behaviour) to consume cultural forms across the cultural spectrum. This would include a pattern of consumption on the part of high (but not low) status individuals that includes both high and low status cultural objects and/or a wide range of cultural objects. Towards more structural interpretations of Peterson, and indeed some of the work of Peterson himself, a full adherence to the omnivore thesis would include association with class position. That is to say, those persons who are the most omnivorous might be expected to come from the highest class strata, as measured through socio-economic operationalisations of capital possession (both cultural and economic).

Therefore, an empirical affirmation of these two theories would entail finding a close relationship between class and patterns of cultural consumption, whether those patterns be distinctively defined and exclusionary or more omnivorous in nature. If these kind of results are not supported by the results of this dissertation (see chapters 5 and 6), then it may suggest that our third theory is the most applicable to the context under review in this thesis.

In this analysis, evidence of the prevalence of these individualisation theories would entail a decoupling of socio-economic markers from large scale patterns of cultural activity. I would thus expect to find that all clusters of cultural engagement have more or less similar socio-economic profiles. This complete decoupling would show evidence for a stronger version of individualisation in this domain. These clusters, however, may indeed be distinguished more by variables such as age and gender. While perhaps the strongest reading of individualisation

would also suggest that these other types of large group categories likewise do not pattern consumption in a meaningful way, stronger evidence of consumption patterning according to these demographic groups (vs. economic capital and education), still suggest elements of individualisation. It will at least provide evidence of a decreased influence on the structuring force of income and education in patterns of consumption – thereby affirming the ‘weaker’ (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007) or ‘softer’ (Beck, 2012) elements of individualisation theories.

This thesis uses the basis of scholarly contributions discussed in this chapter to make specific empirical and theoretical contributions to this existing literature. It represents the first large scale sociological investigation of professional sports consumption to the authors knowledge that expands an investigation beyond attendance at general professional sporting events. It is therefore the first to apply the theories of consumption laid out in this chapter to this type of investigation. It is likewise the first comprehensive analysis of sports consumption more broadly in the national context of Canada. Finally, it is the first study of the consumption of sport that considers and tests individualisation theories of consumption, and the first study of the consumption of sport that explicitly tests omnivorous consumption in the context of Canada, a country within the North American context from which theories of omnivorism originate.

In this chapter I have outlined how sport exists and operates as its own domain (or field) of culture. I did this to highlight ways in which it can be studied from the same theoretical and empirical perspectives as other cultural domains. I have also detailed the theoretical genealogy of the relationship between social class and cultural consumption and discussed the previous ways that sport has been so included. Finally, this conclusion highlights the specific empirical outcomes by which these theories will be considered in their application to the findings of sports consumption in this thesis. It also highlights the specific contributions

that these empirical findings make in themselves and to the existing theoretical understanding of the consumption of sport. In the next chapter, Chapter 3, I discuss the landscape of sports in Canada to further situate the substantive and geographic contexts of this thesis.

Chapter 3

Sport in Canada

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give an introductory overview of the sports landscape in Canada. I do this by introducing the sports played and followed by Canadians and highlighting elements that affect their relative social place within Canadian society. These elements include issues of economics, identity, and geography, among others. I will briefly describe some of the primary participatory and professional sports under examination in this thesis. This will give context to the analysis of chapters five through seven by providing an introduction to the location of these various sports within the Canadian example. These overviews also include information on the frequency of consumption for these various sports and provide information regarding the general capital possession that their consumers might possess.

This chapter proceeds first proceeds with an introduction to the general political and class history of the country of Canada. It then proceeds with a historical discussion of the place of sport in Canada. This section will also highlight how much of this history is congruent with Bourdieu's assessment of a genealogy of sport and social class. I then move on to highlight sports participation in contemporary Canada, focusing on more detailed descriptions of five prominent participatory sports. Following the example of Cutts and Widdop (2017) in choosing activities of differing status, I choose these handful of sports from differing social locations, requiring higher and lower levels of capital. I highlight these as examples for how considerations of cultural and economic capital are bound up in sport and social location of sports. These descriptions give an introduction of children's participation through to how

someone arrives at the elite levels of that sport in Canada. Highlighting the barriers of entry in youth stages also can illuminate primary socialisation and elements of habitus formation that might affect participation later in life. The remainder of this chapter discusses the professional sporting environment of Canada. Here I highlight each of the major North American professional sports leagues that have high levels of following and prominent cultural visibility in Canada. I now first will make the case for the Canadian case as sociologically interesting and worthy of examining in the way that this thesis attempts.

An introduction to the Canadian social and political landscape

This section very briefly introduces the political and social class landscape of Canada. I do this in order to contextualise much of the specific information to come regarding sport in this context. Although inextricably linked culturally and economically, Canadian political history deviates sharply from their neighbours to the south. Canada remained in the British colonial sphere of influence for far longer than the United States and much of the political environment reflects this reality. The difference between the historical political unions of the US and Canada to Great Britain can be most contrasted in the fact that the US political union ended in a bloody revolutionary war almost exactly two centuries before Canada had full legal sovereignty, a sovereignty granted by signature of the current British monarch (Elizabeth II). The British monarch is still Canada's head of state and the organisation of Canada's contemporary political institution very closely mirrors those of the United Kingdom. These historical and contemporary ties to Canada's colonial relationship to Great Britain with regards to sports are also highlighted in this chapter.

The historical political ties that Canada has to their colonial power does not fully explain the class organisation in that country, however. The sense of class, especially, greatly differs

from the United Kingdom. Starting especially in the post war period of Canada, Canadians very much popularly thought of themselves as living in a 'classless' society (Newman, 1962). This more popular conception of a classless society much more closely aligns with the United States, especially during this post-war period and before the financial crises of 2008-2009. Particularly in capitalist competition with its southern neighbour, Canada has developed a very competitive capitalist economy, mostly out of necessity with this competition. Partly as a product of this development, the richest 86 people (or families) in Canada own the equivalent amount of wealth as the lowest 34 percent of the population (McDonald, 2014). Even so, there has been a 17% decline in the Gini coefficient on Canadian net worth and in the most recent decades, there has not been an increase in wealth inequality in Canada (Sarlo, 2017). The contemporary levels of inequality in Canada very closely align to the UK, with Canada ultimately more equal than the US, and more unequal than many continental European societies (World Bank, 2019). However, unlike the UK, where almost all of the wealthiest people and families are nobility (or have noble ties) or have accumulated their wealth abroad and then made their homes in the UK, this is not generally the case in Canada and the sense of equality in opportunity for all Canadians is a deeply held core belief, as it is in the United States.

Unlike the United States, this strong belief in an equality of opportunity is also imbued with a more European sense of equality in outcome, or at least a similarly robust social safety net for its citizens. This popular sentiment is not, however, reflected in reality. Although indeed having a more universal government system of healthcare (vs the US), social spending in Canada is among the lowest in the developed world. This is largely a product of large cuts in social spending starting from the 1990s (Jackson, 2015). Today more social spending decisions than ever are provincial, rather than federal (PressProgress, 2019). Indeed, subnational governments carried out 88% of all public spending in 2016, the second highest

in OECD nations (OECD, 2018). Canada's provincialized federal system, a system very similar to the state system of the US, is one reason that region is such an important aspect of the contemporary landscape of inequality in Canada.

As a country of such massive geographic size, geography is critically important to the Canadian experience. Geography particularly has an effect on culture and social position in Canada. The province of Quebec is majority French speaking, Atlantic Canada is majority English speaking but has a sizeable French speaking minority, and French is rarely spoken in the rest of Canada. Aside from cultural differences surrounding language, geography is an important part of organising social position in Canada. Such massive geographic scale leads to many rural inhabitants of Canada that are impossibly far from even regional economic centres, let alone the epicentre of Canadian economic growth that is Toronto (and to a lesser degree Vancouver and Montreal). Rural poverty is widespread and persistent (Gill, 2018). In a 2018 article, Will Doig outlines one manifestation of the rural plight in Canada when the bus company Greyhound ended many rural routes where they were the only form of transport outside of a personal vehicle.

The cuts will eliminate routes that have existed for nearly a century and sever the only transit link for dozens of towns where the British-owned company has endured even as other businesses have trickled away.

Some analysts see it as yet another indicator that rural Canada is not only struggling, but slowly decoupling from the country's thriving urban cores. (Doig, 2018)

Urban areas account for 63% of all Canadian employment and 59% of the Canadian population (OECD, 2018). Both of these figures are higher than the OECD average, even as the geographical area of Canada is hundreds of times greater than many of the countries in

this organisation. Aside from the urban/rural divide, there is great difference in the financial well-being of the various provinces. Provinces with large financial and economic centres such as Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia, or those with large extractive industries such as Alberta are significantly better off than other provinces. In such a compartmentalised federal system this also leads to geographical disparities in social position based on provincial residence. It is for all of these reasons that this thesis makes a point on controlling for provincial residence and urban/rural residence. I now move on to talk specifically about the development of sport in Canada, both historically and contemporarily, as well as how this development and current structure intersects with social position and social class histories.

The case of sport in Canadian

Canada serves to provide a previously relatively unexplored national context for the investigation of direct participatory sport. This is able to add to the existing comparative literature done in other contexts on the relationships between social position and patterns of sports participation. Bourdieu (1978; 1984) argues that differences in the cultural make-up of a society can reflect differences and change the social meaning attached to various practices. Gemar (2020) also argues that as a product of globalisation and the cultural capital of cosmopolitan consumption (see also Prieur and Savage, 2013), that the same cultural product may occupy differing positions of traditional social status when it is consumed in a differing context. This is especially true with forms of culture that are deemed to be more cosmopolitan (Prieur and Savage, 2013; Rössel and Schroedter, 2015), and require elevated levels of a cultural capital of ‘openness’ (Ollivier, 2008). This is to say, when cultural forms are perceived to be cosmopolitan, exotic (Johnston and Bauman, 2007), or at least have their roots and traditions in another context, the baggage of the socio-cultural contestations that have assigned meaning in those original contexts have diminishing power to inform their

position in these new contexts. When this new context also consumes these forms partially towards expressing desired values of openness and cosmopolitanism, this dynamic is increased and these forms arrive as more legitimate forms of culture in that new context. It is for all of these reasons that exploring the social patterning of direct sports participation in the much less explored context of Canada can aid in the comparative endeavour of understanding theories of cultural consumption around the globe. It can also provide evidence (or not) for theories of cultural capital that are more associated with the cultural status markers of openness and cosmopolitanism than strictly along status markers of highbrow and lowbrow. These same considerations are perhaps even more so foremost to the usefulness of the Canadian case for understanding professional sports following in that country.

The originality of my use of Canada for this thesis thus comes primarily in its efficacy for examining the domain of professional sports consumption. As mentioned in more detail earlier in this thesis, the professional sporting market in North America is of a size and scope not seen in other areas of the globe. Outside of North America, soccer dominates and it is uncommon to see a true second sport to soccer within a country that comes close to a similar level of following. Therefore, I hypothesize that the nature of the patterns of consumption in North America, particularly of professional sport, are different, are of greater cultural penetration for an increased variety of sports, and perhaps are even more intricate in Canada than they are in other countries of the world. This makes it the optimal environment in which to conduct the research on professional sports consumption.

With regards to professional sport specifically, Canada is the optimal North American location to interrogate this consumption because amateur sports are not prominent in this country. In the United States, university (amateur) sports teams are able to draw greater interest than their professional counterparts and university teams can often draw larger

crowds and interest than professional teams. For instance, during the 2017 season, there were nine university American football teams that had an average attendance that was higher than the highest drawing NFL team (the Dallas Cowboys) (NCAA, 2018a; ESPN, 2018a). Likewise, there were sixteen university American football teams whose average attendance that was higher than the second highest drawing NFL franchise. In men's university basketball in the United States, there are likewise two teams (the University of Kentucky and Syracuse University) that had a higher average home attendance figures (both over 21,000/game) than any NBA team drew as an average attendance figure throughout the league (NCAA, 2018b, ESPN, 2018b). During the final university basketball tournament each year in the month of March (dubbed 'March Madness'), an estimated 73 million American adults aged 18 + filled out a tournament bracket predicting the winners of this university basketball tournament (Adgate, 2019). While American football and men's basketball are the two primary university sports that directly can compete with their counterparts in the professional ranks (and indeed generally outshine professional sports besides those of American football and basketball), there are other university sports, such as women's basketball, men's hockey, and to a lesser degree men's baseball, that all have substantial followings in the United States. These realities introduce a thoroughly complicating paradigm to any study seeking to only assess professional sports consumption. I thus argue that the first of its kind examination of professional sports consumption in this thesis is most efficaciously conducted for the Canadian, rather than the American case, and much more efficaciously than the myriad of other national contexts that have more lopsided professional sports markets. I now discuss the historical development of sport within Canadian society.

3.2 The historical development of sport's social location in Canada

Whether originating from aboriginal culture or brought from Europe, the historical development of sport in Canadian culture was bound up in colonialism. Much of the imported ethos of sport originated from Victorian England and stressed the concept of ‘amateurism’. Early codes of amateurism in Canada sought to ‘reproduce the social hierarchies of Victorian England and the British Empire and to maintain the primacy of sports as an expression of manly honour and elegant display’ (Kidd, 1996: 27). The 1873 Constitution and By-laws of the Montreal Pedestrian Club defined amateurism as:

One who has never competed in any open competition or for public money, or for admission money, or with professionals for a prize, public money or admission money, nor has ever, at any period of his life taught or assisted in the pursuit of Athletic exercises as a means of livelihood or is a labourer or an Indian.

(Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 64)

Similarly, the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen’s, in 1880 set out their own definition of amateurism:

An amateur is one who has never assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercises as a means of livelihood, who rows for pleasure and recreation only during his leisure hours, and does not abandon or neglect his usual business or occupation for the purpose of training for more than two weeks during the season.’

(Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 66)

Of special importance to the national context of this thesis, Gruneau (1975, 1999) explains how the social class histories of Canadian sports specifically entrench class based sporting inequalities in the Canadian context. Speaking to how social class is embedded in the socio-historical formation of sport in Canada, Gruneau (1999: 97-98) writes:

Amateurism emerged...as a regulative strategy of social closure by an insecure and somewhat reactionary bourgeoisie surrounded by the expansion of democratic ‘rights’

and entrepreneurial capitalism. By contrast, commercial sports dramatized the expansion of the rational market and the spread of entrepreneurial ethics beyond the spheres of the dominant class in a form that many members of the economic and political elite found threatening. At the same time commercialism offered the Canadian worker opportunities for excitement and entertainment in a cultural milieu far more appealing than the Victorian, temperance-minded amateur clubs and associations. The dominant form of commercial sports, however, soon became a limiting celebration of capital accumulation far removed from worker's control.

Amateurism in sport thus explicitly separates legitimate physical activity from more vulgar physical actions. This mirrors Bourdieu's assertions regarding more intellectualised and vulgar appreciations and representations in high and low art. These more vulgar physical activities were those included in the general course of a labourer's work. By very definition, the working class was excluded by this first definition of amateurism, in which the 'labourer' was explicitly defined outside the confines of amateurism. Additionally, because of a lack of free leisure time, the second definition likewise effectively excluded all but the most elite classes. These definitions of amateurism coincided with codifications of amateur values and definitions across the Atlantic Ocean.

Regarding one's occupation and its relationship to amateurism, the British Henley Rowing Club was even more explicit when they described an amateur worthy of membership as 'one who is not, among other things, by trade or employment a mechanic, artisan or labourer' (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 65). It is clear that this definition was constructed to exclude the lower classes from competing in rowing. This definition only characterised what an amateur is not rather than what an amateur is (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 65). The idea of amateurism was thus exclusive to white men in the elite classes of British, and then Canadian societies. It was accompanied by a narrative of moral character that revolved around a 'British-based value system in sport (that) emphasised the virtues of character-building

through sport, fair play, adherence to rules, and, most important of all, the notion of playing solely for the joy of contest' (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 62).

Bourdieu likewise saw the relationship of an amateur ethos to social class position. He also wrote about the importance of sport for reproducing normative values of masculinity in society. Thus sport, in its 'amateur' form, is likewise also described by Bourdieu to be the product of construction of upper class males – drawing distinctive bounds both horizontally within their class towards women, and downwards, towards lower social classes. Describing amateurism in sport, and its interplay with cultural capital (and its disinterested aesthetic), social class, and conceptions of masculinity, Bourdieu writes that:

The theory of amateurism is in fact one dimension of an aristocratic philosophy of sport as a disinterested practice, a finality without an end, analogous to artistic practice, but even more suitable than art...for affirming the manly virtues of future leaders: sport is conceived as a training in courage and manliness, 'forming the character' and inculcating the 'will to win' which is the mark of the true leader, but a will to win within the rules. This is 'fair play', conceived as an aristocratic disposition utterly opposed to the plebeian pursuit of victory at all costs...Glorification of sport as the training ground of character, etc., always implies a certain anti-intellectualism. When one remembers that the dominant fractions of the dominant class always tend to conceive their relation to the dominated fraction – 'intellectuals', 'artists', 'professors' – in terms of the opposition between the male and the female, the virile and the effeminate, which is given different contents depending on the period...one understands one of the most important implications of the exaltation of sport and especially of 'manly' sports like rugby, and it can be seen that sport, like any other practice, is an object of struggles between the fractions of the dominant class and also between the social classes... (Bourdieu, 1978: 824-827)

Until the end of the 19th century, there was not a need to control sport, as it was exclusively 'the prerogative of upper- and middle-class men...to play and to socialise among themselves' (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 66). The exclusionary aspect of amateurism was a crucial

component of preserving and reproducing ideals of upper class masculinity that were opposed to the everyday labour of the lower classes both explicitly and implicitly because of the free time and money needed for such pursuits, the domesticity of middle and upper class women, and the ‘superiority’ of white values (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 169-171). All of the definitions of amateurism presented at the beginning of this section represent some of the first attempts to codify amateurism and thus reinforce these kinds of power relations. It needed to be codified to defend and prop up the virtues and values of amateurism against the growth of professionalism. As Bourdieu describes in the previous passage, the ideals of amateurism were inextricably linked to class and gender. They were negatively defined against the ideas and values that governed the athletic pursuits of the lower classes. Those values that ran counter to the sporting codes of conduct espoused by the upper classes included playing sports for pay (‘professionalism’, a pejorative at the time), intense score keeping and statistics, and the winning of trophies and championships (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 62). Indeed, historians assert that these codified rules around amateurism in the latter part of the nineteenth century, in Britain but also in Canada, was a type of weapon of class warfare (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 65). However, not all of this negative definition was so coherent and uniform. Rather, some of these values that the upper classes so closely aligned with their inherent class values, as manifested in amateurism, were used to legitimate objectified cultural activities that they associated with the lower classes and their associated pathologies, but that they could justify to themselves. Describing this type of phenomenon Morrow and Wamsley (2010: 165-166) describe that:

To distinguish themselves socially from common citizens, the middle classes and elites of mid-nineteenth-century British North America identified violence and drinking (called intemperance) as working-class and underclass problems; yet, they, too, drank alcohol and engaged in violent confrontations and rough forms of culture,

but they rationalised their behaviour through institutions, clubs, and codes of honour legitimated by peers and privileged by law.

This kind of rationalisation was also crucial for distinguishing between whites and non-white ethnic groups. Connecting these kind of relations back to Bourdieu, we can again interpret this through the lens of disinterestedness. Even when consuming the same vices and participating in the same activities, the elite ascribe to themselves a type of morally superior character by which their engagement is more enlightened. This engagement is disconnected from the pleasure of the drinking and violence. Rather, these things are consumed by the elite through the lens of socialising. Any violent altercations are thus a result of sport being provoked by a righteous indignation about a breach in 'fair play'. Describing a similar process of negotiation and justification, explicitly surrounding the potentially superior sporting prowess of the lower classes, Bourdieu writes:

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

Even with this type of internal moral justification, however, the dominant classes still tried to exert more concrete control over the physical activities of those classes below them in the social hierarchy. As industrialisation took a stronger hold, the power of these most elite social

clubs as the only platform for sports engagement began to wane. The more members of lower social classes and non-white ethnic groups began to be able to participate in sporting competitions, the onus for the upper classes to exert some kind of control over these sports increased to a critical mass (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 68). Indeed, 'Growing working-class political power, gradual acceptance of liberal-democratic ideas, and the celebrity of Native, Black, and working-class 'professional' athletes also made the ascriptive and racist provisions of the earlier codes difficult, if not impossible, to maintain' (Kidd, 1996: 28).

But it was not fully impossible for the higher classes to exert control of the involvement of these previously fully excluded groups. If the lower classes were going to be able to compete, and the upper classes could no longer succeed in fully excluding them, then organising these participants into controllable institutions and organisations was the next best thing. Many in the middle classes also saw sport as an opportunity to 'civilise' these groups of people and therefore also saw utility in their involvement in sport (Kidd, 1996). As the emphasis of sports clubs migrated from social clubs first and sports clubs second to organisations by which sport became the primary function of the club and competition was increasingly an internal and external measure of success, they therefore produced 'written rules of eligibility under the banner of amateur restrictions', and in Canada the culmination of this was the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada (AAAC) by which the amateur ideal was codified and attached to an organisational structure (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 68). At the time, the most prominent sport paying material prizes (which the athletes promptly sold for money) was track and field, which therefore prompted the AAAC to state that they sought to 'regulate' competition on the 'cinder path', meaning the track (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 68).

The decades immediately following the creation of the AAAC saw tensions between the amateur ideal (and the organisations espousing it) and the steadily growing allure of professionalism. The popularity of baseball in the United States flowed into Canada at such a pace that ‘the border did not seem to exist’ (Kidd, 1996: 31). Professionalism already existed in baseball in the United States and steady flows of spectators that were willing to pay to watch athletic competition were not fully anticipated by amateur organisers, conditions which made professionalism hard to contain (Kidd, 1996: 30-31). The AAAC even joined forces with the Amateur Athletic Union in the United States to become the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union (CAAU) in the year 1898, setting out to ‘abolish everything in the shape of professionalism from athletic sports’ (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 68). However, even with all the power of this organisation, they eventually lost their battle against professionalism.

When the CAAU tried to exert total control of ice hockey and lacrosse, ice hockey entrepreneurs went around them and in 1910 created the National Hockey Association (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010: 68). There were already small mining towns that were able to support local professional hockey teams but with the NHA the more populous areas of Ontario created viable professional teams (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010). Thus the war to keep professionalism out of sport completely was effectively over. However, the moralising of sport and the instillation of certain privileged values is something that continued on, even in the present day. The substance of the contestations has thus shifted but they have not lost their fundamental power in constructing the sporting field in Canada and the discourses surrounding sport.

3.3 Sports participation in contemporary Canada

More than a third of Canadians regularly participate in sport (Canadian Heritage, 2013).

While all of the sports included in the survey data are used in this thesis, this chapter expands

on the social context of five widely participated in sports as case examples of the role of capital within participatory sport. Although not much research has been done on the social place of sport in Canada, Gruneau's (1975) earlier research is an exception. While citing a study from the US state of Minnesota that asked respondents to rank sports in order of status, Gruneau (1975) also uses the social class origins of Canadian Olympic athletes to help confirm that the Minnesota case study also fits the Canadian case well in regard to assigning social value to various participatory sports. According to Gruneau (1975: 165), the sports of ice hockey, golf, tennis, and football occupy the upper stratum of 'status' when it comes to sports. Basketball, bowling, and hunting occupied the middle stratum of social status (Gruneau, 1975: 165). Two individual sports, boxing and wrestling were located in the lower stratum of sports according to their societal status, meaning that individual sports fall on both ends of 'the socioeconomic scale' (Gruneau, 1975: 165). However, baseball was a sport without a location in terms of status, having relatively equal levels of participation in all strata (Gruneau, 1975: 165).

This analysis of the general status of various sports in Canada, while a generation ago, provides some kind of template by which to consider the various sports included in this analysis. Social histories, however, agree with these characterisations (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010; Kidd, [1996] 2017). From the early 20th century, baseball, track and field, boxing, and wrestling were particularly popular among the working classes and formed an important part of the everyday life of these working classes, along with being popular competitive sports around events of the labour movement of this era (Kidd, [1996] 2017).

I will now move on to discuss the contemporary context and social location of some major participatory sports in Canada. The consecration of various sports in Canada is a process that includes a complicated web of cultural factors (e.g. issues of identity), and levels of capital

possession. Where issues of identity are particularly salient (e.g. ice hockey) in creating its social place, these dynamics will also be addressed. Explicit and implicit capital possession requirements, however, are primarily discussed in this section. These include price tags of participation and more nuanced forms of full engagement that require elements of cultural capital. Both of these elements have the power to cause stratification in participation. For instance, sixty percent of low income families in Canada have children in sport compared to 85% of families with incomes over C\$80,000 (Strashin, 2016). Indeed, a full one third of children in Canada are not participating in sport as a consequence of costs of participation (CTVnews, 2014), showing that social class status is a contributing factor for gaining access to participation in sports generally. I will now address how elements of class, capital, and identity inform the social place of the prominent sports in Canada of ice hockey, basketball, volleyball, golf, and downhill skiing as case examples.

Ice hockey participation and economic capital

The sport most associated with Canada is ice hockey. It is also one of Canada's most practiced sports. As of 2010, youth participation (ages 5 to 14) in hockey in Canada among active children was 22.0% in 2010 (Canadian Heritage, 2015). Among adults (aged 15 years and older), the overall ice hockey participation rate stood at 4.4% in 2010 (Canadian Heritage, 2013). The participation rate in ice hockey among adults active in at least one form of sport, however, was 17.1% among all adults, 23.2% among active males and 4.4% among active females (Canadian Heritage, 2013). These numbers show a large gender gap in ice hockey participation among Canadian adults. Indeed, participation in ice hockey shows the largest gender gap in participation among all sports and is more than twice as high as golf, the sport with the second highest male to female gap.

Getting started playing hockey, however, can have significant barriers to entry for some families. Hockey is just one of many youth sports in Canada that are currently experiencing declines in participation, much of which is contributed to rising costs (CTVnews, 2014). A study undertaken in conjunction with Kids Sport Canada lists direct cost as the number one reason for lack of participation (58%)³, followed by lack of parental free time (10%) (CIBC, 2014). Free time is also an extension and manifestation of economic capital for Bourdieu. Still, even as ice hockey is an expensive extracurricular activity, 15% of parents plan to enrol their children in the game (Alini, 2017). A single father of three boys in ice hockey, aged 10, 12, and 17, described that ‘The Visas are [tapped] out. It's not easy, and you spend all year paying it off. I'm lucky that I'm in a position where I have a pretty good job and I'm able to make it work. A lot of people aren't able to do that’ (Rutherford, 2009). The president of a youth hockey association likewise describes the current state of youth hockey in Canada as he sees it when he says:

‘The one-income family kid is not playing hockey, generally speaking, they can't afford it. That's the bottom line. Most of the parents of kids who play hockey, and particularly the kid who plays all-star hockey, the parents are all professional people, they're doing very well. They have to be doing well’. (Rutherford, 2009)

One possible driver of these growing participation costs is the increasing price of rented ice time for teams and individuals (Rutherford, 2009). These costs are generally shared amongst participants in the form of participation fees. Unlike many European youth hockey venues, corporate sponsorships for this ice time is rare, as corporate Canada focuses almost exclusively on the professional ranks (Rutherford, 2009), presumably primarily because of the profit potential of the professional leagues.

³ ‘The findings are based on a national survey of 2,010 people administered online by Northstar from June 5 to 17. The margin of error – which measures sampling variability – is +/- 2.2 %, 19 times out of 20. The average household annual income of those surveyed is \$68,000’ (CIBC, 2014).

Hockey is an expensive sport to play. There are numerous elements of equipment that one needs. From helmets, to sticks, to skates, these elements are expensive forms of equipment. Add to these the fees for leagues, travel, and ice time. At the youth levels, this travel and need to sometimes be flexible with practice times necessitates that parents be able to accommodate this flexibility. Therefore, parental free time from work or at least a flexible work schedule is sometimes a necessity to participation and a barrier to entry for children. Because of all of these dynamics, ice hockey is a sport that requires a high amount economic capital in order to participate.

Another barrier to the entry and retention of youth athletes is the increasing focus on competition, at the expense of more recreational motivations for sports involvement. There is a general feeling among Canadians that much of this focus on competition has gone too far. Seventy-three percent of Canadians feel that children's sports have become too focused on winning over the traditional emphases on fun and fair play (Strashin, 2016). Talented children are increasingly being channelled into elite programs at young ages, to the point that many experts and parents feel that this is too young (Strashin, 2016). The apparatus for developing eventual elite sporting talent is a large one. In Canadian ice hockey, the primary location for producing elite talent are the major junior hockey leagues that play under the auspices of the Canadian Hockey League (CHL). The vast majority of Canadian hockey players entering the NHL do so through the constituent leagues of the CHL.

There are perhaps fewer obvious exclusionary criteria for participation in ice hockey on the basis of cultural capital. There are few to no elements of the game that are enshrined within school curricula and most participation in ice hockey happens outside of the scholastic environment. The requisite elements of knowledge for 'intelligently' discussing hockey, as a follower, fan, or participant, are not necessarily institutionalised forms of knowledge. This

knowledge can also be gleaned through television and other media in following the game. Therefore, hockey fans who follow the sport are in theory just as easily able to speak about the game in an informed manner. However, the most intricate knowledge of strategy and how the sport operates internally is likely to exist among those who did indeed play the game. Therefore, the economically exclusionary effect of ice hockey also leads to an exclusionary cultural capital effect, with those who did play the game more easily able to speak to its intricacies and apply a disinterested aesthetic to the sport. Likewise, while the rules and stratagem of ice hockey itself may not be institutionally enshrined in the educational system, the formal education necessary for the in depth statistical analysis of an advanced analytics of ice hockey, as described in Chapter 2, would, in almost all cases, require high levels of formal education and often at elite schools. Participation in ice hockey thus seems to generally include higher social position. This is also true of the growth of women's ice hockey in Canada, which likewise is mostly a trend of the middle class (Gruneau and Whitson, 2012). In terms of following ice hockey, however, this dynamic may not hold true and may indeed, be reversed because of the different nature of producers and consumers within a sport that has such high barriers of entry to play but as the most popular sport in Canada, is also broadly consumed in other ways.

Ice hockey and identity

While hockey's origins are not a fully decided matter of recorded history, originating in the 19th century, hockey continued to grow in Canada. Major developments in the national identity formation of the game came when Canada, represented by the Winnipeg Falcons took gold in the 1920 Olympic Games in Antwerp and when in 1967, the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA) was formed. Originally headquartered in Winnipeg, and now in Calgary, this group later became Hockey Canada, the organisation that governs ice hockey in

Canada and oversees the national team. According to Hockey Canada, Canada now has over 600,000 players under the age of 18, while 1.3 million Canadians over the age of 15 play the sport (CBCNews, 2013). Approximately one fourth of men and children under the age of 15 that are active in sports play ice hockey, while the number of female hockey registrations with Hockey Canada increased by more than 1000% between 1990 and 2010, from 8,146 to 85,624 (Hockey Canada, 2017). This shows the dominance of ice hockey as a participatory sport and its importance in Canadian society. Indeed, in 2012, 48% of Canadians expressed that hockey was an important source of personal or collective pride in the country (CBCNews, 2013). This was lower than many other national symbols such as the Canadian flag or the healthcare system, but open comparisons of hockey to the national flag itself illustrates its importance in this respect.

Hockey is thus also the case study that most blatantly relies upon aspects of identity for consecrating its place in Canadian society. Indeed, the National Sports of Canada Act, enacted in 1994, declared ice hockey to be the national winter sport of Canada (Government of Canada, 2017). However, it has long served this de facto role. Summarising how hockey is seen as bound up with the Canadian experience, former Member of Parliament, Nelson Riis, described it this way when he made a motion on behalf of the National Sports of Canada Act on April 27th, 1994:

I will begin my short speech by quoting Bruce Kidd who said in the book *Welcome Home* by Stuart McLean: ‘Hockey is the Canadian metaphor. The rink is a symbol of this country's vast stretches of water and wilderness, its extremes of climate... Unsure as we are about who we are, we know at least this about ourselves: We are hockey players and we are hockey fans’.

It is safe to say that hockey matters to all of us, in Quebec and the rest of Canada. It is part of our culture. It is key to the understanding of Canada. It is the perfect game on

the perfect Canadian medium in the perfect Canadian season...It is certainly fair to say it is much more than a game in our country.

There is nothing more identifiably Canadian to the rest of the world than our game of hockey. (Open Parliament)

Summarising the end product of this Act of Parliament, Member of Parliament Suzanne Tremblay asserts later in the debate:

Making hockey our national sport gives Canada another symbol. We had the beaver, the national anthem, the flag, now we have two national sports: lacrosse in the summer, and hockey in the winter. So these are important elements of our national identity. (Open Parliament)

This second paragraph, and indeed the whole of this parliamentary discourse, is included to advance the conversations of processes of cultural consecration from Chapter 2 and give a real world example of how this is done in the context of Canadian sport. Suzanne Tremblay was interrupted at this point by a colleague who exclaimed ‘She really knows her hockey(!)’ (Open Parliament). The expression of surprise given by this member of parliament illustrates some of the gendered aspects bound up in sport and also in national identity formation, especially with regards to ice hockey in Canada. It appears in this exchange that at least this colleague was surprised that a woman would know much about hockey, illustrating how the default position of ice hockey within society is as a ‘male preserve’ (Dunning, 1994).

Similarly, female sports fandom is often marginalised as superficial and inauthentic compared to male understandings of sport (Dunn, 2014; Pope, 2011; 2017; Toffoletti and Mewett, 2012). However, the arguments by the previous MP suggested that there is not a single Canadian that did not understand the sentiments that he was expressing. The way that both of these things can be true is if women are not a significant consideration in the

formation of national identity. Indeed, numerous studies illustrate the gendered disparity in the role of sports for harnessing patriotism and representing national identity, and this is especially true with respect to visual representations in the media of national heroes (Coche and Tuggle, 2016; Godoy-Pressland, 2014; Godoy-Pressland and Griggs, 2014; Sherry et al, 2016; Tseng, 2016). This parliamentary discussion highlights hockey's place in creating and sustaining national identity in Canada. Indeed, the second member of parliament cited here placed these two sports alongside the flag and the national anthem as symbols of Canada. Hockey's place alongside the flag and the national anthem echoes Anderson's *Imagined Communities* 'because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson, [1983] 2006: 7).

However, unlike these symbols representing Canada, there is an explicit embodied image of a hockey player. In reference to placing hockey alongside the flag of Canada, the jerseys of the Canadian ice hockey team show an ice hockey player silhouetted against the backdrop of a red maple leaf, the symbol that appears on the flag of the country. The embodied images of hockey players in turn give an anthropomorphised image to the Canadian identity and the ideals of Canadian society. Given the outline of the majority of participants in this sport in this section and in Chapter 6, along with the general history of Canada, it can be seen how hockey could thus embody traditional Canadian ideals. Hockey is therefore the ideal sport for the perpetuating of these dynamics of Canadian identity and ideal constitution. This is particularly true for national ideals that intersect with ideals of race and masculinity. The overwhelming whiteness and masculinity of ice hockey serves to undergird and 'produce an embodied nationalism that is White and male' (Krebs, 2012: 85).

The parliamentary discussion here also illustrates how societal elites consecrate certain forms of culture as worthy of societal praise and ascribe a value to them that ultimately pervade the cultural zeitgeist. This consecration is justified through discourses like the parliamentary discussion above. These are the kind of processes by which societal elites consecrate and institutionalise aspects of culture, a process from which sport is not immune. Government consecration is of particular influence in the realm of sport in this respect because of funding structures that support various sports which are meant to represent and promote national identity.

Basketball

Invented by a Canadian emigrant to the United States, Dr James Naismith, in the late 19th century, basketball ultimately has its roots and most of its popularity south of the border. However, basketball has been played in Canada ever since its invention, with many participants in the first ever game in 1891 being university students from Quebec (NBA, 2002). Although this sport was introduced slightly after hockey, basketball has been played in an organised form in Canada for almost as many years. At the youth level, 16.3% of active children between the ages of 5 and 14 played basketball as of 2010 (Canadian Heritage, 2013) and 9% of parents in 2017 indicated that they plan to enrol their children in basketball (Alini, 2017). This makes it the fourth most played sport by Canadian children. Over the age of 15, the overall participation rate in basketball is 1.8% and 7.1% of those active in sport (Canadian Heritage, 2013). The gender gap in basketball participation in Canada is also quite high. Active males over the age of 15 participate in basketball at almost three times the rate of females, with 8.9% of active males choosing basketball and 3.2% of active females choosing the sport. Financial barriers are comparatively lower, with a total price tag of around C\$310 per child per year to be outfitted for participation (CBC, 2013). Parents

anticipated on average that they would need to spend around C\$250 for one of their children to play basketball for the year (Alini, 2017), the second lowest of any anticipated parental spend for a sport. Basketball thus has one of the lowest economic barriers to entry. This is true at both the recreations and more competitive ranks.

Talent evaluation and elite development starts young in basketball. While basketball is connected to school based teams all the way through to the professional ranks and the NBA, elite AAU (Amateur Athletic Union, also synonymous with extra-scholastic travel circuit) travelling teams can start as young as under seven-year-old teams. The elite AAU circuit occurs mostly during the summer months and is the primary place for US collegiate and also professional league scouts to evaluate players against other elite players that they might not play against while playing for their school based teams.

The AAU circuit is the primary conduit for the most talented basketball players to enter the collegiate system in the United States and ultimately also the professional ranks. Although these elite teams are less pervasive in Canada than they are in the United States, the recent influx of Canadian talent into the NBA has indeed been facilitated by this kind of elite development. Entrance into this elite development pipeline likewise has lower barriers to entry than many other sports. Generally, all of those of a requisite height (and accompany minimum level of skill) will be recruited into this pipeline, regardless of socio-economic status. Those who do not possess these same physical profiles, however, may have to work harder to get noticed, a process that is likely to include travel to tournaments and camps (and their associated registration and potential lodging fees) to get noticed. Overall, however, barriers to basketball are among the lowest of all sports.

Volleyball

Invented at a YMCA in the United States in 1895, the sport of volleyball spread to YMCAs in Canada in 1900 (Volleyball.org, 2017). A relatively minor sport in terms of spectatorship and cultural influence throughout history, volleyball is more popular when it comes to direct participation today. In terms of participation rates amongst children, 8.2% of active children between the ages of 5 and 14 played volleyball in 2010 (Canadian Heritage, 2013). In 2017, 5% of parents indicated that they planned to enrol their children in volleyball, with an anticipated spend of approximately C\$270 per child per year (Alini, 2017). This makes volleyball one of the more affordable sports for children to play but still more expensive than others, such as basketball. Among those aged 15 years and older, volleyball is the fifth most popular participatory sport for the country on the whole, with an overall participation rate of 1.9% (Canadian Heritage, 2013). Among active persons over the age of 15, 9.3% of women participated in volleyball and 6.4% of men participated, bringing the total active participation rate among adults in Canada to 7.4% (Canadian Heritage, 2013). Introduction to volleyball usually happens in elementary schools and a scholastic connection with volleyball is common throughout the educational cycle. After elementary school there are increasing opportunities to play the sport outside of the school environment. Volleyball Canada is the body that oversees volleyball competitions and development in Canada. They have targeted programs to increase participation and develop players both inside and outside of the school system, ultimately also running regional and national excellence programs that groom potential talent for the national teams of Canada (Volleyball Canada, 2017). The Canadian national volleyball teams (beach, indoor, and sitting) participate on the international stage in numerous competitions, including the Olympics and Paralympics.

Ultimately, economic barriers to entry are low, as are cultural capital barriers to entry. This said, as many volleyball programs and facilities are located in the scholastic system, there may be some educational barriers associated with volleyball, such as the school being able to

afford a volleyball program. Volleyball is still one of the sports with the fewest obvious requirements for the possession of economic or cultural capital. This is often the case with sports located within the public scholastic system, where students participate freely in these sports within a required sports and recreation curriculum and pay decreased costs to competitively play these sports for school teams. At the adult level volleyball and especially basketball courts are available in public parks, and requiring little equipment, sports such as these can be played at a relatively low cost.

Golf

Golf has medieval and early modern origins in the British Isles. However, it did not start to grow significantly in Canada until near the turn of the 20th Century, with the founding of Golf Canada coming in 1895 (Golf Canada, 2017). While Canada had six golf clubs in 1889, by 1902 this number increased to fifty clubs (Golf Canada, 2017). Golf in Canada took off even further a generation ago with an expansion of participation amongst the Baby Boomer generation (CBC, 2012). Today golf is the most popular participatory sport for Canadian adults. Among Canadians 15 years of age and older the participation rate in golf is 5.2% (Canadian Heritage, 2013). However, among active adults over the age of 15, the participation rate soars to 20.3% (Canadian Heritage, 2013). Males are significantly more likely than females to participate in golf with 22.7% of active males, and 15.2% of active females participating in Canada (Canadian Heritage, 2013). The only two sports with a wider gap between males and females are ice hockey and swimming. For ice hockey, the participation rate for active males is 23.2%, while for females it is a mere 4.4% (Canadian Heritage, 2013). The gender gap for swimming is only slightly higher than golf's, and shows an inverse relationship to both golf and hockey with 11.1% of active females participating and only 2.5% of active males (Canadian Heritage, 2013).

The golf participation rates among children are significantly lower than these figures for adults. The Canadian participation rates for children aged 5 to 14 was 2.1% in 2010, one of the very lowest of any sport and less than half of the 5.2% rate in 2005 (Canadian Heritage, 2013). The governing body of golf in Canada, Golf Canada, is seeking to change that with its ‘Golf in Schools’ program. The Golf in Schools program designs training programs that schools can implement for elementary school aged children through to high schools. At the elementary school level, sample programs include learning to put and participation in target practice for grades one through three, while grades four and five learn how to chip (Golf Canada, 2016a). According to Golf Canada, as of 2016, the Golf in Schools program has a presence in 3,108 schools across the country (Golf Canada, 2016).

The initiative to enter schools is a smart one given the financial and cultural barriers to entry for golf. Greens fees for a round of golf, which for a junior golfer are usually a minimum of CAD\$15 per round, but if accompanied by one adult, the minimum one should be expected to pay approaches C\$50 for a few hours on the course (Golf Canada, 2014). If one wants to become a member at a ‘middle of the road golf course in a typical Canadian community’, the average membership fee will be about CAD\$3,000 (Robinson, 2012). This does not include the cost of clubs, which at minimum will be in the hundreds of dollars and because they are size specific, are hard to share amongst a family. There are also cultural barriers to entry that accompany these financial barriers. Much of these cultural barriers revolve around visual performance and dress (see also example given in Chapter 2). These barriers can also be seen in other club based individual sports such as tennis where, clubs may require that ‘All tennis players, including children, are required to wear apparel designed and sold specifically for the purpose of playing tennis’ (Palm Springs Tennis Club, 2017).

Downhill skiing

Like golf (and tennis), downhill skiing has traditionally, and contemporarily, been seen as an elite pursuit. This is true even as, like golf, participation rates are actually quite high. Among Canadians aged 15 years and older, downhill, or alpine, skiing has the seventh highest overall participation rate. The overall participation rate among this demographic for the whole of Canada was 1.6% in 2010 (Canadian Heritage, 2013). Among active adults in this age category, 6.1% participate in downhill skiing, with rates among males and females being 6.0% and 6.4%, respectively (Canadian Heritage, 2013). Also like golf, children have slightly lower rates of participation than their adult counterparts. Among children between the ages of 5 and 14, the participation rate in downhill skiing was 4.6% in 2010, down from 5.0% in 2005 and 6.7% in 1998 (Canadian Heritage, 2010). Elite downhill skiing in Canada is represented and overseen by Alpine Canada. Alpine Canada is responsible for the development of the Canadian alpine, para-alpine, and ski cross teams that participate at the Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games.

While there are hundreds of ski resorts in Canada, access to downhill skiing can be restrictive. Many of these ski resorts and ski areas are located in areas not easily accessible by public transportation. Therefore, in order to go to many of these locations a personal vehicle is likely needed, or some other form of private transportation. However, even if public transportation is available many are not within easy access for day trips and require more than one day. As Bourdieu (1984) described, free time is an extension of economic capital, not to mention any lodging costs accrued by the stay. Ski equipment can run in the hundreds, or even thousands of dollars. Once at ski resorts, if one does not own ski equipment, there is the expense of ski rentals. There is the additional cost of lift tickets. Adult weekday lift ticket prices in Canada range from CAD\$20 to CAD\$140 (onthesnow.com, 2017). Tickets for the weekend will be more expensive than weekday lift tickets and sometimes sold on two day

minimums. In the United States, the average weekend lift ticket was more than USD\$85 (Lovitt, 2013). For all these reasons, downhill skiing has been an elite sporting pursuit, which Bourdieu (1984) acknowledges. It still functions in this way, often pricing out even the middle classes (Lovitt, 2013). Indeed, in the United States, as of a 2013 CNBC article, ‘54 percent of skier visits, defined as one skier/snowboarder riding for one day, came from households earning more than (USD)\$100,000, according to the National Ski Areas Association (NSAA). That's up from 48 percent five years ago, a 12.5 percent increase’ (Lovitt, 2013). Therefore, the sport of downhill skiing is a highly economic capital intensive sport in which to participate. This is true not least because of the free time needed to go downhill skiing on a regular basis. There are also exclusionary cultural capital aspects, such as negotiating the environment of the ski chalet, which in many respects may echo the cultural barriers of dress and proper etiquette of the golf club. However, while a few of these sports, particularly tennis and golf, exhibit exclusionary elements of cultural capital, all of these sports suggest that economic barriers of entry have greater exclusionary power for restricting access to participation in these sports.

Table 3.1 Summary contextual information of example participatory sports in Canada (ordered approximately from most to least capital intensive)

	Youth participation ¹	Adult participation ¹	Adult sex breakdown (female/male) ¹	Cost (youth)	Cultural Capital/other barriers to entry
Downhill Skiing	4.6%	6.1%	6.4% / 6.0%	High	-Some cultural capital barriers for dress and negotiating the etiquettes of ski chalets but perhaps fewer than golf. -Very high economic capital requirements, including free time, means of transportation to ski area, and requisite equipment.
Golf	2.1%	20.3%	15.2% / 22.7%	High	-High cultural capital barriers of entry surrounding proper dress and knowledge of etiquette. The clubhouse of golf courses are also high cultural capital locations.
Ice Hockey	22.0%	17.1%	4.4% / 23.2%	C\$740+	-Few cultural capital barriers -Access to ice time requires time flexibility, monetary resources, and supply is greater in wealthier locales
Volleyball	8.2%	7.4%	9.3% / 6.4%	C\$270	-Few obvious cultural capital barriers save for some linkages with the scholastic system
Basketball	16.3%	7.1%	3.2% / 8.9%	C\$310	-Few cultural capital or other barriers

¹Among active population

3.4 Professional Sports in contemporary Canada

Professional sports are a persistent cultural influence in many societies. Canada is no different. Professional sports are also a big business in Canada. As mentioned earlier, there are currently nine professional sports franchises from the four big North American sports leagues (National Football League (NFL), National Basketball Association (NBA), National Hockey League (NHL), Major League Baseball (MLB)), that are located in Canadian cities. The sports media that covers this professional sporting landscape is also vast and varied, with television rights contracts for coverage running into billions of dollars. Including Major League Soccer (MLS) and the Canadian Football League (CFL), there are six pre-eminent sports leagues in North America. The NFL is the only one of these leagues that does not field a team in Canada. However, gridiron football is well represented as the CFL is a Canada-only league, with no teams in the United States. Including nine teams, the CFL makes up almost half of Canadian representation in these six big North American professional sports leagues. With seven Canadian NHL teams, three MLS teams, one MLB team, and one NBA team, there are a total of twelve sports teams in these big leagues, excluding the CFL.

There are a total of 113 teams in these four leagues; this means that just over 10% of these leagues are Canadian. When the final two country specific gridiron football leagues are included, the total number of teams in these six largest North American leagues comes to 154 teams. With twenty-one of these teams being Canadian, just over 13% of these leagues are Canadian. While these percentages seem rather a low share when these leagues span only two countries, it is close to being in line with the relative population difference between Canada and the United States. According to the United States Census Bureau (2017), the 2017 population of the United States was 326 million people. According to Statistics Canada (2017), Canada has a population approaching 36 million people. With a combined population

of 362 million people, Canada's share of approximately 10% of this total is in line with its sports representation, as manifested by the presence of professional sports teams in these six largest North American Leagues.

However, various teams have varying populations per team for each league. While the total average number of individuals per professional team in these leagues is 2.35 million, this ranges greatly by league, particularly in Canada. For instance, being the only team in each of their respective leagues in Canada, the Toronto Raptors and Toronto Blue Jays represent one NBA team and one MLB team per 36 million persons in Canada. For the three MLS teams, this ratio is 12 million Canadians per MLS franchise. The NHL and CFL have the smallest numbers of people per team in Canada. However, they are still significantly higher than the 2.35-million-person average per team in these six North American sports leagues. With seven NHL teams in Canada, and nine CFL teams, there are just over 5 million people per NHL team and around 4 million Canadians per CFL team. These numbers, of course, do not reflect other US based teams from these leagues that Canadians may follow but rather they give some context to the relative density of professional sports teams in Canada by which the connections of Canadian people to these professional sports teams can perhaps be better understood.

Modes of professional sports following

This section also highlights some of the ways in which persons may follow these professional sports leagues in Canada. While, as demonstrated below in the discussions of each league, there are various levels of economic barriers to entry for in person attendance at games, economic capital requirements to follow these leagues in other ways are more diffuse. While good data on the numbers that utilise any of these various methods are elusive, we will

briefly now discuss some of these methods. Television is still the pre-eminent sports media platform. This is demonstrated through the high ratings for live sports on television and in the large television rights contracts by which media companies pay millions, and in many cases billions, of dollars to televise these different sports leagues. Because of its nature as live entertainment, the entertainment segment that is live sport is still one of the few areas of television programming that may still be considered as appointment viewing. Along with physical television programming, these media companies also pay for the rights to stream this live content.

Therefore, *legal* sports streaming is controlled by the same media companies that televise games, thereby making this streaming essentially the same as television programming. Indeed, oftentimes the live online streaming feeds will be mirrors of the television feed, outfitted with the same commercial content, in-game announcers, graphical displays, and in-game studio interruptions. While the content of this live streaming is mostly identical to the television content, the way that a viewer is able to access the content is different. In the age of cable ‘cord-cutting’ (moving away from traditional television arrangements to other platforms such as web streaming on alternative devices), the traditional way that television channels enter people’s homes varies dramatically. The world of sports media is no different. In most instances, having cable access to a certain television station will give access to live streaming of that television channel, provided that the television station provides this service. TSN (The Sports Network), Canada’s counterpart to ESPN (Entertainment and Sports Programming Network) in the United States, is an example of this kind of service where having access to TSN in a television package will also give access to live streaming television programmes of the network, including live sport. As of 2015, TSN had nearly 9 million total subscribers across Canada (Shoalts, 2016). Even so, in the five-year period between 2011 and 2015, TSN lost about 200,000 subscribers (Strashin, 2017). This decline in

television subscriber bases as a result of cord cutting has made sports broadcasters adopt new methods of monetising their content. While it has been pointed out that these numbers do not represent a drastic decline, or indeed an epidemic of cord cutting as some assert, it has none the less led to a hole in the revenue streams of these media companies that they seek to fill in alternative ways (Jackson, 2017).

One example of this is the live streaming service of all NHL games that is provided by Rogers Communications, called Rogers NHL Live. This service allows Canadians to live stream almost every NHL game throughout the season from any team in the league. The cost of this live streaming service from Rogers for the full 2017-2018 season was \$199.99 (Rogers, 2017). Alternatively, this service can be purchased on a monthly basis for a cost of \$29.99 a month, as of the 2017-2018 NHL season (Rogers, 2017). Similarly, Canadian fans of the NFL can now stream live NFL games through their 'smart TVs tablets, smartphones, and game consoles' (Jackson, 2017). This is because a company called DAZN, a type of 'Netflix of Sports' (Jackson, 2017), has entered the Canadian market, one of five national markets, along with Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Japan, in which DAZN is now available (DAZN, 2017). This live streaming for the NFL costs \$150 for a full year's subscription to the service, or \$20 per month (Jackson, 2017).

In comparison to these numbers, the average total monthly bill for the cable TV subscriber in Canada was \$66.08, as of 2015 (Evans, 2016). Therefore, the monthly cost to stream NHL games is nearly half of the monthly cost for access to a cable TV package that includes dozens of television channels. This is thus a relatively high cost to live stream NHL games for a full season. For these costs or other reasons, illegal online streaming of live sports is prevalent. While good data on the volume of illegal sports streaming in Canada is lacking, a recent survey undertaken by the BBC of online soccer streaming among premier league fans

in the UK found that, ‘Nearly half of fans say they have streamed a match online through an unofficial provider - just over a third do so at least once a month and about one in five at least once a week’ (BBC, 2017).

Fantasy sport

Another relatively recent development in the way that fans might follow sports includes the rise of fantasy sport⁴. However, the phenomenon of fantasy sport did indeed start before the data used in this research was collected. Indeed, fantasy sports first started appearing online in the mid 1990s and as early as 2003, there were over 15 million fantasy sports players in the US and Canada (FSTA, 2017). While not as recent on the sports media landscape as online streaming, fantasy sports have grown into a big business since their inception. While there are free fantasy services that also facilitate the following of the various leagues, the world of fantasy sports is also a location by which alternative forms of gambling can be engaged. Indeed, according to Fantasy Sports Trade Association (FSTA, 2017), the average per person spend on fantasy sports in 2017 was USD\$556 per person the US and Canada (FSTA, 2017). With 59.3 total fantasy sports players in this year (FSTA, 2017), the total fantasy sports expenditure in the US and Canada was almost USD\$33 billion. Table 3.2 shows a comparison of fantasy sports participation between the US and Canada, as gathered by research from the FSTA (FSTA, 2017). Fantasy sports is ultimately a location of sports consumption that more precisely facilitates the following of a specific professional sports league as a whole. This is because fantasy sports teams will include players from a variety of different teams from around these leagues.

⁴ Fantasy sports are virtual games by which fantasy sports players choose a number of actual players in a given league, earning points depending on the real-world performance of those players in the given sporting contests of a given period of time, often a whole season. Fantasy sports are often played for money, in a similar fashion to gambling, but can (and are) played in free leagues as well.

Table 3.2. Percentage of fantasy sports players compared to the general population in the United States and Canada (12 years of age or older), 2017

	United States	Canada
Teens	34%	21%
Adults	18%	19%
Female	8%	5%
Male	19%	20%
Total	21%	19%

As illustrated by Table 3.2, total fantasy sports participation in the US and Canada in 2017 are of similar percentages, 21% and 19%, respectively. For both countries, teens have a higher frequency of fantasy sports participation, even as for Canada it is a very slight difference to the rate of adults who play fantasy sports. Other publicly gathered demographic information gathered by this organisation include sex, age, and measures of economic and cultural capital such as household income and education. The sex split between fantasy sports players in the US and Canada was 66% male and 34% female (FSTA, 2017). Academic research from different national contexts has both quantitatively and qualitatively supported this kind of conclusion of male dominance in the realm of fantasy sports (Howie and Campbell, 2015; Lee et al, 2013; Ruihey and Hardin, 2010). The average age of the fantasy sports player in 2017 was 38.6 (FSTA, 2017).

Markers of socio-economic status show the participant in fantasy sports to be slightly more well off than the population, with 51% of fantasy sports players also come from households with an income above USD\$75,000 (FSTA, 2017). This is compared to a national median household income of \$70,000 (Statistics Canada, 2017). Likewise, 66% of fantasy sports players have a college degree (FSTA, 2017), a figure many points higher than the OECD figures for tertiary educational attainment among 25-64 year olds of 45.7% in the United States and 56.3% in Canada (OECD, 2016). The rate of fantasy sports players that pay a league fee as part of their engagement in fantasy sports is 70% (FSTA, 2017). Therefore, fantasy sports often come with some financial barriers for participation. Indeed, depending on

the league, playing fantasy sports is akin to gambling on sports, an activity which requires participants to have disposable income or enter into debt if they have substantial losses.

Regarding the consumption of professional sports, it has often been viewed as a more lowbrow cultural activity (Bourdieu, 1978), with a few exceptions. For example, class difference was found in Australia (Ward, 2009) between high status persons who followed tennis and cricket and lower status persons who consumed rugby league and motor sports. Likewise, in the United Kingdom, a number of scholars have observed class differences between higher status persons who consume rugby union and working class persons who consume soccer (Collins, 2009; Holt, 1992; Kitson, 2011; Pope, 2015). Indeed, when describing the general cultural connotations of the sports fan, and indeed the ‘fan’ more generally, Crawford (2006: 20) writes:

A fan is generally viewed as an ‘obsessed’ individual: someone who has an intense interest in a certain team, celebrity, show, band or similar. The term ‘fan’ is also one that is most frequently associated only with forms of popular culture. To be a fan most commonly signifies an interest in popular music, sport, television or film. As Jenson (1992) suggests, to have an interest in what is deemed ‘high culture’ (such as art or literature) is to be seen as an aficionado’ or even a scholar. Fans have often been viewed, particularly in much of the earlier literature on the subject, as somehow ‘deviant’. Fans are dangerous, often hysterical ‘fanatics’, portrayed as either the ‘obsessed loner’ or the ‘frenzied/hysterical crowd member’ (Jenson, 1992: 9).

These general social ascriptions of the value to consuming non-participatory sport, as exemplified through the sports fan, thus fits into our discussions of Bourdieu from Chapter 2 where being a fan of sport is often characterised as a traditionally lowbrow cultural activity because of a lack of intellectualised distancing from the consumption experience. This form of distinction is also made in negative referent to those groups of people who have traditionally populated this group of the sport fan. This is particularly true out of the

European context of Bourdieu, where by far the sport with the largest fan base, soccer, is generally associated with those from the lower class strata of society and those of higher social class positions view soccer fans in this manner. To this point, I now move on to discuss each of the professional sports leagues in Canada that this thesis examines. These discussions will introduce the landscape of each league in Canada, in terms of physical and cultural location. While it is true that sports fandom generally has been traditionally considered a lowbrow cultural activity, there may indeed be differentiations in the social value placed upon fandom between these various sports. Likewise, contemporary rises in ticket prices may also have changed some of these dynamics for certain contexts. Ascertaining such differentiations is a primary goal for this thesis and is examined further in the next two chapters. I will now offer an overview of the major North American professional sports leagues.

CFL and NFL

The National Football League is the most profitable sports league in the world and by far the largest in terms of revenue. However, it is a fully American league, with all 32 franchises within the borders of the contiguous United States; there are no NFL teams currently in Canada. Rather, the Canadian Football League (CFL) operates nine franchises. This does not mean that the NFL does not have a substantial presence north of the border. On the contrary, when NFL television ratings took a dip in the United States in 2016, the ratings for the NFL in Canada increased almost ten percent, including more than a 25% increase among young adults aged 18-34 (Kryk, 2016). There have also been rumours over the years of a potential NFL franchise moving to Toronto, with the current franchise in Buffalo, New York the most likely to do so. While Buffalo has also played on average one home game a year in Toronto

between the years 2008 and 2013, there is no immanent move pending for the NFL into Canada (The Associated Press, 2014).

The CFL therefore has a monopoly of in person gridiron football entertainment in Canada.

Because the majority of teams do not make their accounting books public, much less is known about CFL revenues. The average home attendance during 2018 was almost 24,200.

Western Canadian teams are much better attended than those teams in the east of the country.

The average 2018 attendance for the five western CFL teams was 27,850, while the average attendance for the four eastern CFL teams was 19,634. The team with the highest attendance

was Edmonton, with 32,835 per home game, while the lowest attended team was in the country's largest city, Toronto, with 14,192 spectators per home game (Edwards, 2018a).

Season tickets for the Toronto Argonauts range in price from CAD\$199 to CAD\$1,999

(Toronto Argonauts, 2017). These packages include two preseason games, eighteen regular

season games, and any playoff games (Toronto Argonauts, 2017). Therefore, if the team does

not make the playoffs, there are no playoff games, this means that the range of prices per game for season tickets holders range from CAD\$10 per game up to CAD\$100 per game.

In 2018, the CFL team in Saskatchewan was first in terms of television viewership with an average audience of 717,958, followed by Edmonton with 571,583, Hamilton (555,675),

Calgary (543,183), Winnipeg (540,258), Toronto (503,473), B.C. (500,964), Montreal

(477,317), and Ottawa (449,750) (Edwards, 2018b). These numbers are a particularly

impressive feat given that that the total population of Saskatchewan is approximately 1.3

(Statistics Canada, 2017). Therefore, in the provincial markets in which they play, the teams

like Saskatchewan command a significant share of the television viewership and teams in

smaller cities such as Edmonton likewise does so within their metropolitan area TV market.

This is especially so compared to the relative television audiences of major eastern

metropolitan centres such as Toronto and Montreal. While all of these games are nationally televised, these numbers hint at the popularity of these contests in the various cities and regions that host CFL teams. Additionally, while there are more NHL games, and it is hard to compare national and regional television ratings, regional television ratings for the various NHL teams fall slightly short of the CFL ratings, even as the CFL's television contract with TSN is only worth CAD\$40 million per year, a fraction of the NHL's television deal (Ralph, 2013). This is so even though the Grey Cup, the CFL's championship game and its equivalent to the Super Bowl in the NFL, saw an average audience of 4.3 million viewers, with nearly 10 million tuning in at some point in the game (CFL.ca Staff, 2017).

The CFL, then, while not a juggernaut on par with the other major professional sports leagues in terms of revenue, certainly shows a popularity in Canada that is worthy of study and inclusion in this research. The CFL is one of the most regionally specific sports on the professional sporting landscape in Canada. The rates of CFL following ranged from 47% in Saskatchewan and Manitoba to 9% in Atlantic Canada (Zelkovich, 2016). There therefore seems to be a strong West/East divide in the consumption of the CFL.

National Hockey League (NHL)

As discussed earlier in this chapter, from the contextual information available, and indeed previous academic studies and theorisations, this thesis hypothesises the playing of ice hockey in Canada to be a sport of the middle and upper classes. However, being a fan of professional hockey may take on a different cultural connotation in Canada. Indeed, describing the dynamics of the cultural consumption discussion of this research from Chapter 2, Gruneau and Whitson (1993:12) examine the socio-cultural position by saying:

If professional hockey players have often been uncomfortable with the highbrow world of art and culture, the reverse has arguably been just as true. Canadians with highbrow sensibilities may occasionally watch and enjoy hockey, but the game doesn't seem to have undergone the kind of cultural gentrification that we sometimes find, for example, associated with baseball. On the contrary, hockey has long been subjected to intellectual snobbery. It is a game whose sheer physicality and potential for seemingly random violence have been at odds with an intellectual sensibility that has valued control of the emotions and the cultivation of taste for "finer" things.

By far Canada's most popular professional sports league, no study of sport in Canada would be complete without reference to this critical component of Canadian sport. As the quote above illustrates, fandom of professional hockey in Canada may ultimately be considered a lower brow form of culture. The NHL boasts seven Canadian franchises, all in different cities across the country. With the addition of Las Vegas as the NHL's 31st franchise, this means that just under a quarter of NHL teams are located in a Canadian city. This is slightly down from the peak percentage of 31% of the league in 1995, before the Quebec Nordiques moved to Colorado and eight out of twenty-six NHL teams were in Canada. The two most prominent NHL teams are the Montreal Canadiens, who have won the Stanley Cup, NHL's championship trophy, twenty-four times, and the Toronto Maple Leafs, who play in Canada's largest city. These two teams also have the largest fan bases in the country (Battle, 2017) and are two of the three most valuable NHL franchises. The Montreal Canadiens had a value of USD\$1.3 billion and the Toronto Maple Leafs had a total value of USD\$1.45 billion (Forbes, 2018c). The remaining five teams have a combined market value of USD\$2.6 billion (Forbes, 2018c).

With various sized venues and markets, it is hard to compare attendance between the NHL teams in Canada. While Winnipeg attracted 15,731 spectators per home game during the 2016-2017 NHL season, this is 107.5% of their building's listed capacity (ESPN, 2017). In

contrast, the Ottawa Senators, who have the second lowest attendance among Canadian NHL teams, attracted an average attendance of 16,744, which only filled 87.4% of their arena's capacity (ESPN, 2017). Ottawa and Winnipeg, however, are the outliers, with the other five Canadian teams drawing average crowds of over 18,000 fans, which filled more than 97% of their arenas' capacities during the 2016-2017 NHL season (ESPN, 2017). NHL games are some of the most expensive entertainment tickets in the markets that they inhabit. For the Toronto Maple Leafs, the average price for an upper bowl season ticket is CAD\$80 per game, while buying it as a single game ticket directly from the organisation averages CAD\$108 per ticket and CAD\$141 on the secondary ticket market, as demand outpaces a static supply (Campbell, 2017). For lower bowl tickets, the average season ticket price is CAD\$195 per game, while these tickets are, on average, CAD\$234 when purchased directly from the team at the box office and CAD\$250 on the ticket resale market (Campbell, 2017). This means that the average season ticket price to sit in the upper part of the arena for a whole Leafs season is about CAD\$3,300 per seat, while for the lower section of the arena the average season ticket approaches CAD\$10,000. Additionally, for a family of four to sit in this lower bowl, the ticket prices alone for a single game will approach CAD\$1,000, not including costs associated with transportation or concessions. The Maple Leafs, and the NHL generally, are therefore the most expensive sporting experience in Canada for in person spectators and fans. It is one of the reasons for a sense of 'corporatisation' of the in person spectating audience at Maple Leaf's games, NHL games, and professional sports games generally in Canada.

In 2013, Rogers Communications made a CAD\$5.2 billion bid for the national broadcasting rights for the NHL between 2014 and 2026 (CBC News, 2013). This is more than twice the USD\$2 billion price tag that American broadcaster NBC paid for a ten-year television contract to broadcast nationally in the United States in 2011 (CBC News, 2013). Because the television networks owned by Rogers Communications are accessed by fewer people than

channels of the CBC, Rogers partnered in this deal with the CBC in order to keep the CBC's famed 'Hockey Night in Canada' available to a wider audience (Harrison, 2013). Hockey Night in Canada usually presents two games, one in a prime time eastern time zone slot and one immediately following, in a prime time slot for in the west. During the 2016-2017 NHL season, the prime time game for the east drew an average of 1.78 million viewers, while the later game of the doubleheader drew an average national audience of 806,600 television viewers. Nationally televised playoff games, however, saw an average of 3.64 million people watch the first round series between the Toronto Maple Leafs and the Washington Capitals (The Canadian Press, 2017). Each NHL team also has a local or regional television sports network that televises the entirety of their games. The regional television ratings for Toronto Maple Leaf games saw each game garnering an average viewing audience of 511,000 during the 2016-2017 season (McGran, 2017). The most popular team for Canadians to watch on television, however, may be the Montreal Canadiens, who, when the French and English language audiences are considered together, can beat the ratings for the Maple Leafs (Montreal Gazette, 2014).

The NHL has been, and is still, the preeminent professional sporting league in the Canadian market. While professional hockey players did not compete in the 2018 Olympics, the NHL also produces the member of hockey's Team Canada, which has produced some of the most prominent moments in Canadian sports history. One such moment came on the 28th of February, 2010. The final day of the Winter Olympics in Vancouver was a momentous mega event in the lifetime of Canadian sport. On this day, the highly anticipated gold medal ice hockey game matched Team Canada against Team USA. Tied at the end of regulation, the game went into overtime where Canada's captain and most well-known player, Sydney Crosby, scored the winning goal to massive celebrations inside and outside the arena, as well as across the country. It was the 'apex of television' in Canada, Canada's most watched

television broadcast of all time, drawing an average television audience of nearly 17 million (Hockey Canada, 2010). Even more watched some of the game and the final moments. The number of people in Canada that watched at least some of the game was 26.4 million, while the number that were watching at the time of Sydney Crosby's goal totalled 22 million – approximately a third of the entire population of the country (Hockey Canada, 2010).

Therefore, the popularity of hockey in Canada, in terms of the number of people that follow the sport, suggests that this sport is a cultural product that is consumed *en mass*.

Major League Baseball (MLB)

While baseball has been played professionally longer than any of the other prominent professional sports leagues in existence in Canada today, Major League Baseball, the sports pre-eminent league, is a more recent newcomer, at least compared to the NHL and CFL. Founded in 1969, the Montreal Expos were the first MLB team in Canada. However, the Expos moved to Washington, D.C. to become the Washington Nationals in 2004. The Toronto Blue Jays, established in 1977, still play in Toronto, leaving it the only MLB team in Canada today. They are therefore, a de facto national team. This is true even as larger percentages of their support comes from the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), and from the province of Ontario more generally.

According to Forbes, the Toronto Blue Jays franchise was worth USD\$1.5 billion in 2018 (Forbes, 2018a). This franchise value places the Blue Jays 16th out of 30 MLB franchises. Toronto finished the 2017 baseball season with the fifth highest average home attendance in the league. Trailing only the largest markets and significant baseball cities such as the Los Angeles, New York, St. Louis, and San Francisco, Toronto saw a total season attendance of over 3.2 million people, averaging 39,554 per contest (ESPN, 2017). In terms of cost to attend home Blue Jays games, 2018 season tickets cost anywhere from CAD\$1,419 all the

way up to CAD\$24,511 (Toronto Blue Jays, 2017). Priced for 81 home games, these costs come out to approximately CAD\$18 per game, working their way all the way up to about CAD\$303. Purchasing tickets for single games or in smaller packages push the average single game cost slightly higher. Indeed, when other ancillary costs such as parking, food, and beverages at the game are taken into account, attending a game at the Rogers Centre, home of the Blue Jays, is the fourth most expensive in the league (Johnston, 2016). As of 2016, The total estimated cost for two people to attend a Blue Jays game came to a total of USD\$110, significantly higher than the overall average cost for attending an MLB game, which was \$78 (Johnston, 2016).

In terms of the media business of baseball in Canada, Rogers Communications, who also owns the Blue Jays, recently signed a large television contract to carry Blue Jays games. While the amount is not disclosed, the Blue Jay's previous rights contract with Rogers payed them an estimated CAD\$35 million per year, significantly less than their counterparts in the United States (Ladurantaye, 2013). Because there is only one Major League Baseball team in Canada, the Blue Jays' games are televised nationwide each time that they play. Because they have this greatly expanded audience, the television ratings for Blue Jays games are therefore comparatively quite good. The other 29 MLB teams have regional television networks that broadcast their games in the limited geographical footprint of that team. In 2016, the Toronto Blue Jays averaged over one million viewers (1.01 million) per game (Brown, 2016). Because of this geographic media advantage, Blue Jays games are viewed by significantly more people than any other team in the league. While many smaller markets had higher percentage shares of viewership, in 2016, the two teams closest to the Blue Jays in total average game television audience were the two teams in New York City, with the New York Mets averaging 215,000 per game and the New York Yankees averaging 196,000 per game (Brown, 2016). Because of these dynamics, the Toronto Blue Jays serve as a de facto national

baseball team, with a significant portion of the country coming together to communally watch one particular team. However, following of the Blue Jays is significantly higher in Toronto than it is in the rest of the country, contradicting some of the narrative that they are truly a national team in which the whole of the country takes pride.

National Basketball Association (NBA)

A recent addition to the professional sports landscape of Canada is the presence of the National Basketball Association (NBA). The NBA expanded into Canada in 1995 with the establishment of two professional franchises. The Vancouver Grizzlies lasted six years in Vancouver before moving to Memphis in 2001, becoming the Memphis Grizzlies of the NBA today. The other professional team that came to Canada in the 1995 northern expansion was the Toronto Raptors, who remain in Toronto as the sole representative of the NBA in Canada. The demographic make-up of the Toronto Raptors in the 2017-2018 was 84.2% persons of colour, mostly Black. This contrasts starkly with the Toronto Maple Leafs and the NHL more generally. As of the time of the writing of this thesis, the Maple Leafs had no players of colour on their roster. For the NHL as a whole, only around 5% of players are players of colour (Sommerstein, 2015).

In 2018, the Toronto Raptors were valued at CAD\$1.7 billion (Forbes, 2018b). This valuation means that the Toronto Raptors are an even more valuable franchise than the Toronto Maple Leafs and Montreal Canadiens. The Raptors play their games in the now Scotiabank Arena, as the Toronto headquartered bank purchased the naming rights in 2017 in a 20-year deal worth a total of CAD\$800 million (Westhead, 2017). This naming rights contract is thus worth CAD\$40 million per year, a full ten times more per year than the CAD\$4 million per year that Canada's flagship airline (Air Canada) had previously paid for the naming rights to the arena (Westhead, 2017). This is also the same arena as the Toronto Maple Leafs as it is

not uncommon for NHL and NBA teams to share the same arenas. Attendance at raptors games here are near the top of the NBA. For the 2018-2019 season, the Raptors averaged 19,824 fans per game, over 100% of capacity, placing them fourth in the league in total average attendance (ESPN, 2019). The cost of season tickets to see the Raptors play recently varied from a low of CAD\$924 for a season ticket to CAD\$10,665 (Toronto Raptors, 2017). With 41 regular season home games per season, this comes out to a range of average ticket price per game for those with season tickets to between CAD\$22.50 and CAD\$260. Tickets purchased for single games, not part of a season ticket package, can be up to two times more than these average prices per game depending on opponent and many times more for in demand games when bought on the secondary ticket market.

The television market for the Toronto Raptors resembles that of the Blue Jays because they are likewise the only professional team in the country that plays in the highest league of their sport. Therefore, almost every Toronto Raptors home game is broadcast from coast to coast in Canada. However, their average regular season television audiences trail far behind their baseball counterparts. As of the 2015-2016 NBA season, the Raptors averaged 229,000 viewers per game (Mudhar, 2016). This is almost one fourth the average audience for nationally televised Blue Jays games. However, the Raptors' viewership increases during playoff games, the most watched Raptors game ever being a 2019 playoff game in which 2.2 million viewers tuned in across Canada (The Canadian Press, 2019). While this is a solid percentage of the country, it is well below the audiences Canadian NHL teams draw during their playoff games. While Raptors games are nationally televised and they are the only NBA team in Canada, further inspection suggests that they may not necessarily be a national team. As of 2016, the percentage of people that follow the Raptors and the NBA in Toronto is 28%, far higher than the 12% rate that follow them nationally (Zelkovich, 2016). Like the CFL and

MLB, this hints at a hypothesis by which following of the NBA in Canada may be less linked to socio-economic factors, therefore providing evidence for an individualisation argument.

Major League Soccer (MLS)

The most recent addition to the Canadian sports landscape, Major League Soccer is a growing league in North America. A 24-team league, Canada currently has three teams in MLS. The first team in Canada was Toronto F.C., who entered the league in the year 2007. Toronto F.C. was followed by the Vancouver Whitecaps F.C. in 2011 and the Montreal Impact in 2012. While these teams are new to the professional soccer landscape in Canada, Toronto F.C. made it to the MLS Cup championship game in 2016, losing the final to the Seattle Sounders in a penalty kick shootout. Perhaps partly because of this recent success, Toronto F.C. is the fifth most valuable MLS franchise, with a market valuation of USD\$290 million (Bogert, 2018). The Montreal and Vancouver teams, however, are near the bottom of the league in terms of franchise value (Smith, 2017).

Attendance at Major League Soccer games in Canada has steadily grown in the years since these three franchises were founded and in 2017, the average home attendance in Montreal surpassed 20,000, surpassed 21,000 in Vancouver, and approached 28,000 for Toronto F.C. (Soccer Stadium Digest, 2017). Costs of in person attendance at MLS games are in line with the other professional sports leagues in Canada, even slightly higher in some instances. Season tickets for Toronto F.C.'s 2018 campaign range in price from CAD\$726 for the uppermost seats to CAD\$1948 for the centrally located seats near the field (Naje, 2017). With 17 regular season home games each year, this is a range in average game price of between CAD\$42 and CAD\$115. Therefore, while the high end of the price range of tickets are less than half of the Toronto Raptors, the lower end of the range has tickets that are almost double these prices.

Even as in person attendance at home games is about even between Canada's MLS teams and CFL teams, television viewership is not. MLS matches are covered on television in English by TSN, and in French by TVA (ESPN, 2017). MLS viewership for these three teams lags far behind their CFL counterparts. This is true even as MLS television audiences continue to grow. However, in 2017, Toronto F.C. averaged 93,000 viewers per match, while Vancouver and Montreal had total viewership audiences of 86,000 and 80,000, respectively (Davidson, 2017). These television numbers are fractions of the television audiences for the other professional sports in Canada. As far as following of local MLS teams in these three cities, the Vancouver Whitecaps have the highest rate of following at 18%, while Toronto and Montreal both have rates of 13% who follow the teams locally in those two cities as of 2016 (Zelkovich, 2016).

These percentages are both much higher than the national rate of MLS following of 9% (Zelkovich, 2016). Therefore, geography might indeed be a determining factor in the following of the MLS, suggesting again that the individualisation argument of cultural consumption may be the most relevant thesis of cultural consumption for describing the professional sports consumer in Canada. With the exception of ice hockey (and the NFL which does not have a team in Canada), the following of professional sports leagues in Canada appears to be fairly regional, even as many of the teams that represent these leagues also represent Canada as their sole member in these leagues. However, within regions class may still play an outsized role in structuring sports following. Because of the wide swath of teams and support across Canada for ice hockey, being a cultural product that is consumed *en masse* by Canadians, it suggests that this sport is by definition a 'popular' form of culture. According to a Bourdieusian analysis of popular cultural forms, this would suggest a socio-

economic profile by which those with lower levels of economic and cultural capital are most likely to participate.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced prominent participatory and professional sports under examination in this thesis and provided specific context as to their social location in Canada. It has thus given context to the previous and following chapters by providing Canada-specific information by which the theoretical frameworks of Chapter 2 and the empirical analysis of the subsequent chapters can be better understood. This chapter also highlights some of the interaction between the fields of cultural production and consumption of these various sports.

For example, if one does not have high levels of both cultural and economic capital, barriers for entry into golf can be quite high. This has then facilitated a response by Golf Canada to try and grow the game through the school system where these barriers may not be as pronounced. However, the availability of these programs and the success of these programs within various schools may also highly depend on cultural capital. This is to say that at wealthier schools in upscale suburban neighbourhoods, or private schools, may have higher proportions of students who come from families who participate in golf. This in turn may make these programs more popular in these schools, having a snowball effect on participation for other children in the school who, even if their families do not play golf, may come from a similarly privileged background characterised by a high primary socialisation of cultural capital.

Similar to how Bourdieu conceived of primarily socialised embodied cultural capital being institutionalised in the educational system; these dynamics could easily apply in a sporting context. The same could be said of professional sports fans. With high economic barriers to

entry, attending various sporting events from a young age may inculcate an embodied cultural capital of navigating these environments in a way that someone who has rarely or never been able to attend a game may not be able to do as deftly. Additionally, as exemplified in Chapter 2 by the example of sports analytics, even outside of the in person spectator experience, cultural capital as obtained through education may stratify and distinguish sports fans. This is true of both nuanced and intellectual understandings of the on field game product itself or in more advanced understandings of the production of this game product, such as provided by advanced sports analytics, a manifestation of relatively high levels of a formal statistical education. The relationships are more comprehensively explored in chapters 5 through 7.

In the next chapter, Chapter 4, I outline the methodology of analysing these various relationships and outline the rationale for, and implementation of, the chosen methods of analysis for this thesis.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The research in this thesis aims to find and analyse the place of sport within the cultural landscape of Canada. It thus seeks to also examine the potential socioeconomic stratification of sports consumption in this national context. In pursuit of this, numerous different, but connected, quantitative methods are utilised on large scale survey data from different survey programs in Canada. Large scale survey data has value for the specific research questions of this thesis because the data is expansive enough to start to observe relevant nationwide patterns of sports consumption and their relationship to social position within the country of Canada. The data sets for this this thesis are nationally representative, and therefore help to achieve this aim. This thesis therefore employs a research philosophy more aligned with positivistic theories of knowledge (Comte, 1974 [1855]) by concentrating on empirical observation of consumption behaviours (Matthews and Ross, 2010). It seeks to use quantitative methods for exploring and testing the theories of cultural consumption highlighted in this thesis (Mathews and Ross, 2010; see also Chapter 2). This thesis does not, however, argue for its supremacy in all cases, simply that for the purposes and research questions of this work, these approaches are most appropriate. Likewise, the conclusion of this thesis (see Chapter 8) makes recommendations in the way of further qualitative investigation of broad quantitative patterns found in the course of this work.

Because of the expansive nature of data used in this thesis, the analyses conducted are most efficaciously carried out via quantitative means. In this thesis, these quantitative methods include crosstabulations, latent class analysis (LCA), and (binary) logistic regression

analysis. The purpose of these methods is to first identify the social location of the various cultural and sporting activities where necessary. They are then used to identify more nuanced typologies of consumption within this data (using LCA). Finally, they are used to analyse the socio-economic and demographic make-up of these typologies. This process is first introduced for an intra-domain examination of each of direct sports participation and professional sports following. They are then applied to assess the consumption of sport within broader cultural lifestyles of the Canadian population.

This chapter first outlines the philosophical underpinnings of the methodological approaches of this thesis and the context under examination. I then move on to describe the data on sports and broader cultural consumption used in the analysis of this research, and how it can answer the questions of this research. I then describe how this data is operationalised to further the analytical aims of this thesis and connects these procedures vis-à-vis the three prevailing theories of cultural consumption that this research seeks to test. Finally, I discuss the methods used to analyse this data in pursuit of the research questions of this work, how these methods further the analysis of this thesis. I connect these methods to the theoretical framework of this study and the empirical work of subsequent chapters.

Philosophical underpinnings to the methodological approach of this thesis

This thesis makes use of a quantitative methodological approach on secondary data sets collected via survey methodologies. Snape and Spencer (2003) highlight that ontology is what is able to be known about the world. The ontological roots of the survey methodology used in this thesis, therefore, is focused on what can be known about the things that people do in their cultural lifestyles. Both the General Social Survey program of Canada and the Project Canada Survey program ask respondents about the physical world and what activities people

actually physically do. These surveys do not ask about which things Canadians like or what they believe about their cultural activity. The ontological approach of these survey programs regarding cultural consumption, therefore, is concerned with the material actions of social actors, rather on their beliefs or opinions about certain cultural forms. While Bourdieu (1984) primarily assessed taste, Cutts and Widdop (2017) argue for the academic momentum of assessing actual consumption behaviour as a better approximation of social behaviour rather than tastes, as others have likewise argued for the merits of this approach (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010; Sintas and Alvarez, 2002; Stichele and Laermans, 2006; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007). Therefore, these surveys have an ontological approach of assessing action as a way of knowing consumption, rather than taste, which can mean subsequent social action in the form of consumption, but does not necessarily mean such attendant action. The one slight exception to this way of knowing social reality through the strictly circumscribed parameters of specific action is for professional sports following (see Section 3.2 regarding the 2015 Project Canada data). Ormston et al (2014) argue that that ontology seeks to inquire as to ‘whether or not there is a social reality that exists independently from human conceptions and interpretations’ (p. 4). The focus of the research questions of behaviour generally seek to therefore assess a social reality that exists independently of taste or the beliefs and interpretations of these cultural forms that are engaged.

The epistemological approach of these survey programs therefore further seeks to gain knowledge about Canadians’ social action through pointed questions about their cultural behaviour. Because each physical activity is specifically circumscribed so as to avoid confusion, the resulting data on behaviour is ‘hard, objective and tangible’ (Hashil Al-Saadi, 2014). These actions can be observed, measured, and tested. Therefore, patterns of social behaviour can be discovered in an objective and empirical manner. To discover these patterns, I utilise in this thesis quantitative research methods. These methods include the

simple and complex observation of numbers and patterns within the data of the counted instances of social action of cultural consumption behaviour. It is only through a quantitative investigation of large scale data sets encompassing the whole of Canadian society that society-wide patterns of cultural behaviour can be empirically captured and assessed. These results are therefore also reliable, repeatable, and generalisable.

The cons of the ontological and epistemological approaches of this thesis include an inability to account for elements of the ‘cultural’ turn in sociology. The sharpest bend of this cultural turn distinguishes a ‘sociology of culture’ from a ‘cultural sociology’ (Alexander, 2004). For instance, ‘To believe in the possibility of a “cultural sociology” is to subscribe to the idea that every action, no matter how instrumental, reflexive or coerced vis-à-vis its external environments (Alexander, 1988), is embedded to some extent in a horizon of affect and meaning’ (Alexander, 2004). Cultural sociology thus focuses on the cultural autonomy of actors and products and creators of the social world through their understanding and conveying of meaning. The sociology of culture rather seeks to explain social patterns of the cultural through elements of the social structure. Therefore, cultural sociology is a most interpretivist and constructionist approach to understanding culture and even expanding its definition. To accomplish this understanding of meaning, cultural sociology primarily relies on Geertzian ‘thick description’ and even the traditional methodological purview of the humanities that is hermeneutics (Alexander, 2004).

Similarly, while still within a ‘sociology of culture’ as Jeffrey Alexander (the pioneer of the ‘strong program’ of cultural sociology) would understand it, there has likewise been a more qualitative turn in the sociology of culture. Some prominent examples of this turn can be seen in the relatively recent works of scholars such as Vegard Jarness, Sam Friedman, and Mike Savage highlighted in the second chapter of this thesis (e.g. Bennett et al. 2009; Friedman,

2011; Jarness, 2015; Savage et al, 2015). These works highlight the shifting and nuanced qualitative nature of how cultural capital manifests itself in the contemporary world and within person to person interactions. All of these parallel (in the case of qualitative approaches to the sociology of culture), and slightly more perpendicular approaches to culture (in the case of the strong program of Alexander), are unable to be considered within the methodology employed in this thesis. Rather, this thesis focuses on an objectivist approach to the cultural consumption patterns of Canadians to provide the macro observations and context by which qualitative elements of the cultural turn in sociology may be able to then efficaciously be deployed on the necessarily smaller scale of qualitative studies. I now move on to discuss the specific manifestations of sports consumption of primary concern in this thesis.

4.2 The data for this thesis

2010 Time Use Section of the General Social Survey (GSS) of Canada

The General Social Survey of Canada's Time Use Survey is undertaken every five years by Statistics Canada, an agency of the Federal Canadian Government based in Ottawa.

According to Statistics Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006; 2015), the survey's methodology for both 2005 and 2010 targeted the Canadian Provincial population aged 15 years and older, who were contacted using random digit dialling. The response rate for the 2005 survey was 59% and yielded a total sample size of 19,597 (Statistics Canada, 2006). For the 2010 survey, the response rate was 55.2% and yielded a total sample size of 15,390 (Statistics Canada, 2015).

This thesis makes use of both the 2005 and 2010 data sets for different reasons. The 2010 data is used to analyse the intra-domain consumption of direct sports participation. This data

set is used for this purpose because it is the most recent survey that asks about direct sports participation. The specific question that the analysis in this chapter relies upon entailed the GSS interviewers asking, ‘Did you regularly participate in any sports during the past 12 months?’ (Statistics Canada, 2012). The survey is very specific in defining this question. The interviewer goes on to specify the further parameters of this question as follows:

Participate means as an athlete/participant – not as a coach, official or administrator.

Regularly means at least once a week during the season or for a certain period of the year.

These rather narrow parameters substantially contrast with previous studies that have used similar approaches as this chapter employs. These primarily consider participation in sports and physical activities in the past year (e.g. Widdop and Cutts, 2013; 2016). This is a much lower threshold for participation. A lower threshold would present with higher participation rates, as is the case in these previous studies. Likewise, there are a few individual forms of exercise such as walking and jogging that are not included as ‘sports’ by the Government of Canada but can be highly influential in discussions of cultural capital that is bound up in personal exercise and body image. The high threshold for measuring participation from Statistics Canada leads to low manifest rates of participation in this research. However, theories of cultural consumption, as outlined earlier, are concerned with cultural ‘lifestyles’. However, none of them generally define the parameters of how frequently one must participate in the consumption of a cultural good for it to be a meaningful denotation of lifestyle. Indeed, much of this is because these foundational theorists were primarily concerned with taste, rather than behaviour. With taste, there is again, in theory, no minimum amount of consumption by which one’s taste for something is justified. One may have a taste for the opera but go once every other year, for any number of reasons. Conversely, one might

despise the opera but go a number of times a year. An individual might do this if, for example, someone who they are close to appreciates it. This thesis therefore adopts the approach used by others (e.g. Stempel, 2005; Widdop and Cutts, 2013; Widdop et al, 2016; Wilson, 2002) in using actual sports participation data rather than sporting tastes.

Those under 25 years of age are excluded from the analysis sample of this thesis. This is done to most accurately reflect the highest education level of this sample. Cultural capital is operationalised in this research using measures of educational attainment. Because of the processes of primary socialisation and the way it interacts with the attainment of formal educational qualifications (see Chapter 2), education is an appropriate operational measure of cultural capital possession and is a common operationalisation of cultural capital resources. Other operationalisations in the analysis will be described later in this chapter. With not all in the sample asked about sports participation, and with this age filter applied, the total number of the subset of survey respondents in the analysis of sporting behaviour is 6863, with 1366 responding yes (19.9%), and 5497 responding no (80.1%). The follow up question to an affirmative response to this initial question prompts a denotation of which sport, as chosen from an exhaustive list of options. This data is used in the analysis of Chapter 5 of this thesis. The dichotomous nature of this sports participation data, as circumscribed by Statistics Canada, also informs the remaining aspects of the research in this thesis. This is because this thesis argues that more regular patterns of behaviour are more representative of consumption profiles and ultimately of taste than one off participation measures. For these reasons, this thesis deals with the remainder of the survey data in a manner that reflects the circumscription of direct sports participation. This is to say, in the remainder of the survey data, thresholds of more 'regular' or consistent participation are identified from Statistics Canada's survey design and utilised in a manner that reflects these more consistent patterns

of behaviour. This thesis argues that these measure speak more readily to consumption patterns and ultimately also speak more to taste than does one off participation.

Strengths of the 2010 GSS data set include this built-in assessment of regularity of participation for the cultural activities of Canadians. This is to say, my assertions of regularity in the recoding of this data benefit from the expertise of social scientists working for the Government of Canada in their assessment of the frequency thresholds of Canadian participation for each activity included in the survey. The GSS survey is also a true probability sample of a size and scope as to make appropriate the ontological and epistemological approaches of this thesis.

Weaknesses of this 2010 GSS data set include the lack of genre level specificity for each of the cultural activities. While this has aided in a more pure ‘inter-domain’ investigation of these activities within this thesis (see Chapter 6), I also partly engage in such an approach because of the restrictions presented by the data in this area. Since the 1998 iteration of the Time Use Survey, the GSS has not included any genre-level detail for cultural activity variables. This precludes the most comprehensive style of investigation (such was done by Bourdieu, 1984) because I am unable to fully identify which genres in other cultural domains certain forms of sports engagement are most associated with. This lack of fully comprehensive data for the Canadian case has also limited the statistical methods used, essentially precluding the kind of correspondence analysis deployed in other comprehensive investigations of cultural taste and behaviour (e.g. Bennett et al, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984).

Finally, the 2010 iteration of this governmental survey program, while a probability sample, suffers from a moderate over representation of females compared to the general population and an over representation of those living in the provinces of the Atlantic provinces within the final data set. This is most likely due to the relatively low response rate and higher

response rates from these populations and may ultimately negatively impact the sample's representativeness.

While an overall non-response bias is most notable when there are sharp differences in the type of person that is not responding versus responding, it is not unconceivable that that could be the case in this instance. For example, with a lack of large population centres in the Atlantic Region, it is possible that a lack of cultural options in such a region may skew lower frequencies of participation. Likewise, it has also been observed that there has been a 'feminisation of highbrow culture' (Purhonen et al, 2010), with females now participating in traditionally highbrow culture more than their male counterparts. However, the lack of genre specificity in the data may actually serve to mitigate both of these possible response biases, particularly for sex. Appendix I also provides census data on age, sex, and region to compare with the survey samples of this thesis. While generally representative, there are indeed some specific differences between some of the samples and the population as a whole, such as (Atlantic) region for the GSS. Importantly, all samples of this thesis are closely aligned with population figures for age, and generally for sex. Additionally, it has been found that even in cases where there may be some univariate discrepancies with population data, relationships between variables within a multivariate analysis (such as done in this thesis) generally remain unbiased (Rindfuss et al, 2015).

Finally, a substantial amount of missing data only occurred for the explanatory variable of income in this survey data, as with the others. Approximately one sixth of respondents did not provide a level of income to the surveyor. A follow up statistical analysis of this missing income data shows no deviation from the rest of the sample in terms of sample averages for the variables of region, population centre, dwelling ownership, aboriginal identity, and minimal differences to most other explanatory variables save for one. Those over the age of

sixty were the most likely to have a non-response as to their income compared to their average for the sample. Many in this category may not be in the workforce and therefore may have income sources that are harder to enumerate. Less extreme but also less than trivial differences include females and those with the lowest levels of education also slightly less likely to report incomes. This means that the results for patterns in income may be less reflective of the specific relationships for these variables.

2005 Time Use Section of the General Social Survey (GSS) of Canada

The 2005 data set is the most recent survey year to ask questions of both cultural and sports participation to the same subset of the respondents, which was approximately half of the respondents (n=9747). The specific questions for cultural participation inquire about a time frame of the last 12 months. For the various cultural categories, the questions ask, 'During the past 12 months, (as a leisure activity) did you...?' If the respondent answered in the negative, then it was marked down that they did not participate in that activity at all. If, however, the respondent answered in the affirmative, then the interviewer would follow up by asking 'how often'. This follow up question came with a list of response options for frequency that varied between questions (see subsequent examples). The cultural activities beyond sports participation that are included from this survey in this analysis are: read a newspaper, read a magazine, reading books (how many books), go to a movie or drive-in, watch a rented or purchased video, attend a concert or performance, go to a cultural or artistic festival, go to a public art museum or gallery or other museums, go to an historic site, and watch Television (number of hours). For each of the various activities, the response choices for the frequency of engagement varied by the reasonably expected frequency of engagement, as determined by Statistics Canada. Take, for instance, the various answer choices for frequency of engagement taken directly from the questions of the survey transcribed below:

(During the past 12 months, as a leisure activity (not for paid work or studies) did you read a newspaper?)...How often?

1. Daily
2. At least 3 times a week
3. At least once a month
4. Less than once a month

Don't know

Refusal

(During the past 12 months, as a leisure activity (not for paid work or studies) did you read a magazine?)...How often?

1. At least once a week
2. At least once a month
3. 5 or more times a year, but not every month
4. 1 to 4 times a year

Don't know

Refusal

(During the past 12 months, did you go to a movie or drive-in?)...How often?

1. 1 to 4 times a year
2. 5 or more times, but not every month
3. At least once every month

Don't know

Refusal

These answer choices are examples of the follow up questions and response options that were asked of survey participants regarding frequency of engagement in various activities. The respondents, therefore, had answered in the affirmative to the first questions (in brackets), which asked about their engagement in these behaviours in the past year. Because this thesis takes the position that more regular engagement in these various cultural activities is a better reflection of one's lifestyle and cultural consumption, these response options are recoded accordingly. This recoding collapses these response options into dichotomous variables of regular cultural participation. For each variable, the first two response options are chosen to

represent regular participation. Which frequency options were collapsed from each variable depended on the frequency response options for each cultural variable. Response options were determined by Statistics Canada and therefore can reasonably be surmised to be a representation of how the Government of Canada sees frequency of participation in these specific activities. That is to say, while they view reading the newspaper as something that could reasonably be presumed to happen every day, the highest frequency option available to respondents for attending concerts and performances is once a month or more. Therefore, this kind of recoding represents more regular cultural behaviour. The first two options were chosen for each cultural variable so that it then was consistent on the part of the author and relied primarily on the judgements as to frequency of the survey creators at Statistics Canada. The one exception to the use of Statistics Canada's own frequency breakdowns was for television watching. For television watching, the GSS asked for an open-ended and specific number of hours. The created categories seen in Table 4.1 reflect the categories for television watching that were created by Dr Bibby and the Project Canada team (see also Table 4.2). The resulting relative frequencies of regular consumption of each of these cultural products can be seen in Table 4.1.

Strengths of the 2005 GSS data again include the same kind of built in assessment of regularity of participation for the cultural activities of Canadians as the 2010 data. This again aids in my assertions of regularity for the cultural activities included in the survey. This iteration of the GSS Time Use Survey again used probabilistic sampling methods to achieve a nationally representative sample. The 2005 GSS cycle is also the largest sample that Statistics Canada ever collected for the Time Use section. Therefore, it is still a good and useful measure of participation and provides valuable insights for the relationship between sports participation and broader cultural engagement. It is the most up to date data from Canada that can be used to analyse the place of sports within wider consumption profiles.

Table 4.1. Full cultural activity variable frequencies for the 2005 GSS data

Question	Frequently		Not Frequently		Not in past year	
Historic Site	5/year+ (5.8%)	1-4/year (32.9%)			61.2%	
Culture/Art Festival	5/year+ (2.3%)	1-4/year (22.7%)			74.9%	
Zoo/ Aquarium etc*	5/year+ (32.0%)	1-4/year (3.2%)			64.7%	
Movie	1/month+ (15.2%)	5/year+ (12.5%)	1-4/year (31.3%)		41.0%	
Concerts/ performances	1/month+ (6.4%)	5/year+ (10.7%)	1-4/year (22.1%)		60.8%	
Museums/ galleries	1/month+ (2.0%)	5/year+ (3.7%)	1-4/year (29.6%)		64.7%	
Newspapers	Daily (45.2%)	3 times/week+ (23.2%)	Once/month+ (19.4%)	<Once/month (2.0%)	9.9%	
Magazines	1/week+ (44.7%)	Once/month+ (28.7%)	5/year + (3.8%)	1-4/year (3.7%)	18.6%	
Videos	1/week+ (28.7%)	1/month+ (30.4%)	5/year+ (7.9%)	1-4/year (10.1%)	22.4%	
Books	1/week+ (17.6%)	1/month+ (26.0%)	1/3months+ (15.1%)	1/6months+ (6.5%)	1/year+ (5.1%)	28.7%
Television	>30hrs (13.0%)	16-30hrs (25.4%)	11-15hrs (17.5%)	6-10hrs (21.6%)	1-5hrs (17.7%)	4.8%

*Also includes: botanical garden, planetarium or observatory

However, weaknesses of the data set from this sample are again that it suffers from the problem of a relatively low response rate and an over representation of females and residents of the Atlantic Region. It suffers from the same lack of genre specificity within each cultural activity question. One other limitation to this data is its age, being now more than a decade old. However, because of the structure of the GSS Time Use Surveys, this 2005 survey is the most up to date survey that includes enough information to answer the core research questions of this analysis. Even so, the age of the data is a concern given that changes in the

cultural activities available and modes by which to engage these activities has the potential to shift Canadians' orientation to their consumption. Two other recent studies that did successfully utilise data from governmental survey programs in the year 2005 in an analysis of cultural consumption and theories thereof were Vanzella-Yang (2017) and Cutts and Widdop (2017). Likewise, three recent publications by the author of this thesis likewise utilised data from 2005 which is also used in this thesis (Gemar, 2019a; 2018a; 2018b).

Finally, missing data only occurred for the explanatory variable of income in this survey data. Approximately one fifth of respondents did not provide an income level. A follow up analysis of this missing income data shows no deviation from the rest of the sample in terms of sample averages for the variables of region, population centre, dwelling ownership, and minimal differences other explanatory variables. However, these minimal differences show slight skews towards the oldest age category, females, and those in the lowest level of education. This means, that to a small degree, results for patterns in income are slightly less reflective of these variables. These non-response relationships, however, are indeed small.

Project Canada Survey program

2015 Project Canada Survey

The data for the analysis of intra-domain professional sports consumption (see Chapter 6) comes from a national online omnibus survey carried out through a partnership between Dr Reginald Bibby at the University of Lethbridge in Alberta and the private research firm Vision Critical, headquartered in Vancouver. The 2015 Project Canada Survey was carried out in February of 2015 and produced an overall sample of 4022 respondents. According to Vision Critical and Dr Bibby, the survey is nationally representative of Canadians and has a 2% margin of error (Bibby, 2015). The analysis in this chapter excludes those between 18

and 24 years of age from the sample. I exclude this group because many in this age group have not fully reached their highest levels of educational attainment. With this exclusion again applied, the sample size for the analysis is 3738.

The specific question used in this paper asks respondents how closely they follow the various professional sports leagues in Canada. The response categories for this question are ‘very closely’, ‘fairly closely’, ‘not very closely’, and ‘not at all closely’. For the analysis of following in Chapter 6, the first two responses are coded as ‘following’, while the second two responses are coded as ‘not following’ these leagues. Only the first two response options are used in the coding of following because using the third option here is likely to include more casual fans (Gantz, 2014). The relative frequencies of following each league and more specifics on the data for this analysis is laid out in Chapter 6.

Questions regarding professional sports following on the Project Canada Survey come closest to straddling the line between specific measurements of social action and the capturing of more general taste for various professional sports leagues. This is again because the ‘follower’ in this thesis speaks at once to a behaviour, the act of following (via a variety of modes), and to taste. It comes closest to speaking to taste because it does not restrict the mode of consumption. There are rather numerous modes of consumption by which taste can be acted upon. Therefore, it comes to as close to capturing taste within a behaviour as a survey question is reasonably able to achieve. Likewise, increased technological advancements also make taste more easily acted upon and thus behaviour in this area can be efficaciously used as a proxy for taste. This strength is also a relative weakness. This is because we are not able to distinguish between the social class bases of modes of following and thus are not able to differentiate between schemes of appreciation or their social bases.

Strengths of the 2015 Project Canada data on professional sports following include its recency, originality, size, and the expertise of the conductors of the survey. It is the newest data set used in this thesis and it has not been released by Dr Bibby for research use outside of himself as of yet. Dr Bibby kindly allowed special access to this data for myself in the furtherance of my work on this thesis. Unlike previous iterations, this 2015 survey iteration also includes Major League Soccer amongst the list of professional sports league for which the survey asked about respondents' following. Therefore, this survey year is able to capture the entirety of the major professional sports landscape in contemporary Canada. This survey was conducted using stratified probability sampling techniques and gleaned a final data set of 4,022 survey respondents. The make-up of the sample for key representative variables show this sample to be much more representative of the Canadian population than the GSS survey data. This is particularly true because it does not include an oversampling of either sex or any region, as is the case in both GSS iterations. A survey of this size for professional sports consumption is to my knowledge unprecedented in the public (and likely private) sphere and therefore this survey provides a highly original data set from which to conduct the analyses of this thesis. Finally, Dr Reginal Bibby is a distinguished Canadian scholar within the field of sociology, and a recipient of the honour of Officer of Order of Canada for the social sciences, who has run the Project Canada survey program since the 1970s. He therefore has extensive experience in designing surveys for the Canadian population. Likewise, Vision Critical is a well-respected customer intelligence and market research firm in Canada with similar experience and expertise in designing and executing online and other surveys for the Canadian population. Both Vision Critical and Dr Bibby contend that this is a nationally representative sample with a +/- 2% margin of error (Bibby, 2015).

Weaknesses of the 2015 Project Canada data revolve primarily around the survey method and its lack of data on broader cultural activities beyond professional sports following. This

survey was conducted via an online omnibus survey done in waves on a Wednesday, Friday, and Monday. Therefore, this survey ultimately relies on a sample of online survey respondents and does not utilise a control for any type of weekday-to-weekend internet usage ratio. The use of an online platform is most likely to attract internet users. This is likely to either capture younger persons who are on the internet more often, or older persons in retirement (although this final group is also most likely to have limited internet access and fluency). However, the final Project Canada data is only marginally younger than the GSS sample and in line with census data for age. Finally, missing data only occurred for the explanatory variable of income in this survey data. Approximately eleven percent of respondents did not provide an income level. A follow up analysis of this missing income data shows no deviation from the rest of the sample in terms of sample averages for education and minimal differences for other explanatory variables, save for one. Women are far less likely than men to report their incomes. Because employment rates in Canada are equal for men and women, it is not immediately clear as to the reason for this gendered response. Given the similarity with all other variables, and especially the variable for education, the effects of this non-response among women is unclear. It does mean, however, that to a small degree, results for patterns in income are slightly more reflective of male incomes.

While in the year 2015 the online nature of this survey is unlikely to preclude many Canadians, it is still a factor that potentially detracts from the relative representation of this survey for the full population of Canada. The make-up of the sample ultimately can be favourably judged in a comparison of core demographics with the probabilistically achieved GSS data. Finally, this iteration of the 2015 survey does not ask a variety of questions regarding broader cultural activity, as had previous iterations of this survey program. Therefore, like the 2010 GSS data on direct sports participation, this ultimately precludes any

robust analysis of where the patterns of professional sports consumption fit within broader cultural consumption profiles. Like with direct sports participation, this requires utilising data from the 2005 iteration of the Project Canada Survey program. Unlike for the GSS, there was no survey conducted for this program in the year 2010.

2005 Project Canada Survey

My final set of data also comes from the Project Canada Survey, this time from the survey's 2005 iteration. This survey data is also used to study professional sports consumption in Canada, but this time in relation to broader patterns of leisure behaviour. Therefore, the purpose for using this data set is that it is the only available nationally representative data set that includes data on both professional sports consumption and cultural engagement in Canada. The sampling procedures consist of both a type of longitudinal panel and probabilistically selected persons. For the 2005 survey this included 2,000 Canadians who had taken the survey in previous years and 3,000 who were randomly selected (Bibby, 2005). The 2005 survey saw a response rate of 48% for a completed sample size total of 2,400. Again eliminating those under the age of 25, the sample size used in this thesis is 2,229.

The specific question about professional sports following from the 2005 Project Canada Survey that this thesis relies upon has the exact same wording as the 2015 iteration of the survey. That is, the survey asked, 'How closely do you follow: The National Hockey League, the Canadian Football League, Major League Baseball, the National Football League, the National Basketball Association'. The response options were again 'very closely', 'fairly closely', 'not very closely', and 'not at all closely'. For the purposes of Chapter 6, the first two responses are coded as 'following', meaning that they follow that professional sports league and the second two responses are coded as 'not following', meaning that the

respondent does not follow that league.

Again, the follower in this research at once speaks to an activity, the positive step of following, and taste. This is because following a particular sport does not articulate a specific activity by which one follows, or range of acceptable activities by which one can follow a sport. Therefore, conceptualising the 'follower' has the benefit of encompassing all manner of following professional sport. 'Following' is also not static. That is, regardless of the methods available to follow sport, either in the past or future, this term still applies. It is also for this reason that the relative age of the data is of less a concern as is would be for specific temporally specific modes of consumption. This conceptualisation again also more directly speaks to taste than most survey questions surrounding cultural engagement, as watching television or reading a magazine is the traditional cultural activity while sport is the taste within these activities. Thus, 'following' is at once an action of following sport and a taste within other cultural domains and activities. However, in the quantitative research, this classification cannot distinguish between the methods of following and therefore cannot distinguish between schemes of appreciation. The research can thus only speak to which sports are consumed. It therefore cannot capture any social class bases of different modes of consuming and how these are linked to the creation of social distinction.

The following of these professional sports leagues will be analysed primarily as part of the wider statistical analysis of cultural activities in Chapter 6. This 2005 data set of the Project Canada Survey is the only data set that can facilitate this kind of analysis. Asking the question 'Approximately how often do you do:', the activities included are as follows: listen to music, follow the news, read a newspaper, do something to stay in shape (presented in this thesis as 'exercise', read magazines, read books, go to a movie, watch videos at home, go to concerts, eat out/go out for a relaxing meal, and go to a lounge or bar. Lastly, the survey asks for a range

of television hours watched on a weekly basis (categories unchanged from the survey). Socio-economic and demographic information that are captured in this survey include aspects of age, race, sex, education, family income, language, and region. The relative frequencies of cultural variables from the 2005 survey are included in Table 4.2. More information about this specific sample is included in the analyses of Chapter 7.

Table 4.2. Full cultural activity variable frequencies for the 2005 Project Canada Survey data

	Daily	Several/week	Weekly	2-3/month	1/month	<1/month	HardlyEver	Never
Music	68.5%	19.5%	5.9%	2.5%	0.6%	0.6%	2.2%	0.2%
News	68.4%	20.8%	6.0%	2.2%	0.5%	0.5%	1.0%	0.6%
Paper	42.2%	20.1%	20.7%	5.2%	2.7%	2.0%	4.9%	2.2%
Exercise	20.2%	32.4%	16.3%	7.8%	4.4%	5.0%	9.0%	4.8%
Mags	10.4%	21.6%	24.8%	18.2%	9.7%	5.1%	7.9%	2.3%
Books	22.8%	20.5%	11.2%	9.9%	8.4%	10.4%	13.0%	3.7%
Movies	0.2%	0.5%	2.8%	9.5%	18.5%	27.6%	29.2%	11.5%
Videos	1.3%	8.7%	23.6%	21.2%	13.6%	11.3%	13.4%	6.8%
Concert	0.1%	0.2%	1.6%	3.0%	7.0%	24.5%	43.9%	19.8%
Eat out	2.3%	16.6%	31.4%	22.0%	12.2%	8.3%	6.2%	1.0%
Bars	0.6%	2.2%	5.8%	8.2%	6.7%	12.2%	33.5%	30.9%
Television	>30hrs (6.7%)	16-30hrs (22.2%)	11-15hrs (24.4%)	6-10hrs (24.2%)	1-5hrs (18.1%)			4.3%

*Relative frequencies in bold are the frequency levels included as frequent participation in that cultural activity for this research

Regarding the relative frequencies in Table 4.2, the reader may notice that generally, the frequencies are higher than from the two GSS surveys. For instance, reading newspapers,

magazines, watching videos, and especially reading books, all have relative frequencies in this data that are more than ten percentage points higher than their values from similar variables in the GSS data. Some other variables, such as following the news, listening to music, and eating out also present high relative frequencies in this data. Some of these high frequencies may be a function of the difference in variables. The most highly engaged activity on a regular basis from this data, following the news, does not have a comparable variable from the GSS data and thus may simply be a highly engaged in activity in Canada. It should also be noted that two variables, going to movies and going to concerts, have relative frequencies that are close to their same variable (in the case of going to movies), or approximate variables (when one includes all of the concerts from the GSS). Discrepancies are likely due to sample effects.

The second and most likely reason for these relatively high frequencies is again, the coding of what is to be considered regular participation. The frequency response options given in the Project Canada Survey to the question of ‘Approximately how often do you do’, were as follows: 1. Daily, 2. Several times a week, 3. About once a week, 4. 2-3 times month, 5. About once a month, 6. Less than once a month, 7. Hardly ever, 8. Never. Therefore, because the designers of this survey have not differentiated these frequency response options between the different cultural variables but rather kept them the same across these various activities, it is up to me to determine these measures of regularity to match the approach from earlier. In order to do this, the approach taken here was to mirror the recoding of the GSS response options as closely as possible. This is directly possible in some cases, for example reading magazines at least once a month. However, it differs in others. For example, the first two responses for going to movies in the GSS survey was 5 or more times a year. However, the less than one month response option in the Project Canada survey is not used for any of the activities because it is imprecise. Less than once a month could mean anything, from 11 times

a year to whatever the respondent deems higher than 'hardly ever'. Indeed, the Project Canada Survey does not specify a time frame for these activities.

While the GSS survey bounds their response options within the broader context of the past year, the Project Canada Survey does not. Therefore, less than once a month could theoretically be once every two years, provided the respondent views once every two years as higher than 'hardly ever'. Therefore, it is the relative imprecision of the Project Canada Survey options that bounds once a month as the last survey option used. Additionally, consistency across relatively similar response variables was important to keep some of the consistency across these variables, which was also the approach of the GSS. Therefore, the recoding of this Project Canada data narrowed down variables into those activities that were reasonably expected for regularly engaging persons to participate in that activity once a week and once a month. Again, while choosing once a month participation precludes some of the less frequent participators than the 5 to 12 times a year category did in the GSS, the ambiguity of 'less than once a month' precipitated the move to 'about once a month' for the recoding of this data. The cultural activities that were recoded for regular participation on a weekly basis were reading the newspaper, following the news, listening to music, and exercising. The remaining cultural activity variables; going to bars, going to concerts, watching videos at home, eating out, reading books, reading magazines, and going to movies were all coded for regular participation according to monthly engagement in these activities. The high relative frequencies for even this level of recoding for regular participation shows all the more importance and justification for measuring regular engagement as opposed to engagement that could be a one-off activity once a year. This latter recoding would seem to lose almost all discriminatory power in that instance.

Strengths of this data set include the fact that unlike the 2010 GSS and 2015 Project Canada surveys, it asked the same respondents about sports engagement and other cultural activities. Therefore the broader patterns of consumption for professional sports followers in Canada can be most efficaciously ascertained using this survey. The activities included in this survey benefit this thesis in that they are relatively close to the activities included for the GSS survey and therefore allow for relevant comparisons between the results for the analyses of these different data sets. This survey also again benefits from the experience and direction of Dr Bibby – with this survey marking the 30th anniversary since the start of the Project Canada survey program.

However, weaknesses of this sample are again that it suffers from a relatively low response rate. Although actually quite a high response rate for a postal survey, a 48% response rate is the lowest for any of the surveys included in this survey. Therefore, the final responding sample may reflect some response bias associated with post surveys. One potential bias seen in the make-up of this sample is that there appears to be an over-representation of those with graduate levels of education compared to the make-up for the 2005 data set. This data set is also the smallest of the four used in this thesis. This may lead to a decreased number of values in a regression analysis, for example, that may present significant results with a larger sample size such as in the other three data sets utilised for this thesis. Finally, like the data on broader cultural participation for the GSS survey, the 2005 Project Canada data is unable to distinguish at the genre level for each cultural activity and is also now more than a decade old. However, like the GSS data for this year, the 2005 Project Canada survey data is the most up to date survey that includes enough information to answer the core research questions of this analysis regarding where sport is located within the cultural lifestyles of Canadians. I will now introduce the core methods of analysing these four large secondary data sets used in this thesis.

Finally, missing data only occurred again for the explanatory variable of income in this survey data. However, it was the lowest amount of the four survey programs. Less than eight percent of respondents did not provide an income level. A follow up analysis of this missing income data shows little to no deviation from the rest of the sample in terms of sample averages for the explanatory variables, except again for age. Those in the oldest age category are again less likely to report any incomes. This disparity is not, however, overwhelming and given the low level of non-response for this survey, it is unlikely to have a significant effect on the calculations for this part of the thesis.

4.3 The methods of analysis

Operationalisation of cultural consumption theories

As described in the previous section, the collapsing of participation variables in this thesis is purposely distinctive. If one is meant to be categorised and labelled an omnivore, or not, and this is meant to be a meaningful lifestyle signifier, then an operationalisation of omnivorism must reflect the place that this lifestyle has in a person's life. Likewise, it is a more ideal measurement of Bourdieu's habitus concept and 'space of lifestyles'. While Bourdieu may argue that one's habitus precludes even this kind of infrequent engagement, infrequent engagement in some activities may be a product of upward occupational mobility, thereby socially bringing one into a more forced engagement (Friedman, 2012). Additionally, increased technological advancements since Bourdieu may make the barrier to initial access lower than in the time that Bourdieu did his studies. For all of these reasons, I make in this thesis the argument for a higher threshold for participation in lifestyle denotation. Thus this thesis operationalises these activities, and by extension the omnivore, by a more frequent and regular pattern of consumption than is usually used in studies of the consumption and

omnivorism, which in some cases rely on participation as infrequently as once in the past year.

Regarding these theories of cultural consumption, then, this operationalisation of what is regular participation lends itself to more easily identifying cultural lifestyles. For instance, if this analysis proceeded with simply measuring cultural engagement with a threshold between zero and one time per year, then assigning the ‘lifestyle’ moniker to those that engaged in many things one time would not be wholly accurate. The dictionary definition of lifestyle describes it as being ‘the things that a person or particular group of people *usually* do’ (Cambridge English Dictionary, emphasis mine). Therefore, setting a threshold of engagement high enough to make these analytical judgements from the data was an important purpose to the operationalisation of the cultural data for this thesis. This operationalisation, then, for these reasons is crucial for assessing the theories of cultural consumption that this study seeks to test in order to answer the research questions of this thesis. For instance, if being ‘omnivorous’ is meant as an impactful denotation of a consumption profile, then the range of cultural activities that people engage in order to be culturally omnivorous must therefore be part of their cultural lifestyle themselves. The same concept can be applied to the testing of Bourdieu’s theory in this thesis. If Bourdieu’s concept of habitus truly does deeply socialise dispositions towards cultural engagement, Bourdieu is offering an explanation of how cultural lifestyles are socially formed. Therefore, Bourdieu’s assertions of class based cultural engagement relies on a lifestyle concept as well. This is because classed based socialisation stays with the individual throughout their lives, according to Bourdieu’s habitus (see also Chapter 2). Finally, if individualisation relies on alternative formations of identity that may be expressed through individualised cultural behaviour, then it is unlikely that these processes of identify formation will occur with very infrequent participation in these behaviours. All three of these theories, therefore, are based upon the presumption of cultural

lifestyles. The operationalisation of the data for this thesis described in this section makes an attempt to define within the data the concept of a cultural lifestyle as manifested through the consumption of, and participation in, various forms of cultural activity.

The other critical consideration to testing the theories of cultural consumption that this thesis seeks to explore is socio-economic and demographic positioning of persons who regularly engage or do not regularly engage in these various forms of culture, or belong to these different patterns of cultural lifestyle. This consideration is equally important to testing these theories. This is for the reason that these theories are ultimately embedded in an analysis of which cultural lifestyles are those of the elite in society (along with their referents of lower social position). For instance, Bourdieu argues for a discerning and distinctive cultural lifestyle engaged by these groups at the top of the social hierarchy. Therefore, for this thesis to confirm Bourdieu's theories, the analysis of cultural consumption in Canada would reflect an elite cultural profile that is discerning in the cultural activities in which they engage. Likewise, for this thesis to confirm Peterson's omnivore thesis, this analysis would have to reflect an elite cultural profile that is broad in the spectrum of cultural activities in which this group regularly engages. Finally, individualisation arguments make the case for a decreasing importance of the relationship between social position and cultural activity. Thus the operationalisation of markers of the social position is the critical second step towards confirming or rejecting these theories within an empirical analysis.

Explanatory variables

Economic capital is operationalised in this research by using the total gross household income of survey respondents. From Bourdieu onwards, household income has been a consensus measure of economic capital in the literature on cultural consumption. Both of the iterations of the GSS surveys used in this thesis, from 2005 and 2010, ask questions regarding

both personal and household income. Of these, household income is chosen because it better represents the economic resources of family members that may not personally bring in an income as high as the highest household earner or indeed may not take in any income at all. This is especially important as the GSS data includes those as young as 15 years of age, while those aged 25 and older may also likely live in households with more than one person. While the questions regarding household income in these two survey are nearly identical, there was a slight shift towards more specificity in 2010:

2005: What is your best estimate of the total income, before deductions, of all household members from all sources during the past 12 months?
(Statistics Canada, 2005)

2010: What is your best estimate of your total household income, received by all household members, from all sources, before taxes and deductions, during the year ending December 31, 2009? (Statistics Canada, 2010)

The income categories of the response options for the question from the 2005 survey were as follows: ‘No income or loss, Less than \$5,000, \$5,000 to \$9,999, \$10,000 to \$14,999, \$15,000 to \$19,999, \$20,000 to \$29,999, \$30,000 to \$39,999, \$40,000 to \$49,999, \$50,000 to \$59,999, \$60,000 to \$79,999, \$80,000 to \$99,999, and \$100,000 or more’. The income categories generated from the response options from the 2010 survey stayed the same until the top end of this income range. The 2010 GSS survey also had income categories of \$100,000 to \$149,999 and \$150,000 or more. From the 2005 data set, these categories are collapsed into broader categories for use in the analysis of this thesis that reflect intervals of \$30-40,000. The final breakdown of categories for household income in the 2005 data set, an operationalised measure of economic capital in this analysis, is less than \$30,000, \$30,000 to \$59,999, \$60,000 to \$99,999, and \$100,000 or more. These breakdowns are at intervals that reflect both even dollar increments, relatively equivalent percentages of the sample, and are

mostly able to be replicated by each survey program. Only for the 2015 Project Canada survey did the response options for income preclude an exact match for income breakdown. The set income response categories for that data were less than \$50,000, \$50,000 to \$99,999, and over \$100,000. All three income categories are kept for the analysis of Chapter 6 that utilises this data set. Finally, for the two GSS surveys, economic capital is also operationalized using total household income and, following the example of Savage (2015), home (or 'dwelling' in the GSS's wording) ownership.

Cultural capital is operationalised in the 2005 and 2010 GSS data through the use of personal educational attainment information. Although cultural capital can take many different forms, education is arguably the best way to operationalise this concept. For instance, engaging in certain different cultural activities or combinations of activities can in itself convey cultural capital. However, it is elevated levels of knowledge, and fluent and articulate ways of expressing this knowledge, that facilitates this cultural participation. This is because of the knowledge of consecrated cultural forms gained through formal education. Bourdieu asserted that cultural capital was accumulated through the primary socialisation of children. Those from more well-off families were instilled from an early age with an appreciation of, and competence in, more 'legitimate' forms of culture. This was then often misinterpreted by the education system as natural intelligence because they showed knowledge about institutionally consecrated cultural objects (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). These processes are why the attainment of formal educational qualification is an appropriate operational measure of cultural capital possession. Indeed, educational attainment has been a primary method of operationalising cultural capital in the cultural and sports consumption literature (e.g. Friedman, 2011; Holt, 1998; Stempel, 2005; Veenstra, 2010).

Both iterations of the GSS included ten educational categories: Doctorate/masters/some

graduate, Bachelor's degree, Diploma/certificate from community college, Diploma/certificate from trade/technical, Some university, Some community college/CEGEP/nursing, Some trade/technical, High school diploma, Some secondary/high school, and Elementary school/no schooling. These were condensed into six educational categories: Doctorate/masters/professional school (Graduate education), bachelor's degree (Undergraduate degree), Diploma/certificate from community college or trade/technical, Some university/community college, High school diploma, and Some secondary/elementary/no schooling (less than high school). Again, in order to efficaciously capture cultural capital resources, those respondents under the age of 25 were excluded from all analyses.

Cultural capital is again operationalised using personal educational attainment in the Project Canada data. The survey question for education in 2005 was, 'In terms of formal education, what is the HIGHEST LEVEL you have COMPLETED?' The response options for this question were: Grade school, High School, Technical/business/community college, Undergraduate university, Graduate degree/professional school, and Doctorate. These education levels have been collapsed in a way that produced five categories of education similar to the GSS data. The five categories for education are thus Graduate/Professional degree, Bachelor's degree, Diploma/community/technical college, High school diploma, and less than high school.

The 2015 Project Canada Survey data included a more expansive list of education categories. The education categories included in the 2015 data included: Elementary/grade school, Some high school, Some college/technical school, Some university, University undergraduate degree, Some post-graduate school, and Post-graduate degree. These were collapsed in a manner that mirrored both the 2005 Project Canada data, and the GSS data. Therefore, the

education categories used in the analysis of this 2015 data were: less than high school, high school degree, some university/community college/technical college, technical college or community college degree, undergraduate degree, and graduate or professional school (including both some and degree). The measures for the operationalisation of economic and cultural capital in this thesis are thus ultimately constrained by the questions asked in the survey and vary very slightly between analyses, pursuant to the different data set, different subject of investigation, and different specific parameters and preferences from the peer-reviewers of each study. However, these slight differences do not affect the analytical force in their application towards answering the research questions of this thesis. This is primarily because both previous theories of cultural consumption, and this thesis, focus primarily on the directional momentum of these results.

Like the operationalisations of cultural and economic capital, the consideration of demographic variables in this thesis are also able to aid in understanding both the patterning of sports engagement in Canada and the prevailing theories of cultural consumption that explain this patterning. For instance, recall the individualisation theories of cultural consumption that assert that identities other than social class and socio-economic position are most relevant for structuring social behaviour and cultural consumption. These include identities based upon gender and ethnicity (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a), along with age and generational identities manifesting themselves in consumption differences (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a; Coulangeon, 2017; Lizardo and Skiles, 2015; Prieur and Savage, 2013; Savage et al, 2015). Towards these theoretical and empirical assertions regarding the contemporary nature of the organisation of cultural consumption, in this thesis, sex is used to consider individualisation in the consumption patterns of each of the four surveys. Likewise, information on age is included for each of the four survey programs. This will be able to illuminate elements of theories of emerging culture, a theory that closely mirrors the logic of

individualisation. This is to say, that age and/or generational differences in consumption are more salient factors in the structuring of consumption than is social class position. Because sex and age are explanatory variables included in the data sets for each of the survey programs, these are the variables primarily used to test these theories.

For instance, if regression results for these variables present values showing that sex and age are equally strong or stronger predictors of cultural consumption profiles, then I will also engage in split sample analyse of these variables to confirm or disconfirm the degree to which these predictive values are characteristic of theories of individualisation and/or emerging culture. Ethnicity is also used as an explanatory variable where it is included in the survey program data. This is the case for the 2010 iteration of the GSS Time Use Survey and the 2005 iteration of the Project Canada Survey. The 2005 GSS and 2015 Project Canada data sets unfortunately do not include information on race and ethnicity. Like for sex and age, if ethnicity shows results suggesting that ethnic identities are more powerful predictors of consumption than socio-economic position, then I will engage in a split sample analysis of white and non-white ethnic groups. Finally, both provincial region and residence and size of residential population centre are included primarily as control variables but also as variables to be assessed in their own right.

My use of the variable for the size of a respondent's population centre is a useful control because larger urban populations centres are more likely to include a range of options for cultural and leisure activity and follows the example of Widdop and Cutts (2013) in this regard. These may particularly include activities such as concerts, museums, and galleries. Therefore, in a full regression model this variable will act as a useful control for this relative difference in the opportunity to consume a broader number and range of cultural objects and activities. Lastly, the provincial region of residence will act as a similar control variable. This

is especially the case for professional sports following where different regions of the country may be more likely to follow different professional sports leagues. Therefore, using provincial region as an explanatory variable will be able to control for the degree to which differentiation in the following of professional sports is based upon socio-economic position regardless of the regional distribution of respondents. I will now speak in a more detailed manner about the methods by which consumption will be captured in this thesis. I will also explain the methods for how the explanatory variables of economic and cultural capital, along with various demographic variables will be used to assess the social location of this consumption in this research.

Methods

The three methods used in this analysis of consumption are basic crosstabulations, latent class analysis (LCA), and logistic regression modelling. These three will all be used to test the various theories of cultural consumption as it pertains to Canadian culture and sport. The core of the statistical analyses in this thesis performs a latent class analyses (LCA) to capture patterns of consumption. LCA is used for its efficacy in creating groupings, or classes, of consumption behaviour. Latent class analysis creates these classes by grouping together respondents from the data set who share commonality of the variables included in the model (Magidson and Vermunt, 2002). In the case of this research, the clusters are based upon those who participate in similar activities. The LCA profile reports the probabilities of inclusion that respondents and participants in each activity have for each cluster. These clusters can suggest typologies by which we can start to say something definitive about the respondents' cultural behaviour. It does this by taking the data and estimating the probability that an individual is in one latent class or another (latent class probabilities) and conditional probabilities of their data, a type of reverse of this process (Widdop and Cutts, 2013). This is

then the primary advantage of the LCA. The LCA will use the various cultural variable inputs to find the correct number of latent classes that explain the various styles of consumption.

LCA is an updated replacement for more traditional methods of cluster analysis and avoids many of the model assumption biases of other methods, which are often violated in practice (Magidson and Vermunt, 2002). Specifically, latent class analysis assumes local independence and is concerned with the estimation of latent class probabilities and conditional probabilities (Widdop and Cutts, 2013). Latent class probabilities report the probability that the latent class group includes someone who engages in the cultural activity or sport that is included in the model. This thesis focuses on these probabilities in its focus on the creation of cultural and sporting lifestyle typologies.

This study uses the software LatentGOLD (5.1) to perform the latent class analyses.

LatentGold is a product of the specialised analytics firm Statistical Innovations, whose core areas of expertise are latent class, discrete choice and other latent variable models (Statistical Innovations, 2018). This is a purposed software with carrying out latent class analyses and related calculations. Within this software I used an ‘Latent Class Cluster Model’(Vermunt and Magidson, 2005). This model entails the use of a K-category latent variable, each of which represents a cluster, of a nominal latent variable X (Vermunt and Magidson, 2005). These clusters, in turn, contain homogeneous groups of cases that share common model parameters (Vermunt and Magidson, 2005). To calculate the latent class probabilities and create typological groupings in the data, the software uses the following mathematical formula in its model (Vermunt and Magidson, 2005):

$$f(y_i | z_i) = \sum_{x=1}^K P(x | z_i) f(y_i | x, z_i) = \sum_{x=1}^K P(x | z_i) \prod_{h=1}^H f(y_{ih} | x, z_i)$$

The clustering of latent class modelling also allows for p-value measures of significance. However, in the case of clustering methods, a p-value of greater than .05 confirms significance of the data's clustering. That is, what we want to see is actually a *non*-statistically significant p-value. This shows that the model is not statistically significantly different from the data, thereby showing a goodness of fit with the data. This is because the null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the data and the model, while the alternative hypothesis is that there is a difference between the model and the data. The likelihood ratio chi squared statistic (L^2) shows increasing model fit at lower levels and 'to the extent that the value for L^2 exceeds 0, the L^2 measures lack of model fit, quantifying the amount of association (non-independence) that remains unexplained by that model' (Magidson and Vermunt, 2003). However, while the L^2 statistic can continue to decrease as the parameters increase, this negatively affects parsimony.

Therefore, alternative methods for assessing model fit can be, and are used in the interpretation of the LCA model statistics in this thesis. These are the information criterion of the log likelihood statistics for the model. The three primary information criterion are the Bayes Information Criterion (BIC), Akaike Information Criterion (AIC), and the Consistent Akaike Information Criterion (CAIC). These three measures of fit, like for the likelihood chi squared statistic, reach their optimal points as they decrease, and lower values are preferred over higher values (Magidson and Vermunt, 2003). Of these three measures of fit, the BIC is the most widely used measure for interpreting LCA. In more complex models, the BIC will likely choose a model solution with fewer latent class groups, while the AIC will choose one with a higher number of class groupings (Dziak et al, 2012). Describing the differences in these models, Akaike (1987: 319) describes that in the AIC, 'the concept of parameter estimation is replaced by the estimation of a distribution and the accuracy is measured by a universal criterion, the expected log likelihood of the fitted model'. The CAIC more closely

resembles the BIC. This is because, like the BIC, it has a more restrictive focus than the AIC upon considerations of parameter estimation and considers parsimony more prominently.

Given previous studies using LCA to study sports (Widdop and Cutts, 2013; 2016), this study hypothesises that it will find distinct typologies of consumption for sport; likewise, for culture (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010). Even as this is the case, the substance of the LCA might be drastically different to previous studies focusing on other countries – i.e. the U.K. and U.S. – given the different national context.

Once this latent class analysis is performed and a specific latent class model output chosen, I separately assign a modal class value to each respondent and conduct subsequent regression analyses outside of the latent class analysis process. These regressions were carried out within the SPSS software of IBM. The specific type of regression approach I use in this thesis is a logistic regression. I use logistic regressions because of their ability to isolate and control for variables and generate predictive measures between a categorical, rather than linear, dependent variable and one or more independent variables of categorical nature. In additional difference to linear models of regression, because the dependent variable is categorical, it can only take a limited number of values, thereby forgoing a normal distribution method (Tutz, 2012). Binary logistic regression models are used throughout analyses in this thesis. This is because I use dependent variables in the course of the analyses of this thesis are binary, only taking two value, non-ordinal, and categorised. In this case a binary logistic regression model should be used. All regression analyses are undertaken within SPSS. This study uses these regression techniques for both analysing specific professional sports leagues (see Chapter 6), and are also used for analysing socio-demographic variables (as explanatory) for the entirety of each latent class produced by the LCA for this study. In the regressions for both the individual professional sports variables and the typologies produced by the LCA, measures of economic and cultural capital serve as independent variables. Likewise, various demographic

information is also considered within these regression models as independent variables and variables of interest in their own right.

4.4 Conclusion

The data, operationalisation, and methods of this research all provide important empirical elements towards answering the research questions and examining the social theories of this thesis. The data from the GSS and Project Canada surveys outlined in this chapter provide the most up to date data by which both the cultural and sporting engagement of Canadians can be examined. Using a variety of cultural activity variables allows for an analysis of relative status among these activities by which types of Bourdieusian distinction can be ascertained. If this type of analysis is to be done, however, it is important that a broad range of activities are included. The eleven cultural activity variables from the Project Canada data, and especially the thirteen cultural activities of the GSS data, provide an ample range of activities for this endeavour. However, this range of cultural activities is ultimately constrained by the questions regarding cultural engagement from these two surveys.

This data also gives a variety of frequencies for these cultural engagement variables. Therefore, the operationalisation of this data is a critical component of this research. The testing of the theories of cultural consumption in this research is benefited from the operationalisation as outlined in this chapter. This is because each of the theories are premised on distinctive cultural lifestyles. For Bourdieu, these lifestyles are ones by which great social status is placed upon cultural activity and in turn forms social distinctions and produce and reproduce social inequalities in society. In order for such a theory to be as potent as Bourdieu claims, these cultural tastes and activities must form a strong part of one's understanding of their class position. It is unlikely that if one goes to The Nutcracker ballet almost every Christmas, that that would form the basis for them considering themselves as a

higher class individual based upon this engagement. However, if one went to the ballet more regularly it would inform their sense of their cultural lifestyle and thus social position (for Bourdieu) in a way that the previous ballet goer might not feel. Therefore, the importance of frequency and regularity are important for understanding one's cultural lifestyle. For these reasons the operationalisation of cultural engagement based upon whether or not one frequently engages lends itself to a more efficacious assessment of the relevance of Bourdieu's theories. Likewise, this same operationalisation is important to understanding and assessing the other theories of cultural consumption. For as outlined earlier in this chapter, if omnivorousness is meant to likewise be a significant lifestyle marker, and we have various different cultural activities, it would seem odd to assert that one has an omnivorous cultural lifestyle by participating very sporadically in multiple activities. For the purposes of this research, and pursuant to the survey data, this thesis proceeds with the assertion that there is to be a minimum threshold of frequency by which participation in an activity is to be considered within a culturally omnivorous consumption profile. This also aligns with the survey data on sport, particularly sports participation, that very specifically circumscribes such a pattern of 'regular' participation.

The methods employed in this research likewise aid in the testing and exploration of the three theories of cultural engagement engaged in this thesis. Latent class analysis is also useful for testing Bourdieu's theories, as well as being the most useful method for capturing the omnivore. This is because LCA can tell us if there are groups that consume all activities of a certain status or another, or whether there are groups that consume all forms of culture, and are therefore omnivorous. Finally, analyses of the social make-up of these groups can confirm if homologous or omnivorous profiles are products of habitus, cultural capitals of eclecticism and cosmopolitanism, or an individualisation of cultural lifestyles.

Therefore, to really get to whether these groups fit any of the theories of cultural consumption, one must examine the socio-economic make-up the various sporting and cultural consumption profiles. In order to perform this examination, crosstabulations and regression analyses, using logistic regressions, are used. I use these to assess the predictive qualities of various socio-economic and demographic variables for inclusion of persons in the various cultural consumption profiles. This type of examination is necessary because each of the theories of cultural consumption relies upon a class based component for predicting cultural behaviour. Bourdieu asserts that higher class persons consume higher status cultural products. Peterson, however, asserts that these higher socio-economic groups consumes many cultural products, and across the status spectrum. Individualisation rejects either of these strong associations between social position and definitive patterns of cultural behaviour.

I now move on in this thesis to identify the patterns of direct sports and non-sports participation in the next chapter, Chapter 5. The subsequent chapter (Chapter 6) does the same for professional sports consumption. Finally, both of these modes of engaging and consuming sports are put into broader cultural context (Chapter 7). These are the empirical analyses that occur in the following chapters using the methodological approaches outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 5

Patterns of direct sports participation and social stratification

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to analyse the landscape of sport with respect to socio-economic and demographic differentiation in sports participation. It does this through the lens of prevailing theories of cultural consumption. Specifically, this research will use participation in sport to examine the salience of Pierre Bourdieu's theories of cultural consumption in this domain within Canada. This work additionally examines the other two theories of cultural consumption considered in this thesis, namely the theory of the cultural omnivore and the individualisation thesis of lifestyles. This chapter contributes to the thesis by addressing all three theories within the direct participation mode of sports consumption.

Direct participation in sport within this chapter refers to the regular and active physical engagement in a sport. A crucial consideration for assessing markers of distinction are the judgements that are drawn on the basis of physical lifestyle and bodily appearance. Indeed, physical appearance provides the most immediate and universal location for human judgements and classification and 'differential health status is probably the most enduring and incontrovertible indication of class' (Bennet et al, 2009: 152). These physical components supply a key component of embodied cultural capital for Bourdieu's assessment of sport (Bourdieu, 1978; 1984). Not only does physical appearance more readily reveal social location than other elements of embodied cultural capital such as Bourdieu's disinterested aesthetic, direct participation in sport is also a location to conspicuously consume and outwardly display social location in a deployment of objectified cultural capital. Therefore, sport is a location where people can more readily activate simultaneously elements

of embodied and objectified cultural capital. Rather only a site where a disinterested aesthetic appreciation can be displayed, direct participation in sport can at once deploy objectified cultural capital through participation in elite sporting pursuits and display the physical element of Bourdieu's embodied cultural capital, both more immediately and from a greater distance than most other areas of culture.

This chapter's contribution to existing knowledge comes primarily from the fact that it is the most recent⁵ and most comprehensive large scale examination of the stratification of sports participation in Canada. Being both updated and comprehensive in the analysis of cultural fields is important because, as Bourdieu (1978: 833) asserts, various new sports and the passing of time can cause 'more or less complete redefinition of the meaning attached to various practices'. While some scholars have considered the participation of some sports in Canada (e.g. Veenstra, 2010), and in other contexts (Stempel, 2005; Widdop and Cutts, 2013; Widdop et al, 2016), this chapter seeks to analyse a greater number of sports, from a more recent data set, to contribute to the literature of consumption, especially in Canada. With specific respect to Canada, this analysis seeks to add to the growing amount of work done in characterising consumption patterns in this national context. It also seeks to fill a sizeable gap in quantitative sociological work on sports engagement in Canada. Pursuant to all of these aims, the first part of this chapter asks the following basic research questions:

1. What is the social patterning of direct sports participation in Canada?
2. What factors most contribute to this patterning?
3. Which of the three theories of cultural engagement examined in this thesis are most useful for interpreting this patterning?

⁵ Data for this chapter comes from the 2010 iteration of the General Social Survey (GSS) of Canada's Time Use Survey. This is the most recent iteration to ask questions about sports participation.

Hypotheses

I first here provide the various hypothetical theoretical findings and their attendant empirical evidence by which each of the three theories of cultural consumption under examination in this thesis will be tested. If Bourdieu's theories of habitus and homology are most applicable to direct sports participation in the Canadian case, I would expect to find distinct groups that fully consist of high status sports and other groups consisting of only low status sports. The groupings of high status sports would necessarily also be pursued by a group of higher socio-economic location within Canadian society than the groups of low status sports. These results would suggest that direct sports participation in Canada is delimited by high and low status sports that are pursued by those of high and low social position, thus confirming Bourdieu's theories of habitus and homology.

In order to confirm the theory of the cultural omnivore, the results of this chapter must show a group that includes both high and low status sports. The results for this group would also show that this group is of elevated social position. This is especially true compared to any univorous groups, which would be comprised of persons of lower observed social position. If none of the groupings of sports within Canadian society, regardless of their composition of sports, show social patterning by socio-economic position, then this result would suggest an individualisation of sports participation in Canada. However, even in the case that groups do show some socio-economic patterning, if they are more strongly predicted by demographic variables such as age, sex, race, or region, then this would also show elements of the individualisation of sporting lifestyles. This would be further strengthened and confirmed if there was no socio-economic differentiation between those demographic categories (e.g. female and male). This would suggest that it is indeed those elements of demographic identity that more strongly structure sports participation in Canada.

This chapter moves towards analysing these questions through a comprehensive study of the manifest patterning of sports participation in Canada. It also seeks to provide an analysis of the socio-economic and demographic structuring of that participation. This chapter first outlines the data and methods used in this investigation before moving on to latent class and regression analyses of the survey data on participation. It finishes with a discussion of these results and how they apply to the theoretical perspectives of this thesis.

5.2 Data and Methods

This chapter utilizes data from the 2010 Time Use Survey of Canada's General Social Survey (GSS, see also Chapter 4). I use the method of latent class analysis (LCA) for its ability to identify explicit groupings of sporting behaviour (see also Chapter 4). This method has also been used in similar and successful studies of sports participation (Widdop and Cutts, 2013; Widdop et al, 2016). Once these groups are identified, the modal latent class values for each respondent are assigned and a binomial regression analysis performed to identify the general socio-economic and/or demographic make-up of each cluster.

The frequencies of participation in each sport are displayed in Table 5.1. Nineteen percent of the sample had regularly participated in at least one sport in the past twelve months. Recall from the case studies of some of the more frequently engaged sports in Chapter 3 that downhill skiing, golf, ice hockey, and tennis had the highest suggested combined economic and cultural capital requirements for participation. The sports of basketball, football, and volleyball had the lowest suggested combined capital possession requirements for participation. While factors that contribute to the relative social position of participatory sports were discussed in detail for the eleven most popular sports in Chapter 3, similar logic can be extended to other sports in Canada. For example, sailing/yachting and equestrian

sports are traditionally highbrow sporting pursuits because they require large and expensive modes of participation (boats and horses) that must be purchased, housed, and maintained. The environment of these competitions also generally requires cultural competencies of dress and speech, as horse and yacht races can be high society affairs. These types of sports thus have high barriers of entry. Snowboarding has similar participation requirements of equipment and free time to downhill skiing. Softball has similar requirements to baseball, and racquet sports such as squash and badminton require court time and are generally located in racquet or health club settings similar to tennis.

Figure skating and curling require the specialty venues of ice rinks and arenas that while more common in Canada than perhaps some other countries, are still expensive to maintain and ice time for any sporting pursuit upon them is pricey. Curling clubs charge fees anywhere from the tens to hundreds of dollars and curling stones are prohibitively expensive. Curling clubs 'can find deals, such as a complete set of used curling stones, a total of 16 rocks, for around \$4,000.00', while a set of stones used by elite teams cost approximately \$30,000 (Curlingstone.com). Therefore, barriers of entry into curling can require high levels of economic capital and access to curling generally takes place within a fee paying club setting. Other sports with high capital requirements are those that require large and expensive equipment that must be purchased and housed, such as canoes, kayaks, and boats for rowing. Particularly in North America, but also elsewhere, rowing is also generally a sport most frequently located in elite educational institutions.

Finally, sports that would generally require lower levels of capital possession include bowling, ball hockey, combat sports, and extreme sports. While all of these require varying levels of economic capital, these are less than other sports and the cultural capital requirements to access the environments of these sports is generally lower. For instance,

while bowling is not free, expensive bowling balls need not be purchased and games of bowling generally cost between \$5-10. Bowling alleys are generally found in all types of locations, including small post-industrial towns, and the cultural capital requirements for navigating the internal culture of the bowling alley are low. Bowling alley food and drink are also generally popular (e.g. pizza, burgers, mass produced beer) and their prices likewise affordable. Therefore, for this study to find Bourdieu's theories of habitus and homology to be most relevant for the Canadian context, the results of this chapter would have to find these sports that generally require lower levels of capital possession to be grouped together, and likewise for sports generally requiring high levels of capital possession. A mix of high and low status sports that showed persons of the highest socio-economic position participating in this mix of sports would support the omnivore thesis, while this same mix showing no socio-economic stratification would support individualisation arguments.

Table 5.1. Relative frequencies for sports participation variables

Golf	5.9%
Ice Hockey	2.7%
Downhill Skiing	1.5%
Swimming	1.3%
Curling	1.3%
Baseball	1.3%
Cycling	1.2%
Soccer	1.1%
Tennis	1.0%
Volleyball	.9%
Softball	.8%
Basketball	.7%
Ten-pin bowling	.7%
Badminton	.6%
Five-pin bowling	.6%
X-Country skiing	.5%
Canoe/Kayaking	.4%
Equestrian	.4%
Other Extreme Sports	.4%
Ball Hockey	.3%
Other Snow Sports	.3%
Other Combat Sports	.3%
Martial Arts	.3%
Weightlifting	.3%
Squash	.2%

Snowboarding	.2%
Mountain Boarding	.2%
Football	.2%
Sailing/Yachting	.2%
Triathlon	.2%
Rugby	.1%
Boxing	.1%
Rowing	.1%
Figure Skating	.1%
In-line Hockey	.1%
Other Water Sports	.1%
Other Racquet Sports	.1%

The relative frequencies of the coded socio-economic and demographic variables used in the regression analysis of this chapter are displayed in Table 5.2. For this chapter, economic capital is operationalised by household income and dwelling ownership (by someone in the household). Cultural capital is operationalised using personal education. This chapter also considers the demographic categories of age, sex, race, region, and population centre. The first four of these are included with a particular aim towards testing individualisation theories that suggest these demographic categories are now more powerful predictors of social behaviour than socio-economic status. The size of the population centre in which respondents live is primarily included to control for access opportunities that may be unequal between urban and rural locales.

Table 5.2. Relative frequencies of socio-economic and demographic variables

Variable	GSS (n=6863)
Personal Education	
Graduate/Professional School	8.0%
Bachelor's degree	19.0%
Diploma/community/technical college	29.6%
Some uni/community college	13.5%
High school diploma	14.1%
Some secondary/elementary/none	15.8%
Household Income (C\$/year)	
<30,000	19.6%
30 – 59,999	26.8%
60 – 99,999	27.5%
>100,000	26.1%
Home ownership	

	No	22.4%
	Yes	77.6%
Age Group		
	25 – 39	22.9%
	40 – 59	40.6%
	60 +	36.5%
Sex		
	Male	43.2%
	Female	56.8%
Aboriginal status		
	Aboriginal person	4.0%
	Not an aboriginal person	96.0%
Minority status (other than Aboriginal)		
	Visible minority	8.9%
	Not visible minority	91.1%
Region		
	British Columbia	14.8%
	Prairie Region	21.8%
	Ontario	27.7%
	Atlantic Region	21.4%
	Quebec	14.8%
Population centre		
	Smaller/rural population centres	23.3%
	Larger/urban population centres	76.7%

5.3 Results of the statistical analysis of direct sports participation

Latent class model

The first step of investigation in this chapter is a latent class analysis (LCA). This approach is used to identify groupings of sports that generally go together. These groups have the potential to illuminate any sporting groups of homology (all high status or low status groups), or omnivorous groups by composition (both high and low status groups). Survey respondents can then be assessed according to the grouping of sport most characteristic of their pattern of sports participation. This chapter employs the method of latent class analysis (LCA) for its ability to produce clusters of behaviour. In the case of this analysis this is direct sports participation. LCA is an updated replacement for more traditional methods of cluster analysis and avoids many of the model assumption biases of other methods, which are often violated

in practice (Magidson and Vermunt, 2002). Latent class analysis creates clusters by grouping together respondents from the data set who share commonality of the variables included in the model (Magidson and Vermunt, 2002). In the case of this chapter, the clusters are based upon those sports that share similar characteristics within the data. But because there could be many different groupings within the same data set, I must try to choose the most salient LCA model for this particular analysis of sports participation in Canada.

Model summary results from the latent class modelling are included here in Table 5.3. The chi-square statistics are able to tell us if these models show a good resemblance to the data. However, in the case of clustering methods, a p-value of greater than .05 confirms significance of the data's clustering. That is, what I want to see is actually a *non*-statistically significant p-value. This shows that the model is not statistically significantly different from the data, thereby showing a goodness of fit with the data. This is because the null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the data and the model, while the alternative hypothesis is that there is a difference between the model and the data. Because there are numerous models that fit this description, I must decide between these significant models. For this purpose, I utilize log likelihood statistics of model fit. These statistics are also in Table 5.3.

These fit statistics are also included in Table 5.3. From these statistics, the Bayes Information Criterion (BIC) suggests a 2 latent class model solution as the optimal solution. The Akaike Information Criterion (AIC), however, suggests the 4 latent class model as the model of best fit. This can be seen as both of these models reach their optimal (lowest) value for these respective models (Nylund et al, 2007). The AIC is defined as $AIC = 2p - 2 \log L$ (Akaike, 1987). The BIC is defined as $BIC = p \log(N) - 2 \log L$. In these equations, p is the number of model parameters and N is the number of observations. Therefore, in more complex models, the BIC will likely choose a model solution with fewer latent class groups, while the AIC will

choose one with a higher number of class groupings (Dziak et al, 2012). Describing the differences in these models, Akaike (1987: 319) states that in the AIC, ‘the concept of parameter estimation is replaced by the estimation of a distribution and the accuracy is measured by a universal criterion, the expected log likelihood of the fitted model’.

The AIC fit statistic thus better approximates the complex relational approach of such methods such as multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), which have often been undertaken in other analyses of taste and behaviour (e.g. Bennett et al, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984). It is for this reason that omnivorism is not as concretely observed within the data and I interpret these results more through the lens of these sports as associated with each other, rather than asserting that those within each latent class group are likely to consume all of them. Indeed, with the strict circumscription of the survey question used in this analysis, this is almost certainly not the case.

Table 5.3. Latent class analysis summary report for LCA of participatory sports variables

		LL	BIC(LL)	AIC(LL)	L²	p-value
Model1	1-Cluster	-9743.5700	19813.9944	19561.1401	2109.4775	1.00
Model2	2-Cluster	-9331.0175	19324.5776	18812.0351	1284.3725	1.00
Model3	3-Cluster	-9257.3192	19512.8691	18740.6384	1136.9758	1.00
Model4	4-Cluster	-9196.3099	19726.5388	18694.6199	1014.9573	1.00
Model5	5-Cluster	-9161.0753	19991.7577	18700.1506	944.4881	1.00
Model6	6-Cluster	-9138.8833	20283.0618	18731.7665	900.1040	1.00

However, at the same time I also benefit from latent class modelling that provides better definition and delimitation of sporting groups, which is more elusive with the aggregate relational approach of MCA. The BIC value being optimal for the two-class model thus makes sense. In this case, the two-class model solution describes one group that participates

in sports and one that does not. This is of limited value for ascertaining social differentiation between sports or in testing homologies between groups of sports or potential omnivorous consumption between high and low status sports. Findings that disconfirm Bourdieu’s theories or the theory of the cultural omnivore may therefore suggest elements of individualisation in the choice of participatory sport in contemporary Canada. For all of these reasons, I choose the 4 latent class model solution for examination in this chapter and interpret it as I do.

Latent Class Profile

As seen in Table 5.4, this four latent class solution divides the data into latent classes that constitute approximately 82%, 7%, 6%, and 5%, respectively. The first latent class here is by far the largest group. This group is defined by people who have comparatively very low probabilities of regularly participating in any of these sports. I thus label this latent class group the ‘sports inactive’ group. This is because generally, people in this latent class do not participate in any of these sports. The relatively large size of this group is most likely a function of the narrow parameters of the survey question that strictly circumscribed regular sports participation (see also Chapter 4).

Table 5.4. LCA Profile with conditional probabilities of inclusion for each sport¹

	LC 1	LC 2	LC 3	LC 4	Sample relative frequencies
Cluster Size	0.8164	0.0737	0.0581	0.0519	
Indicators					
Golf	0.0173	<i>0.4747</i>	0.0742	0.1166	0.059
Ice Hockey	0.0003	0.1551	<i>0.2416</i>	0.0327	0.027
Downhill Skiing	0.0000	0.0497	0.0002	0.2101	0.015
Swimming	0.0069	0.0135	0.0023	<i>0.1145</i>	0.013

Curling	0.0058	0.1161	0.0000	0.0001	0.013
Baseball	0.0016	0.0715	0.1168	0.0002	0.013
Cycling	0.0005	0.0404	0.0048	0.1622	0.012
Soccer	0.0006	0.0000	0.1591	0.0318	0.011
Tennis	0.0022	0.0243	0.0493	0.0663	0.010
Volleyball	0.0025	0.0124	0.0961	0.0127	0.009
Softball	0.0036	0.0285	0.0524	0.0041	0.008
Basketball	0.0008	0.0029	0.0821	0.0199	0.007
10-pin Bowling	0.0054	0.0278	0.0000	0.0020	0.007
Badminton	0.0010	0.0000	0.0541	0.0358	0.006
5-pin Bowling	0.0048	0.0245	0.0000	0.0000	0.006
XC Skiing	0.0000	0.0190	0.0000	0.0713	0.005
Canoe Kayaking	0.0000	0.0000	0.0080	0.0667	0.004
Equestrian	0.0029	0.0001	0.0061	0.0180	0.004
Other Alt./Extreme Sports	0.0014	0.0037	0.0206	0.0192	0.004
Ball Hockey	0.0002	0.0126	0.0308	0.0000	0.004
Other Snow/Ice Sports	0.0000	0.0027	0.0157	0.0432	0.003
Other Combat Sports	0.0012	0.0047	0.0158	0.0101	0.003
Martial Arts	0.0023	0.0000	0.0069	0.0070	0.003
Weightlifting	0.0005	0.0037	0.0228	0.0145	0.003
Squash	0.0000	0.0000	0.0161	0.0241	0.002
Snowboarding	0.0000	0.0064	0.0144	0.0112	0.002
Mountain Boarding	0.0007	0.0032	0.0052	0.0126	0.002
Football	0.0000	0.0000	0.0376	0.0000	0.002
Sailing Yachting	0.0000	0.0025	0.0000	0.0329	0.002
Triathlon	0.0002	0.0000	0.0000	0.0275	0.002
Rugby	0.0000	0.0000	0.0125	0.0000	0.001
Boxing	0.0010	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.001
Rowing	0.0013	0.0000	0.0000	0.0071	0.001
Figure Skating	0.0006	0.0000	0.0000	0.0191	0.001
In-line Hockey	0.0000	0.0000	0.0145	0.0000	0.001

Other Water Sports	0.0001	0.0089	0.0000	<i>0.0109</i>	0.001
Racquet/Hand Sports	0.0003	0.0012	0.0083	<i>0.0103</i>	0.001

¹Values in boldface type represent those probabilities that exceed the overall relative frequencies for the sample. Those values that are in boldface type and italicised represent those probabilities that are the highest for that sport.

Unlike the first group, the second latent class includes many sports. There are twenty-two sports included in this cluster. Fifteen are not included because their conditional probabilities do not exceed their overall relative frequencies for the sample. Because it is relatively difficult to define the overall groupings of sports in each cluster, I focus mostly upon the characteristics of the sports that have their highest probabilities for each cluster, and upon those sports that have their only occurrence in each class. Three sports, golf, curling, and five pin bowling, are included in this second cluster with their highest probabilities. This is the lowest number of such sports among the three latent classes that include a plethora of sports. Golf, in particular, shows a very high conditional probability relative to the percentage of the GSS sample who regularly play golf. Therefore, participation in golf plays a disproportionate role for defining this second latent class group in terms of characterising its nature. A further three sports, curling, 10 pin bowling, and again 5 pin bowling, have probabilities that are higher than their overall relative frequencies for the sample as a whole, and in fact have their only occurrence in the second latent class. All of these sports are ones that are usually done in small groups, do not involve bodily contact with other participants, and are generally low intensity in terms of physical exertion. Indeed, these are the only sports from this data that fit this description. While all of these sports can be played competitively, they are often done primarily for recreation. Therefore, this group is the ‘golf and recreation sports’ group. This group therefore prominently includes golf, a capitally intensive sport, as well bowling, which is less capitally intensive. This suggests that those in this group could potentially be omnivores by composition.

The third latent class includes twenty-five sports that have conditional probabilities from the LCA profile that exceed their relative frequencies for the sample. Twelve of the sports are therefore not included in this group. Of the twenty-five sports that are included, fifteen have their highest probability of inclusion in this cluster. The primary characteristics of these fifteen sports are two-fold. First, with few exceptions, they are mostly team sports, notably ice hockey, baseball, basketball, soccer, volleyball and football. There is only one team sport that is not included in this group. This sport is curling, a sport with generally smaller teams than others that has the capacity to be more individualised than the other team sports that are included. For those sports that are included in this third group with their highest probabilities, these dynamics occur to an even greater degree. Ice hockey, baseball, soccer, volleyball, softball, and basketball are all included in this third cluster with their highest probabilities and are also the most prominent examples of team sports within the Canadian context. Similarly, alternative and extreme sports, ball hockey, 'other contact sports', football, rugby, in-line hockey, and perhaps to lesser extents snowboarding and weightlifting, are all examples of sports included in this third latent class group that are contact driven sports, or at least contain strong elements of physicality and bodily injury potential. Likewise, the three sports that are only included in this cluster are the sports of football, rugby, and in-line hockey, all of which include contact within the essential rules of play. These three sports have a zero probability of appearing in any other cluster besides this one. For all these reasons, this latent class is the 'team and contact sports' group. Like the golf and recreation sports group, the team and contact sports group includes both elite capitally intensive sports (e.g. ice hockey) and non-elite sports with lower barriers of entry (e.g. football and basketball).

If latent class three is the team and contact sports group, the fourth latent class is the ‘individual and non-contact sports’ group. This is because, with very few exceptions, the sports included in this fourth latent class group are either individual sports or sports that have little to no bodily contact within the normal playing of those sports, or both. This is the case particularly for those sports that are included in this latent class with their highest probabilities. There are sixteen sports that have their highest probabilities for this cluster. These sixteen are as follows: swimming, cycling, tennis, cross country skiing, canoeing and kayaking, equestrian, ‘other snow and ice sports’, martial arts, squash, mountain boarding, sailing and yachting, triathlon, rowing, figure skating, ‘other water sports’, and ‘other racquet and hand sports’. Therefore, of these sixteen, ‘martial arts’ is the only true contact sport. However, martial arts do not necessarily have to involve physical contact. Mountain boarding is perhaps another exception because similarly to sports such as snowboarding, there is a high potential for bodily injury if falls should occur. Likewise, while some of these sixteen sports *can* be played in small teams, these sports are generally done individually. Of the nine sports *not* included in this latent class, these are all contact sports: boxing, rugby, football, ball hockey, and in-line hockey. Other sports included in the fourth latent class are those less physically demanding sports of 5-pin bowling, 10-pin bowling, and curling. Therefore, in contrast to the third latent class group, this fourth grouping of sports is mostly characterised by their non-contact nature, while preferring the most physically demanding individual sports in contrast to the second latent class group. Unlike latent class groups two and three, this fourth group does not prominently include sports of both high and low status within the Canadian case. The sports included in this final group are mostly sports of traditionally high status. In Table 5.5 I have offered a summary of the characteristics of the four latent class groups that can be used as a reference point of these groups for the remainder of the chapter.

Table 5.5. Summary table of latent class group titles and formative characterising sports

Latent Class One 'Sports Inactive'	Latent Class Two 'Golf and Recreation'	Latent Class Three 'Team/contact'	Latent Class Four 'Individual/non-contact'
Characterised by not directly participating in sport.	Characterised by golf and other non-physically demanding sports generally done for recreation. It includes both high and low sports of golf, curling, and bowling.	Characterised by team sports and/or sports involving bodily contact. It includes both high and low sports such as ice hockey and basketball.	Characterised by individual and sports involving no physical contact but are more physically demanding. These include elite sports such as downhill skiing, tennis, equestrian, sailing and yachting.

Social make-up of latent class groups

Having analysed the various groupings of sports within each latent class cluster, I now analyse the make-up of the respondents that generally fall into each of these groups. For this I first utilise simple crosstabulations between independent variables used in this thesis and the latent class groupings. The results of this crosstabulation are displayed in Table 5.6.

As this table shows, the fourth latent class group, the individual and non-contact sports group, shows the highest percentage of respondents that have an undergraduate degree or graduate education and the lowest percentages for the two lowest levels of education. The first two latent class groups, the inactive and golf and recreation show very similar percentages for education, while the third latent class group, the team and contact sports group falls between these two and latent class four, the individual and non-contact sports group.

Table 5.6. Cross tabulations for latent class groups and independent variables

	LC1 Inactive	LC2 Golf & Recreation	LC3 Team & Contact	LC4 Individual & non-contact
<i>Education</i>				
Graduate/professional school	7.4%	6.7%	11.4%	24.2%
Undergraduate degree	17.8%	21.9%	26.5%	35.7%
Diploma CC/Tech school	29.5%	31.0%	30.9%	27.1%
Some uni/community college	13.6%	15.5%	12.6%	7.7%
High school diploma	14.5%	16.5%	11.4%	2.9%
Less than high school	17.2%	8.4%	7.3%	2.4%
<i>Income</i>				
Under \$30,000	21.9%	6.6%	6.0%	4.0%
\$30,000 to \$59,999	28.6%	22.7%	21.5%	18.3%
\$60,000 to \$99,999	26.4%	27.8%	29.6%	32.0%
Over \$100,000	23.2%	43.0%	43.0%	45.7%
<i>Home ownership</i>				
No	23.6%	10.4%	20.1%	15.0%
Yes	76.4%	89.6%	79.9%	85.0%
<i>Age</i>				
25 to 39	21.5%	14.3%	59.4%	25.5%
40 to 59	40.3%	41.6%	36.2%	52.4%
Over 60	38.2%	44.1%	4.4%	22.1%
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	39.1%	70.0%	79.6%	52.4%
Female	60.9%	30.0%	20.4%	47.6%
<i>Race</i>				
Aboriginal person	4.1%	2.9%	5.2%	2.2%
Not an Aboriginal person	95.9%	97.1%	94.8%	97.8%
Visible Minority	9.0%	3.7%	13.9%	8.2%
Non-Visible Minority	91.0%	96.3%	86.1%	91.8%
<i>Population Centre</i>				
Small / Rural	22.6%	23.9%	22.6%	18.8%
Prince Edward Island	3.3%	2.2%	3.5%	1.0%
Large / Urban	74.1%	73.9%	73.9%	80.3%
<i>Provincial Region</i>				
British Columbia	14.0%	17.5%	8.2%	24.5%
Prairie Provinces	21.1%	30.3%	25.8%	17.8%
Ontario	27.0%	31.0%	35.2%	30.3%
Atlantic Region	22.3%	15.8%	21.1%	8.2%
Quebec	15.6%	5.4%	9.7%	19.2%

However, this third latent class group, the team and contact sports group, still presents percentages that are closer to the first two latent class groups than the fourth. Therefore, the main finding is that those in the individual and non-contact sports group tend to be more highly educated than those in people in the other latent class groups.

For the first operationalised measure of economic capital, household income, the three sports participation clusters show very similar patterns. The non-sports group, however, shows a distinctively different patterning in this regard, with a much higher percentage of respondents from the lower income levels and a much lower percentage from the higher income levels. Similarly, these sports participation groups all show higher levels of home ownership than the non-sports group (76.4%), although these range from 89.6% for the golf and recreation sports group to 79.9% for the team and contact sports group. Therefore, the distribution of economic capital is similar across the three sports participation groups, especially for income.

For the demographic variables, the first two latent class groups – LC1 sports inactive and LC2 golf and other recreational sports participants – show the highest percentages of respondents in the oldest age categories, while the third group – LC3 team and contact sports participants – shows the highest percentage in the youngest age category, and is the group with the highest percentage of respondents in the middle age category.

In terms of sex, the sports inactive latent class (LC1) is the most female, while the golf and other recreational sports (LC2) and team and contact sports (LC3) groups are overwhelmingly male. Latent class 4, the individual and non-contact sports group, is the closest to a 50/50 split between males (52.4%) and females (47.6%).

For both the racial categories of aboriginal persona and visible minority person, the sports inactive (LC1) and the team and contact sports (LC3) latent class groups show the highest

percentages of respondents. In contrast, the golf and recreational sports group (LC2) is overwhelmingly white, while the individual and non-contact sports group (LC4), has the third highest percentage of visible minority respondents but the lowest percentage of aboriginal respondents. While these percentages show that racial minority groups in Canada may be most likely to play either a team and contact sport or no sport at all, and white groups are most likely to play golf, recreation, individual and non-contact sports, the regression analysis will also provide a more robust predictive statistical analysis of these dynamics.

The percentage trends for population centre are almost identical across the four latent class groups, although the fourth latent class group shows the highest percentage of respondents that live in large urban areas. Finally, while the non-sports group largely reflects the regional patterning of the sample, the second and third latent class groups are largely composed from respondents in the prairie provinces and Ontario, while the final group is composed of a high percentage of respondents from British Columbia and Quebec, along with Ontario.

These crosstabulations are only able to reveal a more descriptive picture of the social make-up of these latent class groups. For a more complete picture, a more robust method of statistical analysis is needed that is able to control for all of the independent variables included in this analysis and identify the most powerful in predicting patterns of sports participation in Canada. However, some summary assessment against the hypotheses at the outset of this chapter can be gleaned from these cross tabulations.

First, the individual and non-contact sports group appears to have the highest levels of cultural capital. This group may also have the highest levels of economic capital, although all three sports participation clusters show similar levels of economic capital. These results suggest that economic capital is a similarly stratifying variable for the playing of sports across the status spectrum. Because the two latent class groups with the most potential for

omnivorous consumption (LC2 and LC3 – the golf and recreation sports and team and contact sports groups) are predicted by higher levels of income, these results likewise suggest that economic capital may be the most important type of capital for omnivorous sports participation.

The demographic results also suggest high levels of differentiation between the latent classes based on age and sex, and lesser differentiation for race, region, and population centre. The most glaring of these differences is between the age of the golf and recreation sports group and the team and contact sports group. The oldest age group makes up a plurality of the golf and recreation group, while those in the youngest age group make up a majority of the team and contact sports group. Because the golf and recreation sports group shows evidence of older participants than the sports inactive group, these results show this differentiation even above what may intuitively be declining sports participation with age. Therefore, this may suggest elements of theories around emerging culture, which will be analysed through a split sample regression analysis later in this chapter.

Along with being the youngest age group, the team and contact sports group is also the most male and includes the highest proportion of racial minority participants. Particularly for sex, this contrasts sharply with the individual and non-contact sports group, which shows a relatively even split for females and males. The individual and non-contact sports group is also the most likely to be found in large urban areas and in the provinces of British Columbia and Quebec. Further regression analyses will be able to provide the degree to which these differences predict membership in each latent class group, and further split sample analyses of this data will also be able to illuminate if these demographic differences are potentially products of individualisation.

I now utilise more complex methods of statistical analysis, using a binomial logistic regression model approach. These tests will allow me to identify net effects of these variables for each latent class and thus better control for and isolate the most predictive of these independent variables for latent class group membership. The results of this regression model can be seen in Table 5.7. The bivariate gross effects of each of independent variable of the latent class composition is also reported in this table and the results are displayed as log odds coefficients. The text describing these results, however, will primarily focus on the net effects when the full regression model is applied to the data. Likewise, odds ratios from these regressions may also be used in the descriptive text of these regression results.

From the first binomial regression analysis, the first latent class, the sports inactive group, shows the lowest levels of both economic and cultural capital possession. Those with the lowest levels of education and income are both most likely to be in this group. Members of this group are also more likely to be in the youngest age category and more likely to live in Quebec than provinces of Anglo-Canada. These demographic variables are less predictive than cultural and economic capital and no other demographic variables show statistically significant net effects. Therefore, in Canada, it appears that not playing any sports is most associated with low levels of capital possession. None of the three sports participation latent class groups show a similar relationship to lower levels of income and education. Indeed, all three of the sports participation groups are predicted by higher levels of economic capital, cultural capital, or both.

Those with elevated levels of education, are more likely to be in the second latent class group, the golf and recreational sports group. Those with levels of personal education that include a high school diploma or higher, through to the undergraduate degree level, are more likely to be in this group than those with less than a high school diploma. However, this is not

progressively the case, as those with high school diplomas are just as likely as those with undergraduate degrees to be in this group compared to those in the lowest category of educational attainment. Where this pattern is more continuous is for income. Those respondents in the highest income category are five times more likely to be in this group than those in the lowest income category. This highest income group (>\$100,000) is also approximately twice as likely than each of the other income levels. Therefore, the operationalised measure of economic capital (income) shows stronger predictive force than the operationalised measure of cultural capital (education). Home ownership, however, the second operationalised measure of economic capital (a measure of wealth), did not show statistically significant predictive results for this group in the regression model.

Demographically, those in the oldest age group (60+) are two times more likely to be in this second latent class group. Males are also approximately three times more likely to be in the golf and recreation sports group than females. This group is also approximately two to three times as likely to include those that live in the provinces of Anglo-Canada than to include those that live in the French Canadian province of Quebec. Independent variables for race and the size of the population centre within which respondents reside showed no statistically significant predictive results for this second latent class group. Therefore, the most powerful demographic variables for predicting those respondents who fall into this second latent class group are age, sex, and region, with those in the oldest age group, males, and those in Anglo-Canadian provinces between two and three times more likely to be members of this group than the youngest age category, females, and those in the French Canadian province of Quebec. Of all the independent variables of the model, however, it is income that presents as the most predictive variable for this group.

Table 5.7. Log odds ratios from binomial logistic regression of latent class groups

	Sport Inactive		Golf and Recreation Sports		Team and Contact		Individual and non-contact	
	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects
Personal Education								
Grad/Professional School	-1.449***	-.742***	.465	-.256	1.171***	1.676	3.070***	2.480***
Bachelor's degree	-1.349***	-.744***	.816***	.511*	1.155***	.287	2.563***	1.907***
Diploma Comm/Tech college	-.970***	-.535**	.714***	.609*	.849***	.141	1.811***	1.113*
Some uni/comm. College	-.886***	-.350	.810***	.516	.731**	.009	1.331**	.607
High school diploma	-.737***	-.313	.831***	.634*	.577*	-.035	.296	-.414
Some secondary/element./none	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Household Income (C\$/year)								
>100,000	-1.959***	-1.344***	1.677***	1.592***	1.757***	.908**	2.201***	1.118*
60 – 99,999	-1.436***	-.605***	1.174***	1.029***	1.328***	.631*	1.800***	1.162*
30 – 59,999	-1.035***	-.371***	.931***	.831**	.963**	.520	1.195**	.718
<30,000	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Home ownership								
No	.579***	.120	-.955***	-.313	-.140	-.047	-.505*	-.025
Yes	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Age Group								
25 – 39	-.804***	-.629***	-.699***	-1.090***	3.190***	3.362***	.622**	.529
40 – 59	-.442***	-.211	-.176	-.607***	2.036***	2.044***	.777***	.922***
60 +	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Sex								
Male	-1.259***	-1.215	1.189***	.981***	1.706***	1.762***	.383**	.387*
Female	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Race/ethnicity								
Aboriginal person	.145	.108	-.337	-.283	.280	.141	-.626	-.448
Not an aboriginal person	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Visible minority	.106	.189	-.971***	-.361	.533**	.153	-.093	-.514
Non visible minority	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Population Centre								
Smaller/rural population centres	.032	-.063	.064	-.006	.007	.135	-.273	.101
Prince Edward Island	.353	-.054	-.374	-.134	.094	.303	-1.298	-.536
Large/urban population centres	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Region								
British Columbia	-.568***	-.573**	1.261***	.929**	-.144	.069	.292	.443
Prairie Provinces	-.522***	-.562***	1.399***	1.108***	.612**	.537*	-.479*	-.316
Ontario	-.535***	-.571***	1.167***	.944***	.689***	.664**	-.177	-.179
Atlantic Region	-.107	-.172	.723**	.638*	.419	.548*	-1.252***	-1.232**
Quebec	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Nagelkerke R ²		.159 ¹		.119		.234		.144

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001, ^reference category; ¹Nagelkerke score is the result for the full model

The third latent class group, the team and contact sports group, has slightly fewer statistically significant parameters when the full model is applied than the golf and recreation sports group. While the bivariate gross effects show that measures of increased economic and cultural capital by themselves are predictive of membership in this group, when the full model is applied, education does not appear to be predictive of membership in this group. Income, however, is still predictive of membership in this latent class group. Those with the highest levels of income are most likely to be in this group, and almost three times more likely than the lowest level of income. Home ownership again shows no statistically significant predictive measure for inclusion in this third group. This group however, shows the most powerful predictors coming from demographic variables.

The full models show a few most powerful predictors. The strongest two predictors for the team and contact sports group are age and sex. Those in the youngest age category and males, are many times more likely to be included in this group, compared to those in older age categories and females, respectively. Particularly for age, the youngest age group is twenty-seven times more likely to be in this group than those in the oldest age group. Likewise, those in the middle age group are almost eight times more likely to be in this group than those in the oldest age group. Males are similarly more than six times more likely to be in this group than females. Those in the Anglo-Canadian provinces of the Prairie Region (Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba), Ontario, and the Atlantic Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Prince Edward Island) are also approximately twice as likely to be included in this group than those in the province of Quebec. The remaining demographic variables of race and population centre size again do not show statistically significant predictive results for the regression model predicting membership in this third latent class group, the team and contact sports group.

In the fourth latent class group, the individual and non-contact sports group, the results of the regression model show a group that is structured first and foremost by cultural capital in the form of personal education. Personal education is the greatest independent variable predictor for membership in this fourth latent class. Those who have graduate education are more than ten times as likely than those with less than a high school diploma to be in this group, while those with bachelor's degrees are almost seven times as likely. Additionally, those in the highest income category are almost four times more likely than those in the lowest income category to be in this group, although this is the only statistically significant comparison for income. Therefore, economic capital also structures this group between the highest and lowest income levels. The independent variable of home ownership again shows no statistically significant predictive relationship to membership in this fourth latent class group.

Demographically, age and sex are again strong predictors, while race and population centre again show no statistically significant values for predicting membership in this group. Region shows one predictive parameter, but otherwise this variable likewise does not show a strong statistically significant relationship for this fourth group. Those in the youngest age group are nearly twice as likely to be in this fourth latent class group, the individual and non-contact sports group, than those in the oldest age category. Likewise, those in the middle age group are approximately two and a half times more likely to be in this group than the oldest age group. Males are also slightly less than twice as likely to be in this group than females. This, however, is the smallest gap between males and females in any of the latent class groups. Finally, those in the provinces of the Atlantic Region are more than three times *less likely* to be in this fourth group than those in Quebec. The individual and non-contact sports group is therefore the only one of the sports participation clusters that does not show a sharp divide in participation between the provinces of Anglo-Canada and Quebec. Overall, these results

show that this fourth latent class group is most structured by cultural capital possession, as captured by education, followed by income (between high and low), age, and sex. Therefore, this group does generally adhere to Bourdieu's assertions of distinction around the relative status of sporting lifestyles. Therefore, this group also highlights Bourdieu's homology thesis. This is because this group circumscribes a set of sports that are of elevated social status and those who participate in these sports possess elevated levels of cultural capital, likewise suggesting an attendant habitus of social privilege. This patterning of sports participation contrasts to the other two latent class groups that include sports of both higher and lower social status and are more delimited by economic capital, age, and sex.

Because of the persistent and strong statistically significant predictive parameters of age and sex, this chapter proceeds to perform a split sample regression analysis of these variables. This is because these types of demographic variables are of the kind that versions of the individualisation thesis highlight as becoming more important in the structuring of activity. Therefore, performing these further split sample regression analyses can help to isolate questions regarding if and how the predictive power of these variables may be related to the theory of individualisation. The next section shows and describes the results of these regressions.

Social make-up of latent class groups (split sample regression analysis)

I now perform split sample regression analyses of the two most persistent demographic predictive variables from the overall regression analysis. I do this to better understand the relationship of these predictive differences to the markers of cultural and economic capital included in this analysis. For instance, is the influence of capital possession consistent across these demographic categories, such as young and old, female and male? Results in regard to

differences (or not) in the capital possession structuring of these split samples can help to affirm or problematise various theories of cultural consumption by highlighting how these theories converge in the participation of sports in Canada.

Age split sample analysis

The first of the split samples is age (see Table 5.7). Recall the theory of emerging culture that arose from observed strong age differentiation in cultural consumption (e.g. Savage et al, 2015). This theory asserts that while young and old age groups participate in different forms of culture and have different cultural tastes, the social class position of those engaged in ‘emerging’ forms of culture and those who consumed more traditional forms of high culture were similar in terms of their levels of capital possession (see also Chapter 2). In the results of sports participation presented in this chapter, the second latent class group, the golf and recreation sports group, shows the oldest age group to be most predictive of membership. However, the third latent class group, the team and contact sports group, shows the youngest age group to be the most predictive of membership. The final group, the individual and non-contact sports group, is the most middle aged. However, this final group, as a grouping of traditionally more highbrow sports, it is still a useful grouping to compare the capital possession distribution of the youngest and oldest age groups.

For the first sports participation latent class, the golf and recreation sports group, youngest age group (25-39) shows no statistically significant differentiation on the basis of personal education or income. This group is also overwhelmingly more likely to be male. This compares to the oldest age group (60+), that while also not showing stratification by education, shows similar directionality (higher educated) and magnitude of the log odds for the non-split sample analysis and therefore may be a product of a decreased sample size. The

oldest age group in this latent class group is also more stratified between the high and low ends of income, with those of the highest income level four times as likely to be in this group than those with the lowest level of income. While also much more likely to be male, the oldest age category is not close to as overwhelmingly predicted by sex as the youngest age category. Older persons in this latent class group are also much more likely to reside in the provinces of Anglo-Canada than in Quebec.

The youngest age group again shows no significant differentiation between personal education level for the third latent class group, the team and contact sports group, mirroring the non-split sample results. However, young persons in this group are strongly predicted by income, with those of highest income two and a half times more likely to be in this group than those with the lowest amount of income. They are also most likely to be male, and are also most likely found in small and rural population centres. There is little regional differentiation, although those in Ontario are twice as likely to be in this group than those in Quebec amongst this youngest cohort. These results strongly contrast to the oldest age category within this team and contact sports group, which does not show a single statistically significant parameter for predicting membership. This could be a function of a small sample size for this age category within this latent class group for two reasons. First, the sample could simply not be large enough to produce any statistically significant results. This is most likely the case. However, this could also be a function of the small sample size in a different way. It could be the case that with such little participation from this age category in this group of team and contact sports, there may not be deeply entrenched structural restrictions to participation and participation may be mostly based upon elements of individualisation and of course, physical capacity to compete in such sports.

In the final latent class, the individual and non-contact sports group, the youngest age category is overwhelmingly predicted by personal educational attainment. Education is by far the most predictive variable for young persons in this latent class group. The only other variable that shows a statistically significant predictive relationship is sex, where males are also almost three times as likely as females to be in this fourth latent class group amongst this youngest age category. Personal education is again the strongest predictive variable for the oldest age group in this latent class group. However, unlike those in the youngest age category, it is only those with graduate education for the oldest age category that are most predicted to be in this latent class group. Those with graduate education are approximately twelve times more likely to be in this group for the oldest age category than those with less than a high school degree. Again, unlike the youngest age category, sex is not a statistically significant predictive parameter, nor is any other variable. These results therefore show that the oldest sports participation latent class, the golf and recreation sports group, is stratified primarily by economic capital, and likely also by cultural capital. The youngest latent class group, the team and contact sports group, is likewise stratified by economic capital. Therefore, these results seem to suggest the salience of the theory of emerging culture, as the capitally possessed young and the capitally possessed old have their own respective sports that are markers of social position within these age groups.

Sex split sample analysis

The second split sample regression analysis undertaken in this chapter is for the sex variable. Sex is a salient category of social distinction across countries, and therefore is a large group category that can transcend internal national class structures and is compatible with a ‘cosmopolitanisation’ of lifestyles under more modest interpretations of individualisation (Beck, 2012). It is also one of the key variables pointed to by proponents of these ‘weaker’

versions of the individualisation thesis as an important non capital based structuring variable of lifestyles (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a). Because of the strong predictive power of sex in the broader regression analyses, findings of equivalent levels of capital possession between the sexes for sports participation groups would suggest more individualised sports participation between females and males in Canada.

Female respondents in the second latent class, the golf and recreation sports group, show a strong and statistically significant relationship with household income (see Table 5.8). Those with the highest amount to income are more than four times more likely to be in this group than those with the lowest level of income. This group is also strongly stratified by age, with those females in the oldest age category more than five times more likely to be in this group than those in the youngest age category. Females in this latent class group are also twice as likely to be in the Prairie Provinces than Quebec. While females show no statistically significant relationship to education for this latent class group, males with an undergraduate degree are twice as likely to be in this group than those with less than a high school degree. However, the direction and magnitude of this same educational difference is seen for females, suggesting a sample size effect and similar levels of education between males and females. Males are also similarly stratified by income level, with those in the highest income category more than five times more likely to be in this group than those in the lowest income category. Older males are also more likely to be in this group, although they are less stratified by age for this group than females. Males are also much more stratified by region than females, with those male respondents in this group between three and four times more likely to be in this golf and recreation sports group than reside in Quebec.

Table 5.8. GSS; log odds coefficients from binomial logistic regression (age split sample)

	Sport Inactive		Golf and Recreation Sports		Team and Contact		Individual and non-contact	
	25 – 39	60 plus	25 – 39	60 plus	25 – 39	60 plus	25 – 39	60 plus
Personal Education								
Grad/Professional School	-.883*	-.457	-.965	-.034	-.007	-19.115	21.389***	2.466*
Bachelor's degree	-.592	-.880**	.330	.671	.223	.588	19.943***	1.508
Diploma Comm/Tech college	-.271	-.667*	.269	.614	.005	-1.016	19.261***	1.454
Some uni/comm. College	-.158	-.636	.564	.605	-.154	-.490	18.732	1.123
High school diploma	-.303	-.517	.182	.722	.283	-17.942	.063	-16.889
Some secondary/element./none		---		---		---		---
Household Income (C\$/year)								
>100,000	-.819*	-1.563***	.893	1.357***	.955*	19.136	-.490	17.557
60 – 99,999	-.416	-1.307***	.064	.966**	.622	18.614	-.300	18.048
30 – 59,999	-.244	-.745*	.066	.538	.470	-.150	-.554	17.628
<30,000		---		---		---		---
Home ownership								
No	-.177	.582	.178	-.681	.204	.402	-.130	-.492
Yes		---		---		---		---
Sex								
Male	-1.814***	-.944***	1.901***	.947***	1.699***	17.892	1.018**	.337
Female		---		---		---		---
Race/ethnicity								
Aboriginal person	-.182	.230	-.383	-.091	.401	-16.216	-.258	-16.859
Not an aboriginal person		---		---		---		---
Visible minority	-.075	.411	-1.253	-.127	.458	-17.263	-.450	-18.125
Non visible minority		---		---		---		---
Population Centre								
Smaller/rural population centres	-.533**	.096	.654	-.267	.442*	-.070	.046	.770
Prince Edward Island	-.550	1.367	-.626	-20.513	.706	.460	.757	-16.257
Large/urban population centres		---		---		---		---
Region								
British Columbia	-.352	-.796*	.139	1.065*	.177	-.345	.485	-.214
Prairie Provinces	-.404	-.955**	.486	1.361**	.472	-.752	-.168	-1.125
Ontario	-.368	-.803*	.201	.845	.692*	-.891	-.892	.757
Atlantic Region	-.063	-.255	.505	.485	.295	.739	-1.367*	-1.640
Quebec		---		---		---		---
Nagelkerke R ²	.207	.231	.149	.159	.165	.413	.181	.240

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001, ^reference category

Table 5.9. GSS; log odds coefficients from binomial logistic regression (sex split sample)

	Sport Inactive		Golf and Recreation Sports		Team and Contact		Individual and non-contact	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Personal Education								
Grad/Professional School	-1.138*	-.678**	-.179	-.296	.258	.663	20.931***	1.940**
Bachelor's degree	-1.027*	-.713**	.472	.541	.567	.263	20.931***	1.529**
Diploma Comm/Tech college	-1.040**	-.325	.830	.446	.632	.063	19.862***	.611
Some uni/comm. College	-.578	-.300	.436	.525	-.474	.116	19.796***	-.417
High school diploma	-.767	-.127	.666	.588	.956	-.322	18.353	-.857
Some secondary/element./none	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Household Income (C\$/year)								
>100,000	-1.393***	-1.344***	-1.431**	-1.670***	.538	1.138**	2.619*	.166
60 – 59,999	-.872**	-1.037***	-.828	-1.113**	-.152	.984*	2.340*	.449
60 – 99,999	-.833**	-.691**	-.920*	-.746*	-.289	.881*	2.126*	-.244
>100,000	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Home ownership								
No	.135	-.090	-.774	-.104	-.078	.029	.359	.362
Yes	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Age Group								
25 – 39	-.090	-.914***	-1.738***	-.889***	19.725***	3.203***	.137	.841*
40 – 59	-.211	-.180	-.465	-.719***	18.329	1.900***	.856*	.915**
60 +	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Race/ethnicity								
Aboriginal person	.440	-.005	-1.103	-.011	-.184	.198	-.150	-.907
Not an aboriginal person	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Visible minority	.338	.108	-.294	-.393	-.466	.336	-.236	-.784
Non visible minority	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Population Centre								
Smaller/rural population centres	-.205	-.003	-.086	.028	.358	.085	.412	-.170
Prince Edward Island	-.691	-.261	1.134*	-1.876	-17.641	.493	.485	-18.725
Large/urban population centres	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Region								
British Columbia	-.691*	-.502*	.610	1.100**	.610	-.063	.624	.341
Prairie Provinces	-.549*	-.588**	.792*	1.307***	1.118*	.383	-.324	-.291
Ontario	-.447	-.648***	.206	1.332***	1.054	.575*	-.228	-.571
Atlantic Region	.412	-.444*	-.009	.987**	.018	.690*	-1.326*	-1.140*
Quebec	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Nagelkerke R ²	.086	.125	.097	.103	.191	.210	.162	.158

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001, ^reference category

Females in the third latent class, the team and contact sports plus group, are not significantly predicted by educational attainment or income, but are overwhelmingly more likely to be of the youngest age category compared to the oldest age category. Females in this group are again also three times more likely to reside in the Prairie Provinces than in Quebec. Males in this group are likewise not predicted to be in this group by virtue of formal educational attainment. Males, however are strongly predicted by income, with those in the lowest income category between two and a half and three and a half times less likely to be in this group than the three higher income categories. Males are similarly but to a lesser extent more likely to be in the youngest age category (and middle age category) than the oldest age category. Males in Ontario and the provinces of the Atlantic Region are also twice as likely to be in this third category than those in the province of Quebec.

For the final latent class, the individual and non-contact sports group, the split sample results for females again shows an overwhelming statistically significant relationship to education, with those of higher levels of education many times more likely to be in this group than those with less than a high school degree. Likewise, those with the highest level of income are approximately fourteen times more likely to be in this group than those with the lowest level of income. Females in this group are also most likely to be middle aged and the results suggest that this group is the most likely to include those who reside in Quebec compared to Anglo-Canada of the three sports participation groups. Males in this group are also strongly predicted by personal educational attainment. Those with an undergraduate degree are five times more likely to be in this group than those with less than a high school degree and those with graduate education are more than seven times more likely to be in this group. Unlike female respondents, male respondents in this group show no statistically significant income stratification. Males in this group are most likely to be in the youngest age category, closely

followed by the middle age category, almost three and two and a half times more likely than the oldest age category, respectively. Finally, males show a similar result to females in suggesting that this group is the most likely to include males who live in Quebec than any other sports participation cluster.

The results from the split sample analysis for sex reveals very similar levels of capital possession for females and males for the golf and recreation sports group. This suggests elements of individualisation for this group because males are much more likely to participate in these sports while showing similar levels of capital possession between sexes. The other two sports participation latent classes show results that seem to not fully confirm individualisation for these groups. This is because there is fairly strong differentiation between the capital possession of the sex categories for these groups. Males in the team and contact sports group are strongly stratified by income, while females are only stratified by age. This shows inequalities in requirements to access these sports that were not present in the golf and recreation sports group. It is highly likely that female team and contact sports are not as available for older age groups because of historical lack of access to these sports. A contemporary analysis of female sport in Canada found that 'by the age of 10, if a girl has yet to participate in sport, there is only a 10% chance that she will be physically active as an adult' (CAAWS, 2016: 11). Likewise, girls are three times less likely to choose a team sport than boys, and therefore are unlikely to participate in these sports as adults. Many of these sporting decisions are also made by parents, with social pressures from parents being a primary factor in the choice of sport among girls in Canada (CAAWS, 2016). Therefore, girls are funnelled into sports deemed more gender appropriate and started on a path to lessened adult participation in especially team sports.

Males are strongly stratified by economic capital for this group and therefore face high economic barriers to entry for the sports in this group. The capital possession between females and males is likewise lopsided in the fourth latent class, the individual and non-contact sports group. Females are much more predicted by income than males, and the magnitude of the predictive force for education is also higher for females than for males. This again seems to go against the thesis of individualisation, as both females and males are stratified by capital possession while at the same time not equally being so in a way that would suggest sex as an individualising variable for the sports in this group. Rather, females may need a higher level of capital possession to access the sports in the individual and non-contact sports and have little access in older generations to team and contact sports, although the latter could also be a function of individualisation.

These results align with previous findings that suggest that it is first social pressures, above monetary considerations, that discourage girls to get started in sport or to drop out of sport in Canada (CAAWS, 2016). Even when considering gendered sporting socialisations, many of these results support individualisation theories of identities such as gender determining participation to a greater degree than social class. While these gendered sporting socialisations provide evidence against a full individualisation argument of an elimination of all large group identities (Beck, 1992), they provide support for those 'weaker' versions of individualisation theory (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010). Therefore, as long as the gendered differences are based solely upon normative concepts of 'male' and 'female' sports, this supports the individualisation theory. Only in instances where women appear to need elevated levels of capital possession to men (such as appears the case in the individual and non-contact sports group) does the relevance of individualisation in comparison to the class based theories of Bourdieu and the omnivore begin to wane.

5.4 Discussion and conclusion

The aim of the analysis of this first results chapter is to provide an updated and comprehensive analysis of the relationship between sports participation and social stratification in Canada. The first thing gleaned from the analysis is that there are indeed distinct groupings of sports. One is a group that does not participate in any sports (LC1=sports inactive group), while there are three groupings of sports. Of the three primary groupings of sports participation, there is one characterized by primary participation in sports requiring limited physical intensity and dominated by golf, and secondarily more recreational sports (LC2=golf and recreation sports group). There is yet another that is characterized by team sports and those sports that involve contact, potential for injury, and even violence as inherent to their rules of play (LC3=team and contact sports group). Finally, the last grouping is characterized by individual sports that do not involve physical contact or high risk of bodily injury, many of which are done for personal fitness (LC4=individual and non-contact sports group).

Bourdieu and the Omnivore

Towards the theories of Bourdieu and the omnivore, I interpret the resulting latent class groups primarily through the lens of Bourdieu's theorizations of the relationship between sport and social class dispositions towards the body. However, in terms of the social make-up of the sports participation groups, elements of omnivorousness and individualisation can also be observed in some of the sports participation groups. For instance, the first two latent class groups of sports participation, the golf and recreation sports and team and contact sports groups, contain sports of high and low social status. Therefore, these two latent classes represent groups that may indeed contain omnivores that consume sports of high and low status. The final latent class, the individual and non-contact sports group, shows a group that

contains only high status sports, therefore suggesting a highbrow sports group, similar to Bourdieu's (1978; 1984) assertions around participation in these sports as a product of a privileged habitus and accompanying homology of participation in sports of elevated social status. The analysis of the social make up of these groups could also suggest elements of individualisation if the make-up of these different groupings of sports participation shows little to no stratification based upon economic or cultural capital, or if demographic variables prove more powerful predictors of memberships in these groups.

The first latent class group of sports participation (the golf and recreation sports group) is most predicted by economic capital. It is also an older group. The age of this group likely accounts for the nature of the characteristic sports. With the high inclusion of golf, this group contains one of the most socially distinctive sports (Bourdieu, 1978). With the exception of golf, the other characteristic sports for this cluster do not necessitate high amounts of capital for participation. Therefore, those within this group may be omnivorous if they consumed both golf and bowling (another prominent sport of lower status in this group). While Bourdieu argues that economic obstacles may serve as the initial barrier to entry, he also outlines that 'it is the hidden entry requirements, such as family tradition and early training, and also the obligatory clothing, bearing and techniques of sociability which keep these sports closed to the working classes and to individuals rising from the lower-middle and even upper-middle classes' (Bourdieu, 1978: 838). However, cultural capital is only able to be employed within a space of possibilities of action. Bourdieu argues that 'economic constraints define the field of possibilities and impossibilities without determining within it an agent's positive orientation towards this or that particular form of practice' (Bourdieu, 1978: 838). The operationalised measure of cultural capital, personal education, suggests that this group is not particularly structured by the possession of cultural capital. Rather, when other variables are controlled for, the importance of the high school education parameter

shows the highest odds ratio, and the importance of graduate education falls away. Therefore, while this cluster possesses the economic capital resources for a broad space of possible sports, cultural capital resources are likely a limiting factor for this group. This would only apply to that space of possible sports that are available or physically able to be participated in by this group as the oldest of the three sports participation clusters.

The second latent class group of sports participation, the team and contact sports group, is primarily structured by age. This age stratification could potentially signal elements of individualisation or emerging culture. Both of these theories, however, rely on the patterning of capital possession for those in this group to make these judgements. While there is some suggestion of slightly increased cultural and economic capital of this group, the lack of distinctions in this area makes sense through the lens of Bourdieu's theories. This is because of two competing phenomena that are likely taking place within this group. The first is Bourdieu's assertions that those of working class backgrounds are more likely to participate in these sports. They are more likely to participate because of the functional relation to the body that they employ (Bourdieu, 1978). Also, Bourdieu theorizes how mass and popular consumption links to sports participation in lower classes. For Bourdieu (1978), this happens because the consumption of mass spectacle and the consumption of popular culture is more attractive to larger social classes, ultimately a product of the habitus and resulting homologies for these groups. In an application of the homology thesis, this group also consumes mass spectacle and popular sport. Previous studies have also supported a homology thesis for this group with regards to how they consume outside of the sporting realm. Because mass spectacle and popular sport are generally team sports, this informs the taste for these sports among larger class groups. This is the first phenomena that may be presented in this group. It is how I explain the inclusion of lower class strata in the participation of the sports characteristic to this group. It is also possible that the those who participate in the sports of

this group of higher social status (e.g. ice hockey), also participate in those at the lower end of the status spectrum (e.g. basketball).

There is also an explanation for the inclusion of higher class strata in the team and contact sports cluster beyond potential omnivorism amongst team and contact sports. This argument is primarily one that presents in the regression results because of the large bivariate gross effects for economic and cultural capital resources that mostly disappear in favour of the age variable (as well as sex) within the full regression model. This supports Bourdieu's (1978) assertions regarding the type of relationship that the privileged classes have with these sports.

The most important property of the 'popular sports' is the fact that they are tacitly associated with youth, which is spontaneously and implicitly credited with a sort of *provisional license* expressed, among other ways, in the squandering of an excess of physical (and sexual) energy, and are abandoned very early (usually at the moment of entry into adult life, marked by marriage). By contrast, the 'bourgeois' sports, mainly practised for their functions of physical maintenance and for the social profit they bring, have in common the fact that their age-limit lies far beyond youth and perhaps comes correspondingly later the more prestigious and exclusive they are (e.g. golf).

In this way, the young can be of a higher class position while still participating in sports that Bourdieu and others have identified as more characteristic of lower classes. I argue that a main reason that this group presents the regression results that it does. The higher classes of society in Canada may represent a similar relationship to Bourdieu's assertions above with the sports that are found within this third latent class group. This is to say, youth are allowed to act in a more reckless manner, but are expected to forego these sports in favour of sports more appropriate for their social position later in life. Likewise, the emphasis on violence and the release of 'sexual' energy is a virtue and luxury more often afforded to boys generally, and perhaps even more so boys of higher social standing. This was the case with the origins of the physical game of rugby, originating in all-male fee paying schools in England

(Bourdieu, 1978; Collins, 2016) and represents the general morality of early Canadian sport, which emphasized the similar ideals of Victorian masculinity in sport (Morrow and Wamsley, 2010). The contemporary Canadian equivalent may be minor hockey, a blanket term for youth hockey. While female minor hockey exists, the apparatus of female minor hockey lags far behind the established structure of minor hockey for young males.

Participating in minor hockey is monetarily expensive, requires high levels of free time and travel, and occasionally private academic tutors. In all of these ways minor hockey in Canada, that is still more prominent for boys, mimics the elite all male fee paying schools of the past – even as this paradigm is not prevalent in Canada today. These dynamics would account for the regression results of this group, vis-à-vis a Bourdieusian reading of them, because they show that while in absolute terms this group has elevated levels of capital, age and sex are the primary predictors of membership.

Both of the dynamics that affect the make-up of the third latent class group can also be seen in reverse within the fourth latent class. This individual and non-contact sports group is most structured by economic, and particularly cultural capital resources. While it is also structured somewhat by region, and to a much lesser extent sex, personal educational attainment and household income are the most predictive of membership in this group. According to the full regression model, this group is minimally predicted by age. This group shows all of the traits that Bourdieu suggests are characteristic for this type of socio-economic composition. It shows a preference for sports that aid individual cultivation of the body, as an organism, and as a ‘body for others’, by which social position can be shown through physical presentation of the body (Bennett et al, 2009; Bourdieu, 1978). Towards the first preference, this group particularly shuns contact sports. Towards the second preference, they present a particular affinity for individual fitness sports. These results are consistent with previous assertions regarding the patterning of privileged classes to sport (e.g. Bourdieu, 1978), as well as

empirical findings that find the same (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Scheerder et al, 2005; Stempel, 2005).

Individualisation

From these results, it is the individual and non-contact sports group (LC4) that is the most structured by capital possession and thus the group that is least able to fit within the parameters of the individualisation thesis. However, even amongst this group, the variables of age, sex, and region play a prominent role in predicting participation. The strong predictive value of these variables for especially the golf and recreation sports and team and individual sports group does suggest weakened versions of individualisation. To test if this is the case, then, this chapter also proceeded with split sample regression analyses of these variables. Likewise, the analysis of different age groups also has the potential to illuminate elements of the theory of emerging culture. However, these results may also ultimately suggest a lack of access based upon age (e.g. availability of team sports for older age groups), sex (e.g. lack of available female teams), or region (e.g. downhill skiing in the flat and coastal Atlantic Region). However, even if there has been a shift towards a lack of access based upon these characteristics and away from capital possession requirements, this still would suggest elements of the individualisation thesis of the relationship between social class and social behaviour.

From these split sample regressions, the split sample for the youngest and oldest age categories generally supports the theory of emerging culture (e.g. Savage and Prieur, 2013). This is because the social class patterning of the youngest latent class group (the team and contact sports group) and the oldest latent class group (the golf and recreation sports group), both show similar patterning of capital possession and each do so to higher degrees than the opposite age category in each of these latent class groups. However, where these results

slightly differ from the theory of emerging culture is that there is a third sports participation group, the individual and non-contact sports group, that includes the most traditionally highbrow participatory sports and this group shows the highest level of cultural capital for both the youngest and oldest age categories. Therefore, there is still this grouping of traditionally highbrow sports that requires high levels of cultural capital from both these groups. However, these results also show support for the theory of emerging culture by the degree of stratification on the basis of cultural capital. This is to say, the oldest age category, while showing stratification on the basis of education, does not show the same degree of stratification as the youngest age category. This in itself may suggest generational differences in sport, where these sports were more popularly participated in amongst previous generations and are more exclusive to younger generations, hence the much greater stratification of cultural capital for this younger group. A final interesting result from the split sample analysis of age is that the youngest age category is more predicted by sex than the oldest age category. This is interesting because females of the youngest generation have unquestionably greater access to sport than females of the oldest generation, for which an apparatus of sport for girls was substantially more limited. Therefore, this result may suggest some individualisation based upon sex.

Both male and female respondents of the highest income categories are most likely to participate in the first two sports participation clusters. Both are also stratified by age for these latent class groups. However, the age stratification for both of these latent class groups is to a greater degree for females than for males, both slightly older (in the golf and recreation sports group), and much younger (in the team and contact sports group). Males also show a stronger and more statistically significant relationship to provincial region in sports participation in these first two sports participation clusters than females. For the final latent class group, the individual and non-contact sports, females are more stratified by income and

education than males while males show more statistically significant values for age, with younger males much more likely to be in this group than younger females. Overall, then, this split sample generally supports some elements of individualisation in the choice of sport based upon sex, particularly in the golf and recreation sports group. This is because both sexes show similar patterning in capital possession between the groupings of sports. Therefore, like the theory of emerging culture, this suggests that the sexes may more simply choose different sports, albeit those that are likely culturally circumscribed as gender appropriate. However, this would also support weaker versions of the individualisation thesis that suggest that identities such as this have now replaced social class in structuring social behaviour (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010). Likewise, the different predictors between the sexes are also not capital possession variables. Women appear more structured by age for the first two sports participation groups, while males are more stratified by region for these two groups. It is the final group where there still may be some capital possession differences. Females are more strongly structured by income and education for this group than males, while males are more structured by age. Therefore, it may be the case that while for the majority of sports, social patterning of participation among the sexes suggests elements of individualisation, for the most traditionally highbrow sports – or at least those that correspond to an aesthetic disposition of the higher classes – capital possession is more important for females. Therefore, these results only suggest elements of the individualisation thesis in its weaker forms for sex (and age). This is especially true because those of higher capital possession are still most likely to be members of each of the sports participation groups.

Conclusion

In conclusion to the intra-domain study of this chapter, these results support the existence of distinct groupings of sports. These groupings generally support Bourdieu's theorisations of the relationship between different class fractions and patterning of sports participation in Canada. These relationships are bound up in different (classed) relations to the body, different teleologies of sport, and show support for consumption of sport that is based upon theories of habitus and homology. At the same time, however, it supports Wilson's (2002) broad assertion that those with higher levels of capital possession participate in sports generally, while at the same time, elevated levels of capital, and particularly cultural capital, also stratify participation in most of the traditionally elite sports. It also shows empirical findings suggesting elements of individualisation that present as equally or more relevant predictors of participation in different sports than markers of cultural and economic capital. This is especially true for age and sex. Likewise, there could be some omnivorous populations located within the golf and recreation and team and contact sports groups that consume both high and low status sports or omnivores by volume within the individual and non-contact sports group. This may be especially likely among those with elevated levels of economic capital, particularly for the first two groups. Therefore, sports participation in Canada cuts across all of these theories of the relation between socio-economic position and sporting behaviour. However, the structuring of the sports according to different dispositions to the body are consistent across all of the groups and appear to be the primary structuring variables for participation in different sports.

Limitations of the study in this chapter include its inability to fully account for two aspects of in this consumption. First, while this analysis can account for the distribution of these sports among various socio-economic and demographic groups, it cannot fully capture all of the internal mechanisms by which 'the affinity between the ethical and aesthetic dispositions characteristic of each class or class fraction and the objective potentialities of ethical or

aesthetic accomplishment which are or seem to be contained in each sport' (Bourdieu, 1978: 836). While this chapter makes theoretically and empirically informed inferences in this area, it is ultimately hard to capture these dynamics within a large-scale quantitative examination. The second limitation comes with respect to the omnivore theory. Again, because of the mutual exclusivity with which the survey question was asked, and the great breadth of sporting activities included in this analysis, traditional constructions of omnivorism are hard to pin down. However, Veenstra (2010) inferred, the sheer number of sports included in these sporting clusters, particularly in the two final groups, may be able to hint at some omnivorism within these groups. The results hint that the individual and non-contact sports group may represent a kind of 'highbrow omnivore', while the team and contact sports group may be representative of a type of 'lowbrow omnivore', as suggested in other contexts (Widdop et al, 2016). The golf and recreation sports and also the team and contact sports groups may also represent omnivores by composition, if those who play golf or ice hockey also participate in bowling or basketball, respectively. The individual and non-contact sports group may also represent a type of consumer, as described by Bryson (1996) with music, and Wilson (2002) in sport, where there is some general omnivorousness but there are specific types of music or sport that the higher classes view as incapable of fitting within their general patterns of otherwise more omnivorous consumption. This then would suggest a melding of the omnivore theory and Bourdieu's habitus theories, while perfectly fitting into Bourdieu's homology conception. These intra-domain dynamics will now be similarly tested within the domain of professional sports following for Canada in the next chapter of this thesis, Chapter 6.

Chapter 6

Professional sports following and social stratification

6.1 Introduction

Sport as a site of culture that can be consumed in a similar fashion to other cultural forms remains understudied (Warde, 2006; Washington & Karen, 2001; Widdop and Cutts, 2013). In particular, professional sport is almost completely ignored in studies of consumption. This chapter proceeds with the assertion made by Bourdieu that sport can be and should be treated in the same manner as music within studies of culture and consumption (Bourdieu, 1978). Despite the prominent role that sport plays in contemporary societies, this is rarely the case.

Research into comparative professional sports consumption is also greatly lacking in the literature on sports fandom (Pope, 2017). Likewise, there is a near absence of quantitative studies of professional sports following and fandom. While marketing studies of sport frequently use quantitative methods of analysis, there is little quantitative work that is employed in sociological studies of professional sports broadly or in Canada specifically. While there are indeed two studies from the author that fill some of these gaps in the literature (Gemar, 2019a; Gemar, 2019b), the first of these studies relies on data from 2005. Since then, whole professional leagues have developed in Canada, with Major League Soccer (MLS) expanding into the country in 2007. There have since been additional professional teams added to the Canadian market. These have mostly come in MLS, but also in the National Hockey League (Winnipeg Jets). With the addition of Major League Soccer, there are now five prominent professional sports leagues with teams in the country: the National Hockey League (NHL, ice hockey, seven Canadian teams), the Canadian Football League (CFL, gridiron football, nine Canadian teams), the National Basketball Association (NBA,

one Canadian team), Major League Baseball (MLB, one Canadian team), and Major League Soccer (MLS, three Canadian teams). A sixth league, the National Football League (NFL, gridiron football), is an exclusively American league that also has high media visibility and market penetration in Canada. Indeed, the NFL is the largest professional sports league by revenue in the world, bringing in yearly revenues that exceed those of the English Premier League, the Bundesliga, La Liga, and Serie A, the world's four largest professional soccer leagues, combined (Kutz, 2016). The sporting landscape of North America thus has a market of a size and scope not seen in other areas of the globe. This makes it an ideal environment in which to conduct this research. Likewise, with regards to professional sport, Canada is an ideal North American location to interrogate this consumption. This is because amateur sports are not prominent in this country, as they are in the United States, where university teams can often draw larger crowds and interest than professional teams. Therefore, the sports following audience is more isolated to the professional realm and thus facilitates a more circumscribed intra-domain study of this consumption.

The changing landscape of professional sport and the recent exponential growth of the industry is an important component of the updated nature of the study in this chapter.

Bourdieu (1978) argues that additions such as Major League Soccer, along with increased modes of consumption of sport (e.g. new technologies), can cause within a domain, 'more or less complete redefinition of the meaning attached to various practices' (p. 833). This chapter works towards an understanding of this domain of culture to determine if patterns of sports following exhibit socio-economic difference in this area, how they might do so, and to what degree they might do so. The results of this analysis will be able to illuminate which of the three theories of cultural consumption under investigation in this thesis apply most appropriately for this domain.

This chapter works towards an understanding of the domain of culture that is professional sports to determine if patterns of distinction and/or omnivorism exist, and if so, if they exhibit socio-economic difference in this area, how they might do so, and to what degree they might do so. Likewise, if these first two theories prove unsatisfying for comprehensively explaining the consumption in this domain, to what degree does this consumption show elements of individualisation and a waning relationship of socio-economic position and cultural consumption? The academic importance of this work hinges on its status of providing the most up-to-date empirically based re-examining of theoretical frameworks of consumption, and doing so in the chronically understudied cultural domain of professional sport. This then contributes to the scholarly debate about the nature of culture and consumption, both in Canada and beyond. Towards contributions in these areas, this chapter asks the following formative research questions:

1. What is the social patterning of major professional sports following in Canada?
2. What factors most contribute to this patterning?
3. Which of the three theories of cultural engagement examined in this thesis are most useful for interpreting this patterning?

Using the 2015 Project Canada Survey data on professional sports following, latent class and regression analysis methods, this chapter finds numerous distinct omnivorous categories, as well as a univorous group of professional sports consumers. The results reveal that the omnivorous groups have elevated levels of cultural and economic capital. However, it is two more selective omnivorous profiles (distinctly not following certain professional sports leagues), rather than the most omnivorous group, that show the highest concentration of cultural and economic capital. These results shed doubt on the status of intra-domain

omnivores by volume as the consumption profile of high status groups, particularly for professional sports in Canada. Rather, it is a combination of omnivores by composition, cultural elements of distinction, and some elements of individualisation that best describe the paradigm of consumption for the domain of major professional sports following in Canada.

Hypotheses

I first here again provide the various hypothetical theoretical findings and the attendant empirical evidence by which each of the three theories of cultural consumption under examination in this thesis will be tested within this chapter. If Bourdieu's theories of distinction, habitus and homology are most applicable to professional sports following in the Canadian case, I would expect to find distinct groups of respondents that fully consist of those who follow high status professional sports leagues and other groups consisting of those who follow only low status sports. The groups following only high status sports would necessarily be of higher socio-economic location within Canadian society than the groups that follow lower status sports. These results would suggest that professional sports following in Canada is delimited by high and low status professional sports leagues that are followed by those of high and low social position, thus confirming Bourdieu's theories of habitus and homology.

In order to confirm the theory of the cultural omnivore by composition, the results of this chapter must show a group that follows both high and low status professional sports leagues. In order to confirm an omnivore by volume for professional sports following in Canada, the results of the analysis in this chapter must show a group that follows all of the professional sports leagues. For both versions of the omnivore, the results for this omnivorous group would also need to show that members of this group are of elevated social position. This is especially true compared to any observed univorous groups (consuming only one sports

league), which would be comprised of persons of lower observed social position. If none of the groupings of leagues within Canadian society, regardless of their composition of professional sports following, show social patterning by socio-economic position, then this result would suggest an individualisation of professional sports consumption in Canada. However, even in the case that groups do show some socio-economic patterning, if they are more strongly predicted by demographic variables such as age or sex, then this would also show elements of the individualisation of professional sports following. Findings of individualisation would be further strengthened and confirmed if there was no socio-economic differentiation between those demographic categories (e.g. female and male, young and old). This would suggest that it is indeed those elements of demographic identity that more strongly structure the following of major professional sports leagues in Canada.

This chapter moves towards analysing these questions and assessing these theories through a comprehensive study of the manifest patterning of the following of the six major professional sports leagues in Canada. It also seeks to provide an analysis of the socio-economic and demographic structuring of that following. This chapter first outlines the data and methods used in this investigation before moving on to perform a regression analysis of the following of each individual sports league, a latent class analysis to identify groupings of this following, and a final regression analyses of these groups to identify the social location of those within each group. It finishes with a discussion of these results and how they apply to the theoretical perspectives of this thesis.

6.2 Data and Methods

The data for this research comes from a national online omnibus survey carried out through a partnership between Dr Reginald Bibby at the University of Lethbridge in Alberta and the

private research firm Vision Critical, which is headquartered in Vancouver, British Columbia. The survey was carried out in 2015 and is nationally representative of the Canadian population (Bibby, 2015). The analysis in this chapter excludes those between 18 and 24 years of age because many in this age group have not fully reached their highest levels of education. Personal education is the operationalised measure of cultural capital for this chapter as it is in the thesis more broadly. With this exclusion applied, the sample size for the analysis is 3703. This chapter also considers the demographic categories of age, sex, and region. The first two of these are included with a particular aim towards testing individualisation theories that suggest these demographic categories are now more powerful predictors of social behaviour than socio-economic status. The characteristics of the sample appear in Table 6.1.

The specific question taken from the Project Canada Survey data that is used in this chapter asks respondents how closely they follow each of the major professional sports leagues in Canada. Response categories for this question were ‘very closely’, ‘fairly closely’, ‘not very closely’, and ‘not at all closely’. The first two responses are coded as ‘following’, while the second two responses are coded as ‘not following’ these leagues. The percentages of following each league appear in Table 6.2. The broadness of this question has the advantage of encompassing all leisure time afforded to this pursuit and all modes of following. This has the disadvantage of making moot for the purposes of this research any social classed differences in mode of following, for example going to games live, watching them on TV, or following news and scores on the internet. However, it has the advantage of being better able to isolate any differentiation between the professional sports leagues instead of mainly between mode of following.

Table 6.1. Relative frequencies of socio-economic and demographic variables in the sample

Variable	n = 3703
Personal Education	
Grad/Professional School	9.0%
Bachelor's degree	12.7%
Diploma CC/Technical college	23.1%
Some uni/community college (CC)	14.1%
High school diploma	31.5%
Some secondary/elementary/none	9.6%
Household Income (C\$/year)	
>\$100,000	19.8%
\$50,000 to \$99,999	36.7%
<\$50,000	43.4%
Age Group	
25 – 39	28.2%
40 – 59	43.7%
60 +	28.1%
Sex	
Female	50.0%
Male	50.0%
Region	
British Columbia	12.8%
Prairie Provinces	30.0%
Ontario	36.9%
Atlantic Region	7.7%
Quebec	25.4%

The NHL has the highest percentage (46.9%) of Canadians who follow at least one of these six leagues. The NHL is distantly followed in a second tier of following by the CFL (27.7%), the NFL (24.0%), and MLB (23.0%). The final two professional sports leagues have a comparatively low following amongst the Canadian population. The NBA has a following of 11.9% of Canadians, while MLS has a percentage of 8.7 that follow this league. While there are not particularly explicit differences in the ability to follow any of these leagues (when all modes are considered together), the NHL, in terms of the sheer proportion of the population that follows it, appears as the most 'popular' of the sports leagues. By this method of assessment, NBA and MLS are the least 'popular'. However, primarily because of the

ubiquity of internet access and television access in Canada, the NBA and MLS do not necessarily require higher levels of capital to follow them. They are thus arguably not ‘highbrow’ sports in the manner traditionally thought of in the arts. It is also for these reasons of non-intuitive status differentiation between these leagues that this chapter employs a more inductive approach to assessing the social position of followers of each of these leagues. This is in contrast to the approach taken in Chapter 5, where there are explicit differences in costs of equipment and a more thorough canon of literature on the social place of various participatory sports.

Table 6.2. Relative frequencies of professional sports following variables in the sample

n = 3703	NFL	MLB	NBA	NHL	MLS	CFL
Follow	24.0%	23.0%	11.9%	46.9%	8.7%	27.7%
Do not Follow	76.0%	77.0%	88.1%	53.1%	91.3%	72.3%

6.3 Results

Regression analysis of the individual professional sports leagues

The results here start with a presentation of regression results from each individual professional sports league. Unlike for direct sports participation, there is not the same kind of corpus of work assessing the relative social position of professional sports leagues. While Chapter 3 highlights the various capital requirements for consuming each of these leagues, it is generally the case that there are similar requirements for these leagues. Likewise, this lack of previous work dictates that this chapter takes a more exploratory approach to assessing the relative social position of these leagues. This approach follows similar investigations of cultural consumption undertaken by others in Canada (e.g. Veenstra, 2010; Vanzella-Yang, 2018).

Following these regressions, a latent class analysis is performed to capture typologies of consumption. This is particularly important for capturing the cultural omnivore and assessing Bourdieu's homology thesis. These latent classes illustrate typologies by which we can say something definitive about styles of professional sports following in Canada. Finally, logistic regression modelling is again applied to the modal latent class values of each respondent so as to identify the socio-economic and demographic make-up of each cluster and to compare the various predictive strength of these independent variables. The independent variables for these analyses can be seen in Table 6.1.

In accordance with theories of consumption, it is important to first establish the relative social position of each professional sports league. This is done for the purposes of understanding the nature of any omnivorous categories that might result from our LCA (e.g. an omnivore 'by composition'). To accomplish this, I first engage in a brief regression analysis. This will illuminate any capital possession profiles by which these leagues might be characterised as relatively 'highbrow' or 'lowbrow'. These results will help me understand if any observed omnivorism is an omnivore by volume, or if it is rather an omnivore by composition. It will also help us understand formations of Bourdieusian type distinction within this data.

Likewise, a lack of distinct social patterns, especially around income and education, in this data on professional sports following will be able to highlight primary elements of individualisation theories that this thesis also seeks to assess.

The results of these regression analyses of professional league followers in Canada can be viewed in Table 6.3. For education, there are substantial variations between the various leagues. Two leagues, the CFL and MLB, are not predicted by educational attainment. To some extent the NFL, but particularly the NHL show educational parameters suggesting that relatively lower levels of educational attainment are more associated with following these

leagues. For the NHL, those who have not completed high school are much more likely to follow the NHL than those who have had graduate education. Finally, the NBA and MLS show results that suggest relatively higher levels of education associated with following these leagues. Those with an undergraduate degree are twice as likely to follow MLS and nearly two and a half times more likely to follow the NBA, both compared to those who have not finished a high school education. Likewise, those with a graduate education are more than twice as likely to follow the NBA than those with this lowest level of education. Regarding economic capital, three leagues show significant predictive parameters for household income, while three do not. The NFL, CFL, and NHL all show results suggesting that those with higher levels of economic capital are more likely to follow these leagues. For all three, those with the highest levels of income are approximately one and a half times more likely to follow these three leagues than those in the lowest income category. Therefore, the three leagues positively predicted by higher levels of income are also those that are either more negatively or not statistically significantly predicted by educational attainment. There is thus mostly inconclusive evidence to suggest any of these sports may most appropriately be characterised as either of relatively higher or lower social status within Canadian society. This is because of the inverse relationship observed between education and income for these leagues.

Towards predictive demographic parameters of professional sports following, three sports show statistically significant parameters for age. Two of the leagues, MLB and the CFL, are more likely to be followed by older persons. The CFL especially is more than twice as likely to be followed those over the age of sixty than those between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-nine. The NBA, however, is more likely to be followed by those in the youngest age group, with those aged twenty-five to thirty-nine two and a half times more likely to follow this league than those in the oldest age group. All six sports leagues are overwhelmingly

more likely to be followed by males, although there is some variation between sports. This ranges from males being two and a half times more likely to follow the NHL to males being five times more likely to follow the NFL. Finally, there is regional variation in the following of each of the leagues. Those leagues that show significant parameters for the variable of region are more likely to be followed by those in either the Prairie/West, or Ontario. These results show that generally, demographic variables are perhaps equal predictors of following as economic and cultural capital measures. However, the existence of those significant capital possession measures suggests the persistence of these variables for structuring the following of professional sports.

Table 6.3.
Log odds coefficients from logistic regression analysis for each professional sports league¹

	NFL	MLB	NBA	NHL	MLS	CFL
Graduate school	.035	-.044	.777**	-.590**	.500	-.100
Undergraduate deg.	.315	.015	.886**	-.240	.649*	-.131
CC/Tech degree	.302	.063	.248	-.049	.231	-.174
Some Uni/CC/tech	.565**	.144	.734**	-.199	.537*	.044
High school deg.	.423*	.043	.560*	-.200	.191	-.001
Less than HS	---	---	---	---	---	---
> \$100,000	.483***	.118	-.071	.413***	-.047	.284*
\$50,000 to \$99,999	.431***	.164	.230	.366***	-.152	.267**
< \$50,000	---	---	---	---	---	---
25 to 39	-.123	-.284*	.899***	.115	.068	-.941***
40 to 59	-.025	-.280**	.217	.133	.004	-.304**
60 +	---	---	---	---	---	---
Female	-1.563***	-1.226***	-1.257***	-.947***	-1.064***	-1.325***
Male	---	---	---	---	---	---
British Columbia	.371*	.455**	.958***	-.121	.459*	.494**
Prairie Provinces	.216	.622***	.819***	-.113	-.891***	1.374***
Ontario	.378**	1.272***	1.620***	-.278**	.081	-.027
Atlantic Region	.143	.799***	.984***	-.351*	-1.086**	-.563**
British Columbia	---	---	---	---	---	---
Nagelkerke R ²	.160	.144	.169	.090	.086	.204

¹Reference category for each sport is not following.

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Latent class analysis of professional sports leagues

The model summary results of the LCA appear in Table 6.4. As the table shows, the first significant model that fits the data is the six latent class model because the chi-squared measurement has its first statistically significant p-value (>.05) for this model. Likewise, out of the significant models, the log likelihood statistic of the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) reaches its optimal (lowest) point for this model. Therefore, this suggests a six group typology for the following of major professional sports in Canada. Variables that have higher probabilities of inclusion in any particular latent class that exceed their overall relative frequency are in boldface type. This comparison with overall sample frequencies is used to determine cluster characterisation (Widdop et al., 2016).

Table 6.4. Latent class model summary report

Model	LL	BIC(LL)	AIC(LL)	CAIC(LL)	Npar	L²	p-value
1-Cluster	-11222.4845	22494.2700	22456.9691	22500.2700	6	3774.7643	4.5e-759
2-Cluster	-9520.7005	19148.2197	19067.4010	19161.2197	13	371.1963	1.3e-50
3-Cluster	-9418.3531	19001.0427	18876.7062	19021.0427	20	166.5015	1.9e-16
4-Cluster	-9372.9656	18967.7856	18799.9313	18994.7856	27	75.7265	0.00012
5-Cluster	-9359.4289	18998.2299	18786.8579	19032.2299	34	48.6531	0.013
6-Cluster	-9350.2935	19037.4769	18782.5871	19078.4769	41	30.3823	0.11
7-Cluster	-9346.4776	19087.3628	18788.9552	19135.3628	48	22.7504	0.089
8-Cluster	-9340.9799	19133.8851	18791.9597	19188.8851	55	11.7550	0.16
9-Cluster	-9340.0030	19189.4492	18804.0060	19251.4492	62	9.8012	0.0017
10-Cluster	-9338.2873	19243.5355	18814.5745	19312.5355	69	6.3698	.

As seen in Table 6.5, this six latent class model divides the sample into latent class groups representing 41%, 31%, 12%, 9%, 6%, and 2% of the sample, respectively. The first of these groups is defined by people who have comparatively low probabilities of following any of these six professional sports leagues. These are compared to their percentages for the sample. I label this group the ‘non-sports follower’ cluster because those in this group likely do not follow any of these leagues. The fact that there is a group that follows none of these leagues will provide an opportunity to establish the relative social position of professional sports following more generally. For example, if this group is of elevated social position then the following of professional sports may be appropriately deduced to be of relatively lower social status, as Bourdieu (1978) suggested.

Table 6.5. Latent class profile of the professional sports following variables

	LC1 ‘Non-sports’	LC2 ‘NHL-only	LC3 ‘Non-NBA omnivore’	LC4 ‘Non-CFL omnivore’	LC5 ‘Full omnivore’	LC6 ‘Non-MLB omnivore	Relative frequency in sample
Cluster Size	0.4054	0.3137	0.1169	0.0871	0.0612	0.0157	
Indicators							
Follow NFL	0.0024	0.1516	0.6677	0.5118	0.8779	0.9348	0.240
Follow MLB	0.0075	0.1406	0.4846	0.7528	0.9773	0.0826	0.230
Follow NBA	0.0105	0.0223	0.0017	0.5531	0.8028	0.6256	0.119
Follow NHL	0.1361	0.5341	0.9028	0.8075	0.9772	0.6929	0.469
Follow MLS	0.0048	0.0640	0.1412	0.1445	0.4296	0.6103	0.087
Follow CFL	0.0011	0.2511	0.9811	0.1686	0.9296	0.7009	0.277

In the second latent class, only the NHL has a probability that exceeds its overall relative frequencies in the sample. Because it is the only sport that this group is likely to follow I therefore label this group the ‘NHL-univore’. While using the taxonomy of the univore in this instance follows Peterson’s original usage of singular genre following within a singular

domain (in his case music), the further regression analysis will show the social positioning of this univore and if it fits into Peterson's original theorisations of the relationship of univorous consumption in this domain to relative social position. It is also worth mentioning here that the relative volume of NHL games in a season (82/team) is substantially higher than for the two gridiron football leagues. However, the fact that the NBA also has 82 games in their season for each team and that there do exist more (and fully) omnivorous groups of professional sports consumers highlights that this is indeed a univorous group.

Both the third and fourth latent class groups follow five of the professional leagues, distinctly not following one of the leagues. The third latent class follows the NFL, MLB, NHL, MLS, and CFL. This group does not follow the NBA, showing very low probabilities for following this league. The fourth latent class group follows the NFL, MLB, NBA, NHL, and MLS. This group, while not shunning the CFL to the same degree as the third latent class group shuns the NBA, is still less likely to follow the CFL when compared to the overall percentage of following for the CFL in the sample. Therefore, these third and fourth latent class groups represent the 'non-NBA omnivore' and the 'non-CFL omnivore', respectively. This is because besides one prominent exception for each group, they are otherwise omnivorous in their following of major professional sport in Canada. These may therefore fairly be characterized as omnivore groups by composition. The further analyses of the social make-up of those within these groups could highlight an omnivore by composition as characteristic of professional sports following in Canada. This composition, however, is less about including both high and low status leagues. This composition may thus ultimately be more about other factors, such as sex and geography for the CFL, or similarly age for the NBA, than capital possession. However, the non-CFL omnivore, including both the league with the highest (NBA) and lowest (NHL) levels of cultural capital may represent an omnivore by composition as Peterson (1992) initially conceived of it. This will be affirmed or

disconfirmed by the relative social position of those respondents that exhibit this pattern of professional sports following.

Latent class five represents the ‘full omnivore’. It is the full omnivore in contrast to the previous two latent classes because all six of the professional sports leagues are likely to be followed by this group. This group only constitutes about 6% of the overall sample.

Therefore, this fully omnivorous group is the second smallest of the groups. However, the fact that there is a distinct group that is fully omnivorous is important because I can now see if the social positioning of this group follows theories of the omnivore, and if it does so more or less than the other omnivore groups resulting from the latent class analysis in this chapter. This fully omnivorous group, while by definition as a ‘full omnivore’ includes both the highest and lowest status professional sports leagues, can most productively be characterised as an omnivore by volume for this chapter. This is because this group is not unique in including leagues of different relative social position, but it is a singular group that includes all six of the leagues.

Latent class six, like the third and fourth latent classes, follows five of the six professional leagues, distinctly not following one of them. This final latent class group does not follow Major League Baseball (MLB). Therefore, this group is labelled the ‘non-MLB omnivore’. This is by far the smallest of the groups, comprising approximately two percent of the sample. Results as to the social make-up of this final group will be most productively compared to the other omnivorous groups that follow five of the six leagues, as well as compared to the fully omnivorous group. This group is thus likewise also considered an omnivore by composition group. This group, like the non-CFL omnivore, includes both the NBA and NHL, the two leagues whose followers possess the highest levels of cultural capital.

Cross-tabulations of social class make-up of latent class groups

Having analysed the various groupings of professional sports leagues within each latent class group, I now analyse the make-up of the respondents that generally fall into each of these groups. For this I first utilise simple crosstabulations between independent variables used in this thesis and the latent class groupings of survey respondents. The results of this crosstabulation are displayed in Table 6.6.

As this table shows, the sixth latent class group, the non-MLB omnivore, shows the highest percentage of respondents that have an undergraduate degree or graduate education. However, it is the fourth latent class group, the non-CFL omnivore, that shows the lowest percentages for the two lowest levels of education. This group also has the second highest percentages of respondents with an undergraduate degree or graduate education. The remaining four latent class groups show comparingly lower levels of education. Of these four, the third latent class, the non-NBA omnivore, shows the lowest percentages for both undergraduate and graduate education, as well as the highest percentage of respondents with the lowest level of education and the lowest combined percentage for the lowest two levels of education. Therefore, the primary findings regarding education from these crosstabulations are that the non-CFL and non-MLB omnivore groups show the highest levels of education, the non-NBA omnivore the lowest, while the other three groups showed similar levels of education for their respondents. It is thus the latent class groups that represent omnivores by composition that show the highest levels of cultural capital.

In terms of income, the non-CFL group shows both the highest combined percentage of the two highest income groups and the highest percentage of respondents in the highest income category. However, for this highest category, the non-NBA omnivore shows a similarly high

percentage. The NHL-univore and the fully omnivore have almost an identical percentage of respondents in the highest income category. However, of these two groups the NHL-univore has a much higher percentage included that is found within the lowest income category, while the full omnivore has a much higher, and indeed overall the highest, percentage included within the middle income category. The NHL-univore, however, does not have the highest percentage within the lowest income category. Rather, the non-sports follower and the non-MLB omnivore have the highest percentage of respondents from the lowest income category. Therefore, the non-CFL group appears to possess the highest combined levels of cultural and economic capital. The least educated group, the non-NBA omnivore, possesses the second highest level of economic capital. Likewise, the most educated group, the non-MLB omnivore, shows the highest concentration in the lowest income category. These groups also show a sizable age gap between them that can be analysed to assess dynamics of emerging culture.

Indeed, the non-NBA omnivore group appears to be the oldest of the latent classes. This group shows by far the highest (and lowest) percentages of those in the oldest (and youngest) age categories. This perhaps explains this groups low education levels. This is mirrored by the most highly educated group, the non-MLB omnivore, showing elevated percentages in the oldest age category and lower percentages for the oldest age category. While this age gap appears to logically explain some of the disparate composition of capital possession for these groups, the non-CFL omnivore is the youngest of all the latent class groups, while at the same time having the highest percentage in the most elevated income category. This reinforces the importance of capital possession for structuring this group compared to the other two that may be mostly a product of an age divide between the older followers of MLB and a cohort of younger Canadians that follow the NBA. The other three latent class groups all show similar proportions to each other for the three age categories.

Table 6.6. Odds ratios from logistic regression analysis for each professional sports leagues

	LC1	LC2	LC3	LC4	LC5	LC6
	Non-sports Follower	NHL- Univore	Non-NBA Omnivore	Non-CFL Omnivore	Full Omnivore	Non-MLB Omnivore
Graduate school	9.6%	7.8%	6.6%	14.8%	8.6%	20.9%
Undergraduate deg.	12.2%	12.4%	9.0%	20.8%	15.1%	20.9%
CC/Tech degree	21.2%	25.8%	24.7%	26.0%	17.2%	9.3%
Some Uni/CC/tech	14.5%	12.3%	15.4%	14.0%	20.4%	11.6%
High school deg.	33.9%	30.5%	31.5%	21.6%	31.7%	27.9%
Less than HS	8.7%	11.2%	12.8%	2.8%	7.0%	9.3%
> \$100,000	16.5%	21.1%	24.3%	26.1%	21.7%	16.3%
\$50,000 to \$99,999	34.0%	37.0%	38.3%	43.4%	45.8%	32.6%
< \$50,000	49.5%	41.9%	37.3%	30.5%	32.5%	51.2%
25 to 39	29.1%	26.5%	15.9%	48.4%	31.2%	38.1%
40 to 59	43.4%	44.7%	47.0%	35.2%	44.6%	40.5%
60 +	27.5%	28.8%	37.1%	16.4%	24.2%	21.4%
Female	65.1%	50.9%	21.4%	28.7%	19.9%	27.9%
Male	34.9%	49.1%	78.6%	71.3%	80.1%	72.1%
British Columbia	12.8%	12.7%	13.4%	8.0%	13.4%	30.2%
Prairie Region	14.6%	20.5%	24.0%	6.0%	19.9%	7.0%
Ontario	36.7%	31.4%	30.2%	68.0%	49.5%	39.5%
Atlantic Region	9.2%	6.6%	4.4%	11.2%	5.4%	2.3%
Quebec	26.7%	28.9%	28.0%	6.8%	11.8%	20.9%

The next highly differentiating demographic variable for these groups is sex. The first two latent class groups are majority female, while the final four latent classes are highly majority male. The non-sports following group has the highest percentage (65.1%) of females, while the most disparate group, the full omnivore, has the highest percentage (80.1%) of males. The only group that follows a professional sports league in Canada that is majority females is the NHL-univore group. All of the omnivorous following groups are overwhelmingly composed of males. As sex represents one of the identities that preonements of individualisation point to as replacing socio-economic position, this sex divide provides an opportunity to test individualisation within this domain.

Finally, there is substantial regional variation in the composition of these latent class groups. The non-MLB omnivore is most commonly found in British Columbia, the non-NBA omnivore in the Prairie Provinces, the non-CFL omnivore in Ontario and the Atlantic Region, and the NHL-univore in Quebec. Therefore, while there are income and especially educational differences in the make-up of all these groups, from these crosstabulations, there appears to be equally or more compelling differentiation amongst the demographic variables of the sample. For these reasons I next utilise more complex methods of statistical analysis and perform regression analyses to be able to control for all of these variables and determine the overall predictive relationship of each variable for membership in each of these latent class groups of professional sports following.

Regression analysis of latent class groups

Like the other empirical chapters of this thesis, to analyse the latent class groupings from the LCA, binomial logistic regression analyses are performed on the modal latent class values associated with each respondent of the sample. Assessing the social position of each of these groups will illuminate the nature of those within each latent class group of major professional sports following in Canada. This is especially important as there are multiple omnivorous groups resulting from the latent class analysis and this chapter seeks to understand which paradigm of omnivorousness most fits for this domain. The results of this regression analysis are listed in Table 6.7. The bivariate gross effects of each of independent variable of the latent class composition is also reported in this table and the results are displayed as log odds coefficients. The text describing these results, however, will primarily focus on the net effects when the full regression model is applied to the data. Likewise, and like the binomial regression results of the individual sports leagues, odds ratios from these regressions will also be used in the descriptive text of these regression results.

The first latent class, the non-sports following group, shows an inverse relationship between education and income. Those with a graduate education are one and a half times more likely to be non-sports followers than those with less than a high school education. However, those in the lowest income group likewise are one and a half times more likely to be in this non-sports following group than those in either of the higher income categories. This is true even as age does not show statistically significant results for the full model. Females, however, are almost three times more likely to be in this first latent class group. Finally, those in the prairie provinces are slightly less likely to be in this group than those who live in Quebec, to statistically significant levels. Provincial region, however, like age, is not a primary predictor of measurement for this group. Rather, sex, followed by income and education are the three most prominent predictive variables for membership in this first latent class group that does not follow any of the six major professional sports leagues in Canada. The results of this first non-sports following group as having decreased levels of capital possession relative to all other groups (which all follow at least one of these leagues) mirrors findings from previous studies that suggest that a primary divide in contemporary cultural activity is between those who do not participate and those who do (Bennett et al, 2009; Veenstra, 2010).

For the NHL-univores, the capital possession variables of education and income again show an inverse predictive relationship to membership in this group. Those with the lowest levels of education are more likely to be in this group, while those with the highest level of income are also more likely to be found with this consumption profile. For education, those with less than a high school education are slightly less than one and a half times more likely to be in this group than those who's highest level of education is a high school diploma and slightly more than one and a half times more likely to be in this group than those with graduate education. For income, those with the highest levels of income are only slightly more likely to be in this group than those in the lowest income group, but to a statistically significant

level. This group is neither predicted by age nor sex. This group is, however, most likely to live in Quebec. Those in Quebec are approximately one and a half times more likely to be in this NHL-univore group than those who live in British Columbia, Ontario, and the Atlantic Region. There is no statistically significant difference between Quebec and the Prairie provinces for this group. The univore, being structured by decreased cultural capital, mirrors the findings of Peterson when he theorized the univore (Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996). However, the increased economic capital that also (to a lesser extent) structures this group highlights again the difference between those who follow no leagues and those who at least follow one, affirming again previous findings and suggesting a floor of economic capital possession for cultural participation, even univorously.

The non-NBA omnivores have elevated levels of economic capital possession. Those in the highest income group are more than one and a half times more likely to be in this group as those in the lowest income category. The results are slightly below one and a half times for the middle income category. While not showing any statistically significant results for education, the log odds coefficients suggest lower levels of cultural capital (education) for this group. Unlike previous groups, age is a highly predictive variable for membership in this latent class. Respondents in this group are nearly three times more likely to be in this over the age of sixty than in the youngest age group. They are also more likely to be in this oldest age group than the middle age group of forty to fifty-nine. Like age, sex is a strong predictive variable for this group. Males are almost four times more likely to be included in this third latent class than females. This non-NBA omnivore group is thus the oldest of the sports following groups and the second most heavily male. Region also shows significant and strong differentiation. This regional difference comes primarily between the province of Quebec and the eastern provinces of Anglo-Canada. Those in Quebec are almost twice as likely to be in this group than those who live in Ontario, and nearly three times more likely to be in this

non-NBA omnivore latent class than those who live in the provinces of the Atlantic region. This group is thus most structured by elevated levels of economic capital, suggesting again the relevance of a specific composition of sports following, even if it is not necessarily a composition of high and low status leagues.

The non-CFL omnivore group has the highest number of significant parameters of any latent class. Those in this group are the most highly educated of the all the latent class groups.

Those with any kind of tertiary education above a high school diploma are all more than three times more likely to be in this group than those with less than a high school diploma. There are not, however, any statistically significant parameters for income for this group. Like the non-NBA omnivore latent class, this group is highly predicted by age. This is especially the case between the youngest and oldest age categories, with those in the youngest age category nearly three times more likely to be included in this non-CFL omnivore group than those in the oldest age category. Unlike, the non-NBA, however, the middle age category does not present a statistically significant value. This group again shows a lopsided sex relationship, with males being more than twice as likely to be in this latent class than females. Finally, region shows some of the most predictive parameters of any of the independent variables. Compared to those who live in Quebec, those in British Columbia are more than two and a half times more likely to be in this group. However, those in the eastern Anglo-Canadian provinces of Ontario and the Atlantic Region are approximately seven and a half times more likely to be in this group than those in Quebec. This result is especially interesting, as geographically the Atlantic Region and Ontario sandwich Quebec on the east and west, respectively. Therefore, this suggests that it may indeed be a culture-linguistic distinction at play in this difference, rather than simply a geographic differentiation as a product of most leagues included in this group only located in Ontario. The CFL-omnivore, being the group most strongly structured by cultural capital, like is the case with economic capital for the

non-NBA omnivore, again shows a specific composition of omnivorousness that is predicted by relatively high capital possession.

The full omnivore group shows the second fewest overall predictive parameters, and the second fewest predictive parameters for the operationalised variables of economic and cultural capital. One exception to this is that respondents in the middle income group, are almost one and a half times more likely to be in this group than those in the lowest income category. Therefore, this suggests a minimum level of economic capital to participate in the following of all the professional sports leagues. These results also suggest that there is not a similar minimum level of cultural capital to consume all six of the major professional sports leagues in Canada. The primary predictor for this group is sex. Males are most predicted to be members of this group as male respondents are more than five times more likely than females to be in this fully omnivorous latent class. Finally, region is also an important predictor for this group, with the provinces of Anglo-Canada between two and three times more likely to be fully omnivorous than those who live in Quebec. However, the results for the Atlantic Region are not statistically significant. This may be a reflection of a small subsection for this group or be a reflection of the Atlantic provinces being slightly less likely to be fully omnivorous as there are no professional sports teams from any of these six leagues located in this region. Because of previous results of this area being highly predicted to be non-CFL omnivorous, this suggests the former conclusion for this category's results in the regression for this fully omnivorous latent class group. The full omnivore here, then, does not present itself as the group with the highest capital possession. Therefore, this shows that an omnivore by volume conception is likely not the paradigm of professional sports following for those of elevated social position in Canada.

Finally, the non-MLB omnivore is only distinguished in the full regression model by being a male dominated cluster. However, of all the omnivorous groups, it is the least male dominated. Males are about twice as likely to be in this group than females, the smallest sex gap of the four omnivorous sports following groups. There is also one regional category that is statistically significant for predicting membership in this final latent class group. Those who reside in British Columbia are more than three times as likely to be in this group as those in Quebec. British Columbia is the furthest away from the Toronto Blue Jays, the sole MLB team in Canada. From this perspective, this explains why they are the most likely to be in this non-MLB group. However, Seattle, in the United States, is only a few hours' drive away from the majority of the population of British Columbia. Seattle is home to the Seattle Mariners, an MLB team. This fact may distract from this purely geographic explanation of the high British Columbian membership in this final latent class, the non-MLB omnivore group. While the regression results do not show that this group is particularly distinguished by capital possession, the results of the crosstabulations suggest that it may be a product of a low sub sample for this group as to why the coefficients for education are not statistically significant.

Table 6.7. Log odds coefficients from regression analysis of each latent class

Latent Class	Non-sports Follower		NHL-only Univore		Non-NBA Omnivore		Non-CFL Omnivore		Full Omnivore		Non-MLB Omnivore	
	Bivariate	Model	Bivariate	Model	Bivariate	Model	Bivariate	Model	Bivariate	Model	Bivariate	Model
	Gross effects Net effect		Gross effects Net effects		Gross effects Net effects		Gross effects Net effects		Gross effects Net effects		Gross effects Net effects	
Personal Education												
Graduate/Prof School	.252	.442*	-.465**	-.502**	-.687**	-.489	1.772***	1.124*	.272	.089	.883	.980
Undergraduate	.080	.181	-.288	-.353*	-.721**	-.441	1.792***	1.212**	.518	.500	.575	.646
Tech/Comm coll. degree	.006	-.029	-.076	-.069	-.263	-.023	1.374**	1.137*	-.001	-.106	-.851	-.881
Some uni/CC/Tech	.198	.204	-.448**	-.542**	-.235	.021	1.242**	1.216**	.721*	.631	-.207	-.135
High School degree	.284	.193	-.294*	-.331*	-.329	-.089	.841*	.916*	.327	.395	-.127	.060
Less than high school	---		---		---		---		---		---	
Before-tax Household Income (C\$/year)												
> \$100,000	-.543***	-.481***	.145	.261*	.402**	.426**	.664***	.308	.403	.045	-.406	-.819
\$50 - 99,999	-.369***	-.385***	.061	.131	.222	.287*	.552**	.320	.535**	.383*	-.295	-.503
< \$50,000	---		---		---		---		---		---	
Age Group												
25 – 39	.097	.176	-.124	-.113	-.953***	-1.075***	1.156***	1.084***	.276	.156	.551	.466
40 – 59	.028	.153	-.005	-.074	-.243*	-.335**	.328	.221	.192	.157	.145	.316
60+	---		---		---		---		---		---	
Sex												
Female	1.071***	1.059***	.060	.098	-1.460***	-1.461***	-.975***	-1.025***	-1.445***	-1.672***	-.914**	-.794*
Male	---		---		---		---		---		---	
Region												
British Columbia	-.078	.027	-.206	-.307*	-.058	-.142	.878**	.947**	.878**	.773*	1.076*	1.136*
Prairie Provinces	-.365**	-.340**	.071	.015	.270	.236	.273	.272	.966***	1.046***	-.728	-.569
Ontario	-.099	.007	-.432***	-.498***	-.343**	-.461**	2.060***	2.026***	1.114***	1.039***	.286	.346
Atlantic Region	.263	.294	-.414**	-.443**	-.708**	-.945**	1.813***	1.996***	.458	.554	-1.099	-.975
Quebec	---		---		---		---		---		---	
Nagelkerke R ²		.110		.129		.139		.181		.109		.086

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001; ^reference category

Split sample regression analysis of age

Like previous chapters, the first split sample analysis done for these groups of professional sports following is a comparison between the oldest and youngest age categories. The results from this split sample regression analysis are displayed in Table 6.8. This is done to investigate the relevance of theories of emerging culture for professional sports following in Canada. Unlike direct sports participation, where there is a much smaller percentage of sports that might be considered newer sports on the cultural landscape of Canada, approximately half of the six professional sports could be considered ‘emerging’ forms for Canada. While a long established league, and not having any physical teams in Canada, the popularity of the NFL in Canada has been quickly growing, with television ratings growing by double digits year on year in recent years (Kryck, 2018). Likewise, the NBA is both relatively new for Canada, and quickly growing in popularity. The NBA expanded into Canada in 1995 with teams in Vancouver and Toronto. While the team in Vancouver has since left, the popularity of the NBA in Canada has nevertheless been growing in recent years. Indeed, the percentage of respondents reporting that they follow this league either fairly or very closely is higher in the 2015 iteration of the Project Canada Survey than in any previous iteration of the survey since the question was introduced in 1990. Finally, the MLS expanded into Canada in 2007 and is thus the newest professional sports league on the Canadian sporting landscape.

In the overall regression results of professional sports following presented in this chapter, four of the six latent classes do not present statistically significant results for age. There are, however, two prominently opposed latent class groups on the basis of age. The third latent class, the non-NBA omnivore group, shows that older and especially the oldest age groups are most predictive of inclusion in this group. This is contrasted with the fourth latent class, the non-CFL omnivore group, which shows that the youngest age group is the most

predictive of membership for this grouping of professional sports following. A comparison between these two groups, one old, and one young, is an ideal place to investigate theories of emerging culture for the domain of professional sports in Canada. While other sports, particularly MLS can be, similarly to the NBA, characterised as emerging, contrasting to the most established leagues such as the CFL and NHL, the regression results of each individual league show the largest gap between those that follow the CFL (older) and those that follow the NBA (younger). This thus appears to be the primary differentiator between the non-NBA and non-CFL omnivore groups, respectively. However, analysing the capital possession of either group is able to illuminate theories of emerging culture.

If the patterning of capital possession is relatively equal for both of these groups then it can be accurately described as an affirmation of the theory of emerging culture. This is because both young and old, while partaking in different activities, are of similar capital possession. In analysing the overall regression results, it actually appears that the older latent class group (non-NBA omnivore) has lower levels of cultural capital and higher economic capital while the younger latent class group (non-CFL omnivore) shows higher levels of cultural capital and a non-statistically significant relationship to economic capital. From these overall results it is fair to assert that while the capital composition is different for predicting membership, it seems to confirm that the younger latent class possesses equal, or perhaps even greater, levels of capital possession.

The split sample regressions unfortunately have few statistically significant parameters, likely a function of the small sizes of these cross-sections. However, they show that both the youngest and oldest age categories for the non-CFL omnivore are both predicted by higher levels of education. While there are no statistically significant results for either age category, the log odds coefficients for both show similar patterning for both income and education.

Therefore, this suggests that while overall there may be an age gap between these two groups, there is not this same age gap in the capital possession of old and young within each of these compositionally omnivorous groups. Both the overall and split sample results, therefore, show results that affirm the primary tenets of theories of emerging culture for this domain within Canada.

Split sample regression analysis of sex

The final set of results for these latent class groups is a split-sample regression analysis to determine if the make-up of these various latent class groups of professional sports following differ for males and females in Canada. I perform this split sample analysis because of the overwhelming predictive power of the sex variable in predicting the sample wide regression results. It is thus necessary to split the sample by sex to more directly get to the capital possession of these groups. Table 6.9 displays the results of these split sample binomial regressions of the six latent class groups of professional sports following. When the sample of the Project Canada Survey is split by sex, there are samples of 1850 females and 1853 males. The percentage of females from the LCA falling into each of the latent class groups are 51.8, 33.1, 6.1, 5.7, 2.4, and 0.9, respectively for groups one through six. For males, these percentages are 29.3, 29.7, 17.2, 11.7, 9.9, and 2.3. Therefore, with the exception of the NHL-univore group, the sports following groups are larger for males than for females. These percentages mirror the results of the full sample results seen in the crosstabulations of Table 6.3 and the regression analyses of Table 6.7.

The results for the first latent class, the non-sports following group, shows similar results for females and males, suggesting a degree of individualisation in the non-following of major professional sports in Canada. The main statistically significant predictor is income. For both females and males, those with lower levels of income are more likely to be in this non-sports

following latent class. This especially true for males, where those in the lowest income category are twice as likely to be in this non-sports following group than those with the highest incomes and nearly twice as likely as those with the middle category of income. For males, this income disparity is the primary predictor of non-sports following in the sample. While those with the lowest levels of income are also more likely to be non-sports followers than those with especially middle levels of income, females in this group are also much more likely to live in Quebec versus the Prairie Provinces. Overall, these split sample regression results suggest that it is particularly income that is predictive for not following any of the six most prominent professional sports leagues in Canada. Those in the Prairie Provinces are also be the least likely to be non-sports followers for the sub-sample of females in the Project Canada Survey.

For the first sports following latent class, the NHL-univore group, both males and females again show very similar results, suggesting some individualisation in the univorous following of the most popular sports league in Canada. The primary predictive variables are again education and regional differentiation. While the sub-sample of males shows more statistically significant parameters for education, for both sexes, those who have the lowest levels of education are much more likely to be in this NHL-univorous group than those with the highest levels of education. For males again, however, income is also a statistically significant variable, with those having the highest level of income almost one and a half times more likely to be in this group than those in the lowest income category. Provincial residence is also again the final statistically significant parameter. Females in Quebec are more likely to be in this group than females in Ontario, while males in Quebec are more likely to be in this group than those in British Columbia, Ontario, and the Atlantic Region. Therefore, these results again show similar results for females and males. They present an even stronger education gap than the non-sports following, a similar but more pronounced

divide between Quebec and the Anglo-Canadian provinces, and finally for males, show a relationship to elevated levels of income that suggest a requisite amount of income is necessary to follow even one of these professional sports leagues.

The results for the third latent class, the non-NBA omnivore group, shows that income is more predictive than education for this grouping of professional sports following. While there are no statistically significant results for education in either sex's regression model, females in the middle income group are much more likely to be in this group than those in the lowest income category. Males with the highest levels of income are also more likely to be in this group than those in the lowest income category. There is no statistically significant age stratification for the sub-sample of females, while for males this group is strongly stratified by age. Those in the oldest age category are nearly four times more likely to be in this group than those in the youngest age category. Finally, females from the Prairie provinces are nearly twice as likely to be in this non-NBA omnivorous group than those in Quebec, while males from Quebec are twice as likely to be in this group than those in the eastern Anglo-Canadian provinces of Ontario and the Atlantic Region. With this more omnivorous profile, then, comes a much higher income difference for females, while males present similar income differences to the univorous group. This suggests increased economic capital requirements for females, while males do not necessarily need more economic capital for additional professional sports leagues that they may follow. Therefore, while there may not be increased capital requirements for which individual leagues are followed, the more leagues added within a consumption profile, the more (economic capital) requirements may be placed upon females. Outside of income, however, males show much more differentiation on the basis of age and region than do females in the sample.

The results of the next latent class, however, may slightly problematize this interpretation of the non-CFL omnivore group. Specifically, males in this group show very strong and statistically significant differentiation based upon the possession of capital, and particularly cultural capital. The results for males mirror the overall results, showing that those with more than a high school education are between three and four times more likely to be in this group than those with less than a high school degree. This is true even as the sub-sample for females shows no statistically significant results for education. Similarly, females show no statistically significant results for income. While in these later groups the sub-sample of females is getting small, even the non-statistically significant log odds coefficients for females are not as large as the statistically significant coefficients are for males. Males again show a slightly increased level of income, with those in the middle income group one and a half times more likely to be non-CFL omnivores than those with the lowest amount of income. For both females and males, age is a statistically significant predictor, with those aged twenty-five to thirty-nine more than twice as likely as those aged over sixty to be in this group and more than three times more likely to be in this youngest age category for males. Similarly, both females and males show the strongest relationship to regional variation, with those in British Columbia, Ontario, and the provinces of the Atlantic Region many times more likely to be in this non-CFL omnivore group than in Quebec, with the coefficients much stronger for females in this regard than for males. Therefore, these results suggest that for non-NBA omnivores, males show strong differentiation based upon education, region, age, and income, while females show primary differentiation amongst region, and secondarily age.

The variable of provincial region shows the only statistically significant results for both females and males in predicting fully omnivorous professional sports following of these six leagues in Canada. Fully omnivorous females are more than four times more likely to reside

in Ontario than Quebec, while fully omnivorous males are between two and three times more likely to reside in Ontario, the provinces of the Prairie Region, and British Columbia. While there are no other statistically significant results for this fully omnivorous latent class, the log odds coefficients for females suggest that elevated levels of education may be a factor for this group when compared to males, especially at the highest levels of education. A larger subsample would ultimately be needed to understand if this is a meaningful difference. As it stands, however, the fully omnivorous group appears most associated with regional residence, with females in Ontario, and males more broadly in western Anglo-Canada more likely to be fully omnivorous. While not statistically significant, again perhaps a function of decreased cross sections here, the results of this split sample show females with much higher log odds coefficients than males for education, and also for middle levels of income. These results may suggest again that females face particular socio-economic barriers to following an increased number of professional sports leagues, such as a lack of free time to do so (Katz-Gerro, 2010).

Similarly, for the final latent class, the non-MLB omnivore group, only males in British Columbia show a statistically significant result for inclusion in this group, with those in B.C. three times more likely to be in the non-MLB omnivore group than those living in Quebec. The lack of statistically significant results for these final two latent class groups may simply be a function of the smaller sizes of these groups in a split sample, or it could be the case, as the full sample regression showed, that these groups (particularly the full omnivore) are not strongly stratified outside of the sex divide. However, further study into differences in especially the fully omnivorous group may prove fruitful and interesting, as there are non-statistically significant results that suggest that females in the full omnivore group may be higher educated, younger, and more likely to live in Ontario, which would all be opposite results than what the results for males show.

Table 6.8 Regression log odds coefficients for youngest (25 to 39) and oldest (60+) age group in each latent class group

	Non-sports Follower^	NHL Univore	Non-NBA Omnivore	Non-CFL Omnivore	Full Omnivore	Non-MLB Omnivore
Education						
Graduate/Prof School	.685 (-.054)	-.544 (-.458)	-1.151 (-.387)	16.935***(3.011**)	.461 (-.913)	.165 (2.281)
Undergraduate	.362 (.657*)	-.482 (-.409)	-1.095 (-.487)	17.495***(1.758)	.348 (-.392)	.442 (.999)
Tech/Comm coll. degree	.175 (.120)	-.177 (.040)	-.379 (.023)	17.441***(1.431)	-.468 (-.087)	-1.608 (-17.697)
Some uni/CC/Tech	.474 (-.118)	-.610 (-.386)	-1.697*(.083)	17.721***(1.821)	.876 (.388)	-20.082 (.968)
High School degree	.275 (.233)	-.394 (-.418*)	-.638 (-.092)	17.701***(1.824)	-.115 (.302)	-.245 (.637)
<HS degree	---	---	---	---	---	---
Income(C\$/year)						
>\$100,000	-.728***(-.241)	.492* (-.062)	.486 (.360*)	.231 (.397)	.831 (-.045)	-.842 (-.443)
\$50-99,999	-.475** (-.058)	.124 (-.088)	.458 (.108)	.082 (.523)	1.437**(-.505)	-.560 (-2.165)
<\$50,000	---	---	---	---	---	---
Sex						
Females	1.055*** (1.195***)	.018 (.101)	-1.047**(-1.248***)	-1.335***(-.875*)	-1.286***(-1.873***)	-1.177(-1.406)
Males	---	---	---	---	---	---
Region						
British Columbia	.684** (-.179)	-.835** (-.144)	-.525 (-.208)	.800 (.148)	.483 (1.402*)	.071 (1.856)
Prairie Provinces	-.190 (-.644**)	-.354 (.357)	.680* (.115)	.791 (.015)	.902 (1.104)	-.597 (.614)
Ontario	-.022 (.020)	-.686***(-.208)	-1.252**(-.686***)	2.537***(1.092*)	.283 (1.353*)	-.649 (1.228)
Atlantic Provinces	.206 (.282)	-.486 (-.052)	-1.275 (-.833**)	1.715** (1.257)	.605 (.782)	-.188 (-17.432)
Quebec	---	---	---	---	---	---
NagelkerkeR ²	.123 (.132)	.045 (.026)	.142 (.153)	.246 (.135)	.141 (.124)	.128 (.197)

*p<.05;**p<.01;***p<.001

Table 6.9. Regression odds ratios for females(males) in each latent class group

	Non-sports Follower^	NHL Univore	Non-NBA Omnivore	Non-CFL Omnivore	Full Omnivore	Non-MLB Omnivore
Education						
Graduate/Prof School	.448 (.425)	-.587*(-.496*)	-.768 (-.387)	.673 (1.248*)	.997 (-.013)	1.024 (.981)
Undergraduate	.166 (.179)	-.223 (-.490*)	-.290 (-.487)	.833 (1.324*)	.569 (.555)	-.929 (1.017)
Tech/Comm coll. degree	-.080 (.179)	.016 (-.147)	-.166 (.023)	.889 (1.215*)	.643 (-.273)	-1.331 (-.706)
Some uni/CC/Tech	.410 (.031)	-.531*(-.556*)	-.194 (.083)	1.112 (1.239*)	.434 (.698)	-1.445 (.275)
High School degree	.260 (.121)	-.300 (-.367*)	-.093 (-.092)	.414 (1.121*)	.406 (.443)	-.215 (.118)
<HS degree	---	---	---	---	---	---
Income(C\$/year)						
>\$100,000	-.262 (-.681***)	.221 (.316*)	.675 (.360*)	.210 (.392)	-.742 (.093)	-18.506 (-.502)
\$50-99,999	-.270*(-.504***)	.206 (.206)	.804**(.108)	.077 (.455*)	.677 (.276)	-.183 (-.626)
<\$50,000	---	---	---	---	---	---
Age						
25-39	.097 (.243)	-.166 (-.038)	-.633 (-1.248***)	.829*(1.188***)	.387 (.075)	.845 (.358)
40-59	.052 (.254)	-.054 (-.085)	-.284 (-.363*)	.229 (.191)	.018 (.167)	1.282 (-.056)
60+	---	---	---	---	---	---
Region						
British Columbia	-.012 (.088)	-.195 (-.422*)	.162 (-.208)	1.464* (.763)	-.053 (.874*)	1.358 (1.068*)
Prairie Provinces	-.386*(-.299)	.205 (-.177)	.672*(.115)	-.025 (.309)	.880 (1.095**)	-.720 (-.523)
Ontario	-.113 (.151)	-.369**(-.632***)	.262 (-.686***)	2.486*** (1.877***)	1.468* (.953**)	.372 (.335)
Atlantic Provinces	.290 (.331)	-.392 (-.494*)	-20.786 (-.833**)	2.262** (1.951***)	.980 (.460)	18.312 (-.589)
Quebec	---	---	---	---	---	---
NagelkerkeR ²	.026 (.037)	.029 (.032)	.062 (.085)	.135 (.172)	.071 (.050)	.142 (.077)

*p<.05;**p<.01;***p<.001

6.4 Discussion and conclusion

Discussion

The study in this chapter shows six distinct patterns of following the six major professional sports leagues in Canada. Of these, it is primarily omnivorous patterns that show themselves in the following of these leagues. Indeed, there are four groups that show omnivorous consumption and one of those four that shows a fully omnivorous consumption profile. There is also a univorously consuming group that only follows the NHL. Finally, there is a group that follows none of these leagues.

The NHL-univore is the group with the lowest capital possession of all of the latent class groups. In this way this group follows Peterson's theory of the univore. However, the inverse relationship of this group to economic and cultural capital is an interesting one. Bourdieu (1978) highlights that while the possession of economic capital resources opens up a space of possibilities by which one can consume various cultural and sporting objects, the actual consumption of the items within this space of possibilities relies mostly upon the possession of cultural capital. Therefore, similar to these arguments by Bourdieu, and pursuant with Peterson's original findings of the univore, these results suggest that cultural capital may be a limiting factor to consumption and a driver of univorism for this group. Additionally, as Canada's most popular sport, the relationship between social position and univorous consumption of the NHL makes sense through Bourdieu's (1978) assertions that the larger classes of a society are drawn to the largest and most prominent sporting spectacles of that society. Therefore, those who only follow the NHL may be viewed by others through a lens of distinction by which they are seen as only following the most 'popular' sport, rather than some of the more rarely followed leagues. This would highlight a Bourdieusian model of

distinction. Alternatively, this group may also be symbolically judged because of their univorousness. The make-up of the subsequent latent class groups would suggest the latter, as the NHL is included in each subsequent group. However, these symbolic relationships and attendant judgements are unable to be fully parsed from a solely quantitative approach.

This group is also by far the most female of the sports following clusters. This is interesting, as the NHL is argued to be the pinnacle of a sport (ice hockey) that represents normative Canadian masculinity (Krebs, 2012). These two dynamics, however, might be much more compatible than they first appear. As the nation's most popular sport, the NHL may also represent a location in which females can operationalise their sporting knowledge for the accrual of capital resources in an environment that reflects these dynamics in broader social interactions. Therefore, the cultural capital of NHL knowledge may have its highest utility for females. Therefore, gendered barriers to entry may be compounded with each additional sport followed, leading to univorous consumption of the highest utility sport and precluding more omnivorous consumption profiles. While much more research into the specific mechanisms of this consumption is called for, these results do suggest that females are more likely to be sporting univores in this case, only following the NHL. Indeed, this NHL-univore group is larger for females than it is for males.

Regarding this difference in capital possession between economic and cultural, Veenstra (2010: 100) finds a distinction between 'popular highbrow cultural practices such as sports' that fall in the social space of Canada most distinguished by economic capital and 'traditionally highbrow practices' that fall in the social space that is most distinguished by cultural capital possession. While both Bourdieu and Veenstra assess participatory sport, where, as Bourdieu (1978) argues, the upper classes often eschew violence, leaving these types of 'prole' sports (Wilson, 2002) to the lower classes, the results of this chapter suggest

that this may not be the case with professional sports following. This is because all of the CFL, NFL, and NHL have similar levels of violence within their almost identical styles of play. The NFL and NHL, however, are included in each of the omnivorous groups, including those with the highest levels of economic and cultural capital. It is only the CFL that has one group that is defined by its relative lack of following for this league. Therefore, there is something else going on with the importance of the CFL in defining some of these latent class groups. I look to more ‘cultural’ factors to understand the importance of this league within this analysis.

While not quite above its relative frequency for the data, the second latent class group of sports following also has a comparatively high likelihood of following the CFL. This group, then, besides being the most univorous, may ultimately also be the most parochial in their sports following. This group particularly shuns those sports that are less Canadian. These include the NFL, NBA, MLS, and MLB. The NFL is an exclusively American league. MLS represents a North American iteration of a global sport, one that is almost exclusively dominated by non-North Americans. While the NBA has been in Canada since 1995, there is only one team in Canada. Additionally, the surrounding culture and ethos of the NBA is eminently American. Other foreign cultures represented in the NBA come from the European continent (in terms of player representation) or come via the avid following of this league in Asian markets. Therefore, this group is not characterised by the kinds of ‘openness’, ‘cosmopolitanism’, and ‘exoticism’ in cultural consumption that have been observed in some other domains (Johnston and Baumann, 2007; Ollivier, 2008; Prieur and Savage, 2013; Rössel & Schroedter, 2015).

These more cultural markers of distinction in consumption are both argued to be markers of cultural capital in themselves and be produced by the cultural capital of education. Indeed,

the regression results suggest that this group does have relatively lower levels of education. Therefore, these more cultural dynamics may be on display with this groups' rejection of these leagues and/or their affinity for these most Canadian sports leagues. In this way, cultural capital may be reproduced in professional sports following based upon the relative parochial positioning of the leagues that are followed.

The third and fourth latent class groups show particular, or selective, omnivorous profiles.

The third group, the non-NBA omnivore, shows omnivorous following of the five professional sports leagues that are not the NBA. This group has the highest predictive values for elevated economic capital and is also the oldest of the sports following groups. This group shuns the NBA. Bryson (1996: 895) finds 'that negative attitudes towards social groups result in negative attitudes toward the types of music associated with that group'. While this newest data set on professional sports following unfortunately does not include data on race, previous research has identified following the NBA as being predictive for non-white ethnic groups in Canada (Gemar, 2019a). Therefore, this iteration of omnivorous sports consumption may suggest similar kinds of symbolic judgements and boundary drawing around the NBA that reproduce themselves as a product of high levels of economic capital, generational difference, race, or all three. The quantitative analysis of this research cannot, however, capture the degree of symbolic force of these distinctions.

The fourth group shows a similar relationship. This non-CFL omnivore has the highest level of cultural capital, elevated levels of economic capital, is the youngest of the sports following groups, and the most likely to be from Ontario and the Atlantic Region. This group shuns the CFL, although not to the degree that the non-NBA omnivore shuns that league. Therefore, this group shuns arguably the most Canadian of these leagues. Because the non-CFL omnivore group in this analysis has the highest level of cultural capital, this group, like the

economically privileged non-NBA omnivore, is an example of omnivores that do not indiscriminately consume. Rather, this group has selective omnivorous tastes that are still exclusive of certain forms of culture that they symbolically devalue for perhaps a variety of reasons. In contrast to the non-NBA omnivore, and perhaps even more so the NHL-univore group, this group does indeed seem to consume those professional sports leagues that are the most 'cosmopolitan', shunning the most parochial league. With the exception of MLS, this group also prefers the most 'excellent' of these leagues. However, MLS may provide this group a social position par excellence within professional sports following in Canada, given its global presence and ethos, to operationalise as cultural capital their 'openness' and 'cosmopolitanism' in their consumption behaviour (Ollivier, 2008; Prieur & Savage, 2013).

Therefore, this group represents the sports following omnivorous group that is the most reliant on cultural capital for producing a distinctive sports following profile. Similar to the group that shuns the NBA, the symbolic force of judgement against the CFL by this group is not able to be captured. However, like that group's distinctive markers of race (e.g. Bryson, 1996) and economic capital, education and the cultural capital markers of openness and cosmopolitanism provide potentiality for strong judgements from this group of those who follow the CFL.

The fully omnivorous group shows some elevated levels of cultural capital and is the most male of the sports following clusters. This fully omnivorous group is the second smallest group of the six clusters. It is also the second least socially distinguished of the omnivore groups. However, as it does show some elevated levels of economic capital in the middle income group, it does suggest that full omnivorism is to some degree characteristic of the slightly higher (economic) capital possessed. However, these results ultimately show that the most socially distinguished and highest economic and cultural capital groups have specific

sports that they conspicuously do not follow, mirroring Bryson's (1996) findings for music, and Wilson's (2002) findings for sports participation.

These results are interesting because they show that the omnivore thesis is not fully confirmed for professional sports following. This is true even as the survey question (allowing all modes of 'following') and the existence of an omnivorous group would not appear to suggest dynamics of saturation for this area of leisure (e.g. Atkinson, 2011). These results rather suggest that following both the CFL and NBA, the two most distinctive profiles, does not appear to confer elements of cultural capital that for instance, conspicuously not following the CFL might.

The full omnivore group found in this chapter, represents a fully omnivorous profile that does not support Peterson's theory of this group having higher levels of social status. Rather, this chapter finds that the full omnivore in these findings is not particularly socially distinguished, showing that the most socially distinguished and dominant groups have specific sports that they follow and more importantly, sports that they conspicuously do not follow.

Finally, the sixth group, the non-MLB group fits into the profile of the third and fourth groups. Whatever the reason, this group is not socially distinctive. However, there are some suggestions that this group is slightly more educated at the top end. This group also appears to be broken off from the fully omnivorous category. Therefore, this would again suggest that those with higher capital possession have particular sports that they distinctively do not follow. This final group also has the highest likelihoods of following MLS and the NFL, arguably the two most foreign leagues in Canada. Therefore, this group suggests similar dynamics of cultural markers of consumption as the other groups.

All of this, then, informs the discussion of the different kinds of omnivores. Indeed, this chapter finds four different omnivorous categories. Because this is an intra-domain analysis, I am only able to speak to intra-domain dynamics in this instance. The fully omnivorous cluster, including all six sports, includes all of those sports leagues that are distinguished by higher levels of education, lower levels of education, higher levels of income, and those that showed no significant results for income. It also includes all of the possible leagues. Therefore, this group could be considered both an intra-domain omnivore category by volume, and an intra-domain omnivore by composition. Because the vast majority of omnivore by volume studies are inter-domain studies without cultural objects and activities of low social status, within the consumption literature, perhaps it is more so an omnivore by composition. For comparison, however, I will treat it here mostly as an omnivore by volume. This is because the other omnivore groups are certainly omnivore groups by composition, preferring specific combinations of leagues within their omnivorous consumption.

The two largest omnivore groups, particularly, have distinct compositions. However, because both include professional sports leagues of high and low capital possession, the composition here is slightly different than is commonly described. In this case, the composition may be demographic. For instance, particularly between the non-NBA and non-CFL omnivore groups it may be generational. For his part, Bourdieu is often criticised for ignoring generational considerations in his theories or at least, discussing the generational dynamic ‘sparingly and unsystematically’ (Purhonen, 2016: 95). In this research, age is only a predictive parameter for three of the sports leagues, and two leagues in particular. The NBA has the youngest followers, the CFL has the oldest. Therefore, it may be an omnivore by composition where the primary aspect of the composition is demographic. Growing generational differences in consumption has also been observed in other cultural domains and national contexts (e.g. Bennett et al, 2009; Lizardo & Skiles, 2015; Purhonen, Gronow, &

Rahkonen, 2010; Roose, 2015). Likewise, MLS and the NBA, as the two most recent leagues in Canada, and two of the most 'cosmopolitan', may represent types of 'emerging' culture (Prieur & Savage, 2013). That is, as the two most recent leagues in Canada, these two leagues might represent forms of culture that younger generations can adopt to distinguish their consumption from older generations that might be resistant to these new forms of culture, in a type of 'intergenerational contest' (Lizardo & Skiles, 2012: p. 278). The non-NBA, non-CFL, and perhaps also the non-MLB (as an older league according to the regression analysis) groups may be showing these kinds of dynamics within the various iterations of omnivorous consumption.

Secondarily, the NBA, as the league with followers most predicted to have high levels of education, shows that cultural capital possession may also play a prominent role in this differentiation. Likewise, the non-NBA omnivore, as the group with the highest level of economic capital, shows that economic capital may also play a prominent role. Therefore, these two omnivore groups are more socially distinguished, particularly in their capital possession, than the omnivorous group that consumes the highest number of professional sports leagues.

The split sample for the youngest and oldest age categories generally supports the theory of emerging culture (e.g. Savage and Prieur, 2013). This is because the social class patterning of the youngest latent class group (the non-CFL omnivores) and the oldest latent class group (the non-NBA omnivores), both show similarly high levels of capital possession and do so to higher degrees than the opposite age category in each of these latent class groups. The latter, however, shows high economic capital to be more important than cultural capital for structuring this group, while the former shows stratification showing cultural capital is more important than economic capital. It is still the case, then, that these two groups represent the

groups with the highest levels of economic and cultural capital, respectively. They are also the oldest and youngest group, presenting results that show a generational divide between the CFL and NBA for structuring otherwise omnivorous professional sports following profiles. Observing this kind of generational divide between two groups of higher capital possession fits fully within the theory of emerging culture. This is to say that the results show that the rejection of the more established league, the CFL, is most common among otherwise omnivorous young persons of high cultural capital. The opposite is true of economically privileged and otherwise omnivorous older generations and their rejection of the NBA. The difference in the composition of the capital possessed by either group again highlights that a large measure of the differentiation between these two leagues may indeed be down to more cultural factors such as openness and cosmopolitanism.

Finally, the additional split sample analysis on the back of the strong observed sex divide for these groups suggested that male sports followers may be more stratified generally along socio-economic lines than female sports followers. This is particularly true for economic capital at the highest income levels but is also true for cultural capital in the non-CFL omnivore group. Outside of this generally stronger economic and cultural capital stratification for male sports followers (which is likely due also in part because of slightly larger samples for each group), males and females follow generally similar patterns of stratification as shown in the sample wide results. Females, for instance, still show elevated levels of economic capital, although only to the middle income level. They also show non-statistically significant results for education that while not as large, suggest similar patterning to males. These results support weaker versions of the individualisation thesis that suggest that identities such as sex have now replaced or diluted the importance of social class location in the structuring social behaviour and cultural consumption (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010).

However, the one group where males and females do seem to differ is with the full omnivore group, where some there are results suggesting that females in this group may be more highly educated, younger, and live in Ontario. This may suggest a more cosmopolitan nature to the professional sporting omnivore among females than for males. While these results are ultimately not statistically significant, the potential differentiation in this most omnivorous group requires exploration in further research. Because sports, and particularly fandom of professional sports, have traditionally formed a 'male preserve' (Dunning, 1986), sex analysis in the domain of professional sport is a particularly salient node for future research and these results suggest that females may face higher capital possession requirements to achieve omnivorousness in this domain.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study finds six distinct groups of major professional sports following in Canada. Of the five groups that follow professional sports, four are generally omnivorous. The most omnivorous group, however, is the least socially distinguished of these groups. It is neither the highest possessors of cultural or economic capital. Therefore, this suggests some limits to the omnivore by volume, touted in many inter-domain studies, when it is tested in this intra-domain setting. Rather, the results of this analysis support an omnivore by composition within the domain of major professional sports. The details of this composition, however, may ultimately be based more upon demographic factors, such as age, and cultural factors, such as cosmopolitanism and openness, than strictly upon the consumption of high and low status objects, which is a form of distinction that may ultimately be blurred by these other more powerful factors. Similarly, the split sample analyses done for age and for sex also suggest elements of the individualisation of professional sports following in Canada.

Limitations of the analysis in this chapter includes the ephemeral nature of professional sports following, particularly in North America. I recognise that the various successes of Canadian teams in any given year will likely also skew the percentage of followers in any given year, including the 2015 survey year used for this chapter. For instance, interest in the NBA or MLB may be up with the recent success of the Toronto Raptors and Blue Jays. However, these dynamics may ultimately be cyclical. For example, NBA television audiences have been found to be 4.5 times more sensitive to team success than those persons who attend games, ultimately affecting a broad audience in a cyclical manner (Mongeon and Winfree, 2012). Following the results of this chapter, the following of these leagues also appears to be highly structured by provincial region. The sample used for the analysis of this chapter is unfortunately too small to perform an effective split sample analysis of provincial region. This chapter therefore prioritizes those demographic categories (age and sex) that cut across the national wide sample and have more well-established theories as to their relationships to social class and cultural consumption. I recognize, however, that an analysis of any social class differences within provincial region would be of additional efficacy for analysing professional sports following. All of this said, more research into the changing landscape of professional sports consumption is needed to build off the findings of this chapter.

Finally, the symbolic judgments between those who follow the NBA and CFL, for example, are ultimately unable to be fully assessed through purely quantitative means. However, the quantitative results show results that suggest what these dynamics would be for further research into their qualitative nature. A final suggestion, therefore, for further study involves qualitatively studying how people in these various professional sports following groups come of their dispositions and acquire their tastes. Likewise, what structures their dislikes and does this manifest itself in the production of distinction? These are the further paths of

investigation into a domain of culture that is too large to be further neglected relative to other forms of culture.

The next chapter, Chapter 7, of this dissertation will place both direct sports participation and professional sports following into the broader cultural lifestyles of Canadians to see how these dynamics are related in an inter-domain cultural perspective.

Chapter 7

Inter-domain investigation of wider cultural participation and sports engagement

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the place of both direct sports participation and professional sports following within the broader cultural landscape of Canada and the leisure lifestyles of Canadians. It again engages the three different theories of cultural consumption in their application to culture in Canada, with particular emphasis on the location of sports engagement within broader cultural lifestyles. Along with Bourdieu's (1978, 1984, 1986, Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) theories of habitus and homologies, it tests Peterson's (1992, 1997; Peterson and Kern, 1996) omnivore–univore framework and the individualisation thesis of social behaviour. With respect to these theories, particularly considered at once, there is little work done on sports. Even as Bourdieu frequently considered sport, few scholars have studied sport as a cultural form that can be consumed in the same way or have used sport within larger analyses of cultural engagement. Since Bourdieu, the tendency of scholars has been to treat culture and sport relatively separately, without combining them in a broader analysis of culture. These dynamics are especially so within the social context of Canada and North America more broadly. The study in this chapter seeks to move towards remedying this.

Despite the prominent role that sport plays in Canadian, and other contemporary societies, research is generally lacking when it comes to the relationship between social consumption patterns of sport and other cultural activities. Scholars rarely consider these two side by side. This chapter is thus concerned with how both participatory sport and professional sports following fit within the larger inter-domain cultural profiles of Canadians. Specifically, it

seeks to further understanding of how sport intersects with other forms of culture and fits into typologies of the patterning of cultural participation. This chapter seeks to fill these gaps in the existing literature, provide innovative applications for sports studies that bring in more traditional sociological analyses of cultural consumption and provide an additional national context-specific case study for present and future cross-national comparison. This chapter first proceeds with a discussion of the research questions and hypotheses. It then discusses the cultural data from the two survey sources used in this chapter before moving on to the core of the empirical assessment of the chapter. This empirical assessment first analyses the broader cultural lifestyles of Canadians with data from two different survey programs in Canada. I then try to locate both direct sports participation and professional sports following within these broader lifestyles of cultural activity. After discussing these results, the conclusion of this chapter finds an inter-domain by volume in the Canadian case that is of elevated socio-economic position. However, these omnivores are not similarly omnivorous (that is, by volume) in their direct sports participation or their professional sports following.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The primary research questions for this this chapter seeks to answer involves the place of the domain of sport within other domains of Canadians' cultural participation profiles. This includes both where direct sports participation (see also Chapter 5) and professional sports following (see also Chapter 6) fit within these cultural lifestyles. It is to ask, what are the wider cultural consumption profiles of those who engage with sports in Canada? A sub question is similar but addresses potential differentiation within these domains as they relate to these broader cultural profiles. Are different participatory and professional sports leagues in Canada followed by people that have different patterns of cultural consumption in other areas of their life? For instance, do those who follow the NHL participate in a different set of

wider cultural practices than those who follow the NFL? Likewise, do those who participate in sports of higher status (e.g. from the individual and non-contact sports group from Chapter 5) have differing cultural profiles across domains than those who participate in sports of lower social position? Findings in these areas would suggest a more Bourdieusian type of distinction within this domain.

If engagement with sport (either participatory or pro sports following) in Canada follows theories of the omnivore, one would expect results that place most or all of the sports leagues into a group of cultural behaviour marked by an overall omnivorousness. Likewise, for the data on professional sports following that did find an overall omnivore by volume and omnivore groups by composition (see also Chapter 6), which, if any (or all), are most omnivorous in their broader cultural participation? This chapter is thus broadly concerned with how professional sports consumption is connected to broader lifestyles and which cultural profiles are most connected to the intra-domain differentiation and omnivorism found in the previous two chapters of this thesis.

7.2 Data and methods

For determining where direct sports participation fits within patterns of broader cultural participation, the 2005 Time Use Survey of Canada's General Social Survey (GSS) is the most recent survey year to ask questions of both cultural and sporting participation to the same subset of the respondents ($n = 9747$). Therefore, this is the most up to date data from Canada that can be used to analyse the place of sports within wider consumption profiles. One limitation to this data is its age, being now more than a decade old. However, because of the structure of the GSS Time Use Surveys, this 2005 survey is the most up to date survey that includes enough information to answer the core research questions of this analysis. The 2005 GSS cycle is also the largest sample that they ever collected for the Time Use section,

and therefore it is still a good and useful measure of participation and provides valuable insights for the relationship between sports participation and broader cultural engagement. Indeed, other recent studies have utilised data from 2005 to make a scholarly contribution to the sociology of culture (e.g. Gemar, 2019a; Cutts and Widdop, 2017). Table 7.1 shows the make-up of the GSS sample. The survey data regrettably does not include information on race. Table 7.3 shows the relative frequencies of the various cultural activity variables in this analysis.

Table 7.1. Relative frequencies of socio-economic and demographic variables in 2005 GSS

Variable	Frequency
Personal Education	
Grad/Professional School	6.9%
Bachelor's degree	17.0%
Diploma/comm/tech college	27.4%
Some uni/comm college	13.2%
High school diploma	16.1%
Some secondary/elementary/none	19.4%
Household Income (C\$/year)	
\$100,000 +	16.1%
\$60 – 99,999	25.2%
\$30 – 59,999	34.8%
\$0 – 29,999	23.9%
Dwelling Ownership	
Yes	24.8%
No	75.2%
Age Group	
25 – 39	27.8%
40 – 59	42.1%
60 +	30.1%
Sex	
Male	42.7%
Female	57.3%
Region	
British Columbia	11.9%
Prairie Provinces	20.1%
Ontario	28.5%
Atlantic Region	20.0%
Quebec	19.5%
Population centre	
Smaller/rural population centres	22.6%
Prince Edward Island	3.0%
Larger/urban population centres	74.4%

To explore the relationship between the consumption of professional sport and broader lifestyles, this chapter analyses secondary survey data from Canada. That data set comes from the Project Canada Survey of 2005, directed by Dr Reginald Bibby at the University of Lethbridge in Lethbridge, Alberta. This is the most up-to-date available full data set (Dr Bibby kindly provided the sports following data from 2015 for chapter 6) from this survey program. The 2015 Project Canada data set also did not include cultural activities as previous iterations (2005 being most recent) had done. It is thus, like the 2005 GSS data, ultimately the most up-to-date, nationally representative sample available for the type of analysis done in this chapter. The sampling procedures consist of a mail survey of both previous respondents to the survey and randomly selected persons. The specific iteration of the survey used here included 2,000 Canadians who previously filled out the survey and 3,000 that were randomly selected (Bibby, 2005). The 2005 survey had a response rate of 48% for a completed sample size of 2,400, which was then weighted (by Dr Bibby) in order to achieve national representativeness. Table 7.2 shows the make-up of the sample for the explanatory variables included in the regression analysis of this chapter. In order to allow for education to be a meaningful measure of cultural capital, those aged 18–24 are again excluded from the sample because a substantial proportion of this age group has not yet completed their highest level of formal education. Compared to the GSS data, the Project Canada sample appears to be slightly more educated but more balanced with the Canadian population in terms of sex and region.

This chapter uses the cultural and leisure activities asked on the two surveys (GSS and PC). As the reader can see in Tables 7.3 and 7.4, the activities included in both surveys are similar in their composition. While not completely identical, they are close enough for an efficacious comparison between the two. As outlined in detail in Chapter 4, for the GSS data I use the two most frequent options from provided by the designers of this surveyor (Statistics Canada,

a federal department of the Government of Canada). I do the best job of harmonising the response options from the GSS data with the options from the Project Canada data. A full accounting of this process is laid out in Chapter 4.

Table 7.2. Relative frequencies of independent variables from the sample

Project Canada Survey	
Personal Education	
Grad/Professional School	19.7%
Bachelor's degree	21.8%
Diploma/comm/tech	27.7%
High school diploma	25.6%
Grade school or less	5.1%
Household Income	
<30,000	18.5%
30-59,999	32.0%
60-100,000	30.2%
>100,000+	19.7%
Age Group	
25 – 39	25.3%
40 – 59	47.6%
60+	27.1%
Sex	
Female	51.0%
Male	49.0%
Race	
White	93.8%
Non-white	6.2%
Population centre	
Metropolitan area	60.2%
Small city	12.4%
Small town	27.4%
Region	
British Columbia	13.5%
Prairie Region	17.2%
Ontario	38.2%
Atlantic Region	7.2%
Quebec	23.8%

The response choices for the Project Canada activities did not vary by activity (as in the GSS), and were as follows: daily, several times a week, about once a week, 2–3 times a month, about once a month, less than once a month, hardly ever, and never. These activities are coded as either weekly or monthly, depending on the frequency with which a person may

reasonably engage in these activities as part of their regular cultural lifestyle (and guided by the decisions of the creators of the GSS Time Use Survey). For those activities that are done with more frequency, these activities are coded as ‘participation’ for participation ‘at least once a week’, and ‘non-participation’ for frequencies of less than this. Likewise, those activities coded as monthly are given a ‘participation’ designation if the respondent participated ‘about once a month’ and a ‘non-participation’ for those frequencies that were less than this. Reading the newspaper, following the news, listening to music, and doing something to stay in shape (displayed as ‘exercise’) are coded for weekly engagement. The remaining activities are coded for monthly engagement. The relative frequencies resulting from this re-coding of both surveys can be seen in Tables 7.3, 7.4, and in Chapter 4.

Table 7.3. Relative frequencies for regular participation in the cultural variables from the GSS Time Use Survey of Canada

Read magazines	69.5%
Read newspapers	66.6%
Watch videos	55.2%
Watch television	42.3%
Read books	41.3%
Go to historic sites	34.5%
Go to zoo/aquarium ¹	31.4%
Go to movies	25.1%
Cultural/art festival	22.4%
Sports participation	22.3%
Concerts/Performances	17.1%
Museums and Galleries	5.7%

¹Also includes: botanical garden, planetarium, and observatory

Table 7.4. Relative frequencies for regular participation in the cultural activities from the Project Canada Survey

Follow the News	96.7%
Listen to Music	93.3%
Read magazines	85.8%
Read the newspaper	84.9%
Eat out	83.1%
Read books	73.4%
Exercise	67.8%
Watch videos at home	64.7%
Watch TV	28.9%
Go to movies	26.4%
Go to bars/lounges	18.9%
Go to concerts	10.5%

For both surveys, television watching was reported in hours per week. While the GSS survey asked for an exact number of hours, the Project Canada survey asked for respondents to specify according to a list of hourly ranges. I determined that the best intersection of these two was at the 15 hour per week mark. It is at this intersecting value from the two surveys where the language of regularity may arguably be first and most usefully applied. The relative frequencies for those engaging in at least 15 hours of television watching per week from the GSS and Project Canada surveys are also included in Tables 7.3 and 7.4, respectively.

This chapter follows the methodological procedures from the previous two empirical chapters and uses latent class analysis (LCA) to form groups of cultural behaviour. From these groups, patterns of consumption can be identified. This can aid in the distinctive identification of, for example, the cultural omnivore. However, because of the necessarily class-based conceptualisations of Bourdieu and Peterson, the modal latent class values of each respondent will be tested using binomial logistic regression. These are performed against a series of socio-economic and demographic variables. Regression methods are used here because of

their ability to isolate and control for these variables and generate predictive measures. From this analysis, I can start to see which theories of cultural consumption are most supported by this analysis. In this chapter, economic capital is again operationalised by household income. Cultural capital is again operationalised by personal education. The relative frequencies for the independent variables that are included in the regression analysis of this chapter are those reported in Tables 7.1 and 7.2. I now move on to the results of the LCA for these two surveys.

7.3 Results of latent class analysis of cultural activity variables for GSS and Project Canada data

The LCA of the data included in this section takes the 12 domain level cultural activities from the GSS and Project Canada surveys and seeks to find a latent class model that best fits the data. LCA is able to identify typological patterning in the data by which these latent classes are created. Table 7.5 shows the results of the latent class modelling for the data when one to six latent class solutions were specified as possibilities for model solutions of the GSS. As the table shows, the first two solutions, the one and two latent class model solutions, show non-significant chi-squared p-values. Significant p-values are found in each of the third through six class model solutions. The fifth latent class model solution, however, represents the model with the optimal (lowest) Bayes Information Criterion (BIC) and Consistent Akaike Information Criterion (CAIC) fit statistics. Therefore, the existence of five latent class groups in the GSS data is well supported by the statistical evidence of the latent class analysis.

Table 7.5. Model summary report from the latent class analysis of cultural activities from the Time Use Survey of the General Social Survey

	LL	BIC(LL)	AIC(LL)	CAIC(LL)	L²	p-value
1-Class	-57018.3800	114145.0236	114060.7600	114157.0236	9182.5111	1.2e-391
2-Class	-54624.0955	109473.7401	109298.1911	109498.7401	4393.9422	0.00022
3-Class	-54362.0119	109066.8583	108800.0238	109104.8583	3869.7749	0.98
4-Class	-54171.3457	108802.8114	108444.6914	108853.8114	3488.4425	1.00
5-Class	-54063.8652	108705.1358	108255.7303	108769.1358	3273.4814	1.00
6-Class	-54022.9648	108740.6205	108199.9295	108817.6205	3191.6806	1.00

Table 7.6. Model summary report from the latent class analysis of cultural activities from the Project Canada Survey

	LL	BIC(LL)	AIC(LL)	CAIC(LL)	L²	p-value
1-Class	-6783.4267	13652.2440	13590.8533	13664.2440	1338.6910	0.0093
2-Class	-6634.6013	13447.0997	13319.2025	13472.0997	1041.0402	1.00
3-Class	-6524.4489	13319.3016	13124.8979	13357.3016	820.7355	1.00
4-Class	-6503.8144	13370.5391	13109.6289	13421.5391	779.4666	1.00
5-Class	-6488.6364	13432.6895	13105.2728	13496.6895	749.1105	1.00
6-Class	-6472.5678	13493.0589	13099.1357	13570.0589	716.9734	1.00

The model summary for the twelve activities included in the latent class analysis of the Project Canada Survey is shown in Table 7.6. For the LCA performed on the cultural activities included in the Project Canada Survey, all model solutions after the one latent class model have statistically significant p-values. Therefore, I again follow the approach from the GSS survey in choosing the model based upon BIC and CAIC model fit statistics. This dictates the selection of the three latent class model solution because it is statistically the model that best fits the data. This is because the measures for the BIC and CAIC values reach their optimal levels for

this model, as exemplified by their lowest values being in this model solution. I will now describe the characteristics of these three latent classes from the Project Canada data as well as the five groups found in the GSS data.

As seen in Table 7.7, the five latent class model divides the respondents from the GSS into groups that constitute approximately 24%, 20%, 19%, 19%, and 17% of the sample, respectively. The best fitting latent class model (Table 7.8) divides the Project Canada data into three latent class groups of 47%, 42%, and 11%, respectively. There is first a ‘sedentary-primary paucivore’ latent class group (LC1) for both survey programs. This group is defined by people who have comparatively low probabilities of engaging in these cultural activities, save for a few. These few are all sedentary activities. Those who read the newspaper, magazines, books (GSS), watch TV, and follow the news (PC) have probabilities of inclusion in this first group that are higher than their overall relative frequencies for the sample. Members of this group are unlikely to engage in the other activities of the survey. For these reasons I label this group a ‘sedentary’ latent class. Although this is perhaps the group that could be most characterised as ‘univorous’, I do not use the language of univorousness in this group for two reasons.

The first is that the analysis in this chapter is an inter-domain analysis. Therefore, univorousness, as originally conceived and argued by Peterson is not able to be ascertained. This is to say that within the domain of newspapers, magazines, TV, and books, respectively, I cannot tell from the GSS data the genres engaged by this (or any other) latent class group. This group may indeed be omnivorous within these specific domains. The second reason is simply that there is not only one of these activities engaged by this group, there are four. Therefore, the sedentary nature of these cultural activities is what forms the title characterisation for this group. I borrow the taxonomy of the ‘paucivore’ from Chan and

Goldthorpe (2010) and use it in this case to describe latent class groups that include some activities, but not as many or to the same probabilities as the clearly observed omnivore group found in both the GSS and Project Canada survey data.

A sedentary-primary paucivore group is also the first latent class group in the Project Canada LCA results. However, it is almost exactly twice the size of this group for the GSS LCA. This is most likely because the LCA results for the project Canada survey combine those that would be found in either latent one or two from the GSS LCA. These latent class groups two and three represent the 'sedentary-primary paucivore' and 'TV univore group, respectively. I do therefore use the language of univorousness for this second latent class group of the GSS. This is because there is only one activity more probably done by this group. Therefore, this represents an inter-domain univore and thus avoids the complicating characterisation issues discussed in the previous latent class group.

The TV-univore group in the GSS LCA is defined by the fact that none but one of the cultural activity variables have probabilities for inclusion in this group that meet or exceed their overall relative frequencies in the sample. The one cultural activity included in this otherwise inactive group is watching television. While using the language of univorous for this group, it is again most correctly described as an inter-domain univore. This inter-domain designation is again applied because the relative social location of differing genres of television are unable to be ascertained by the prevailing data in for Canada. This group is thus distinguished by its relative inactivity and non-engagement across the cultural spectrum except the very sedentary activity of watching television. It is the second largest group in the GSS LCA, although approximately the same size as latent class groups three and four.

The third latent class group from the GSS LCA includes newspapers, magazines, historic sites, zoos/aquariums/planetariums/observatories, cultural and arts festivals, and sports

participation as activities that have probabilities for this group that exceed their overall relative frequencies in the sample. This is therefore the first group to include direct sports participation broadly. With the exception of sports participation, the activities in this latent class include elements of learning in their consumption and thus the intake of information. Newspapers and magazines convey information about the news of the day and whichever topic the magazine is covering. Likewise, historic sites are heavily information forward, with active participation in going to historic sites entailing information intake regarding history. Finally, while many perhaps go to zoos, aquariums, and cultural and artistic festivals for entertainment purposes, one may learn about land based and aquatic animal life, culture and art at these venues and planetariums and observatories are generally quite information forward in their presentations. I therefore label this group the ‘information-primary paucivore’. This group includes mostly non-fiction activities, most of which are information forward in one’s interaction with them. The especially low probability that this group goes to the entertainment focused activity of movies is one distinguishing factor between this group and the group that is most likely to include those that go to the movies, the ‘entertainment primary paucivore’ of the fifth latent class.

However, in group four of the GSS, and group two of the Project Canada Survey, I observe an ‘omnivore’ group. As Tables 7.7 and 7.8 both show, this group has probabilities of inclusion that are higher than their overall relative frequencies for each of the cultural activities included in the surveys, with only the exception of television watching in the omnivore groups for both survey programs. The fact that there is a distinct omnivorous group is important to note. I can now see if the make-up of this group is distinct from the other groups, how it is so and if it is indeed associated with any specific patterning of sports participation or professional sports following. Again, given that these are inter-domain investigations, the omnivore here is most accurately characterised as an omnivore by volume.

The fact that television is generally considered and found in other studies (e.g. Bennet et al., 2009; Veenstra, 2010) to be a more of low status activity regardless of genre (a rare domain with few if any high status genres, at least traditionally), only reinforces that this is not an omnivore by composition. The size disparity between these two omnivorous groups (with the PC omnivore being almost twice as large), is most likely a function of the decreased proportion of respondents participating in the activities asked by the General Social Survey compared to those of the Project Canada Survey. The GSS omnivore's relationship to latent class groups three and five from the GSS data appear particularly influenced by this fact.

Finally, for the last latent class for both the GSS and Project Canada LCA analyses is an 'entertainment-primary paucivore' group. In contrast to especially the information and sedentary-primary paucivore groups of the GSS survey, this group focuses has the highest probability to watch videos and go to the movies of any latent class group. These are also two of the three (along with magazines) highest probability activities within this final latent class. Compared to the sedentary-primary group of the Project Canada Survey, this group again is most characterised by watching videos and movies, as well as going out to bars and lounges. It is the high probability for both of these groups to stay at home and watch videos that prompted me to characterise this group by their entertainment forward profiles, rather than purely in an out of home versus within the home comparison with the sedentary-primary groups from either survey. Having identified the various groupings of broader cultural activity for both of these surveys of the Canadian population, I now move on to analyse the socio-economic and demographic composition of these three groups.

Table 7.7. GSS Latent Class Profile

Latent Class	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Overall relative frequency
Group Size	0.2515	0.1954	0.1938	0.1885	0.1709	
Indicators						
Newspapers	0.7987	0.3989	0.7038	0.8077	0.5914	0.695
Magazines	0.9132	0.1786	0.7174	0.8966	0.7337	0.666
Books	0.4794	0.1683	0.3906	0.6637	0.3602	0.413
Television	0.5497	0.4740	0.3944	0.3221	0.3213	0.423
Videos	0.4427	0.3103	0.5047	0.7032	0.9085	0.552
Historic Sites	0.0976	0.0460	0.6830	0.7265	0.2707	0.345
Zoos Etc.	0.1260	0.0573	0.4732	0.6095	0.4012	0.314
Movies	0.0831	0.0454	0.0805	0.5791	0.5858	0.251
Cultural/Art Festivals	0.0419	0.0391	0.2795	0.6135	0.2276	0.224
Sports Participation	0.1281	0.0808	0.2543	0.3792	0.3330	0.223
Concerts/Performances	0.0567	0.0354	0.1657	0.5161	0.1263	0.171
Museums/Galleries	0.0194	0.0023	0.0390	0.2373	0.0006	0.057

¹LC1=Sedentary-primary paucivore; LC2=TV-univore; LC3=Information-primary paucivore; LC4=Omnivore; LC5=Entertainment-primary paucivore

²Bolded values represent those who have probabilities higher than their overall relative frequencies for the sample

Table 7.8. Project Canada LCA Profile of cultural activity variables

Latent Class	One 'Sedentary primary paucivore'	Two 'Omnivore'	Three 'Entertainment primary paucivore'	Overall relative frequency
Group Size	0.4744	0.4188	0.1067	
Indicators				
Read Newspaper	0.9349	0.8984	0.2585	0.849
Follow the News	0.9999	0.9947	0.7154	0.967
Read Magazines	0.8826	0.9674	0.3502	0.858
Television	0.3596	0.2203	0.2261	0.289
Listen to Music	0.9117	0.9857	0.8634	0.933
Read Books	0.6883	0.8480	0.4403	0.734
Exercise	0.6538	0.7553	0.5123	0.678
Go to Concerts	0.0458	0.1850	0.0154	0.105
Eat out	0.7156	0.9943	0.7817	0.831
Go to Bar/Lounge	0.0841	0.3227	0.2016	0.189
Watch Videos at home	0.4639	0.8387	0.7400	0.647
Go to Movies	0.0514	0.5055	0.2659	0.264

7.4 The make-up of the LCA groups of cultural activity

What, then, is the demographic and socio-economic make-up of these various latent classes?

To analyse this make-up, binary logistic regressions are performed on the modal latent class values associated with each respondent. The results of these regressions can be found in Tables 7.11 and 7.12. First, however, Tables 7.9 and 7.10 report crosstabulations regarding the characteristics of this, and indeed the other latent classes from the LCA results for both

surveys. These are crosstabulations for each of the socio-economic and demographic variables associated with the sample. Analysing these latent classes for these variables can further the analysis of which prevailing theories of sports consumption are most indicative of sports consumption in Canada.

Crosstabulations of independent variables and latent class groups from GSS and Project Canada surveys

Table 7.9 and 7.10 presents the socio-economic and demographic make-up of each latent class group from the GSS and Project Canada data, respectively. These are here first presented with a simple crosstabulation of the proportion of respondents within each group who fall within each of the categories of the independent variables included in the analysis of this chapter.

For the variable of education, the omnivorous latent class for both data sets shows the highest levels of education. For the GSS omnivore, 46.3% of this group has an undergraduate degree or higher while for the omnivore from the Project Canada Survey, 50.8% of respondents in this omnivore group have these levels of education. The GSS TV-univore group possesses the lowest levels of education for that survey while the PC entertainment-primary paucivore shows the lowest levels of education for the groups from that survey. For the GSS sedentary-primary paucivore, education levels amongst respondents are much lower than for the PC sedentary-primary paucivore. This is likely a function of the more educated PC sample and the multiple more active latent class groups of the GSS survey, where the information and entertainment primary paucivorous groups show elevated levels of education compared to the GSS sedentary group. These results suggest that it is indeed omnivores that possess the highest levels of cultural capital in the form of education. Even as these omnivores are inter-

domain omnivores, the results here comport with the findings and theorising of Peterson and colleagues regarding the domain of music.

Levels of income are again highest for both surveys in the omnivore latent class, and again to similar levels. In the GSS omnivore group, 56.2% are in the two highest income categories, while in the PC omnivore group, 60.1% are in these two highest income categories. These results again suggest that inter-domain omnivores in Canada likewise possess the highest amount of economic capital. The two groups with the lowest levels of income for the GSS are again the sedentary-primary and TV-univore groups. The PC latent class with the lowest levels of income is the entertainment-primary paucivore, while for the GSS survey, this group has the second highest income levels. In general, however, the groups from the two surveys mirror each other much more closely for income possession. For the other operationalised measure of economic capital available in the GSS data, the information-primary paucivore group has the highest levels of home ownership, followed by the sedentary-primary paucivore, the entertainment-primary paucivore, and more distantly by the TV-univore group.

For the prominent demographic variable of age in this thesis, the entertainment-primary paucivore in both surveys represent the youngest respondents, while the sedentary-primary paucivores represent the oldest respondents within both surveys. The patterning of age within each omnivore group is also virtually identical, with approximately 30% in the youngest age category, 50% of middle age, and a final 20% within the oldest age category. This age distribution amongst the both omnivorous groups represent the second youngest group, with the remaining (first) three GSS latent class groups relatively older than the omnivore group. It is interesting to note here, then, that these omnivore groups are neither the oldest nor youngest in Canada. However, the age gap between the sedentary-primary and entertainment-primary groups may suggest theories of emerging culture at play if age is indeed the most

potent differentiating predictor between these groups (see next section of regression analyses). If age does show as the most powerful predictor for both groups (sedentary-primary on the older end and entertainment-primary the younger), then split sample regression analyses may again be efficacious to perform.

For the GSS data, the sedentary-primary paucivore and omnivorous latent class groups are by far the most female, both being over 60% female. The entertainment-primary paucivore is the most male of the GSS groups, with an approximate 50/50 split between males and females within a GSS sample that has a general over sampling of female Canadians. Again, if the regression analyses show sex to be a more powerful predictor than capital possession variables, then a split sample analysis of these groups will be performed to assess elements of individualisation within this patterning of cultural activity.

Similar to the results for the GSS groups, the entertainment-primary is the most male group of the Project Canada Survey, while the sedentary-primary group is the most female. In a more sex balanced survey, the omnivore group from the Project Canada Survey shows an approximately equal split between men and women. In a variable only included within the Project Canada survey in 2005, the omnivore group is again the middle group for racial composition between white and non-white ethnicities. The group with the highest percentage of non-white respondents was the entertainment-primary paucivore, while the whitest latent class was the sedentary-primary group. The GSS data from 2005 unfortunately did not ask a question regarding race.

Table 7.9. Cross tabulations for latent class groups and independent variables

	LC1 ¹	LC2	LC3	LC4	LC5
<i>Education</i>					
Graduate/professional	3.6%	2.6%	7.0%	16.6%	6.7%
Undergraduate degree	11.5%	7.2%	19.3%	29.7%	21.2%
Diploma CC/Tech school	26.0%	21.7%	31.0%	28.2%	32.0%
Some uni/Comm. college	14.8%	9.5%	14.3%	13.4%	14.0%
High school diploma	20.1%	19.4%	13.7%	8.6%	16.4%
Less than high school	24.0%	39.6%	14.7%	3.4%	9.6%
<i>Income</i>					
Over \$100,000	11.0%	7.4%	17.2%	25.4%	20.5%
\$60,000 to \$99,999	21.8%	14.9%	27.5%	30.8%	32.0%
\$30,000 to \$59,999	38.0%	33.0%	37.6%	30.4%	34.2%
Under \$30,000	29.2%	44.7%	17.7%	13.4%	13.3%
<i>Home ownership</i>					
No	23.3%	31.4%	19.8%	24.2%	25.4%
Yes	76.7%	68.6%	80.2%	75.8%	74.6%
<i>Age</i>					
25 to 39	19.6%	21.2%	26.3%	30.2%	49.8%
40 to 59	40.4%	39.4%	43.5%	46.9%	41.3%
Over 60	40.1%	39.4%	30.1%	22.9%	8.9%
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	37.0%	46.1%	44.7%	39.8%	48.9%
Female	63.0%	53.9%	55.3%	60.2%	51.1%
<i>Population Centre</i>					
Small / Rural	26.4%	28.8%	25.7%	12.1%	16.4%
Prince Edward Island	3.1%	3.1%	3.2%	2.8%	2.6%
Large / Urban	70.5%	68.1%	71.1%	85.1%	81.0%
<i>Provincial Region</i>					
British Columbia	12.7%	9.1%	11.6%	13.0%	13.4%
Prairie Provinces	20.5%	18.6%	19.9%	18.4%	23.9%
Ontario	31.2%	25.9%	18.4%	23.9%	20.1%
Atlantic Region	18.6%	23.7%	23.3%	18.5%	15.2%
Quebec	16.9%	22.8%	18.2%	20.7%	19.6%

¹LC1=Sedentary-primary paucivore; LC2=Tv-univore; LC3=Information-primary paucivore; LC4=Omnivore; LC5=Entertainment-primary paucivore

Table 7.10. Cross tabulations for latent class groups and independent variables

	LC1 Sedentary Primary Paucivore	LC2 Omnivore	LC3 Entertainment Primary Paucivore
<i>Education</i>			
Graduate/professional school	20.0%	23.0%	10.4%
Undergraduate degree	16.9%	27.8%	24.3%
CC/Tech/Bus school	29.2%	26.9%	27.8%
High school diploma	26.7%	20.4%	32.2%
Less than high school	7.1%	1.8%	5.2%
<i>Income</i>			
Over \$100,000	14.8%	27.0%	12.8%
\$60,000 to \$99,999	31.2%	33.1%	24.8%
\$30,000 to \$59,999	35.1%	27.7%	32.1%
Less than \$30,000	18.9%	12.1%	30.3%
<i>Age</i>			
25 to 39	18.2%	31.8%	41.7%
40 to 59	48.1%	50.6%	45.0%
Over 60	33.7%	17.6%	13.3%
<i>Sex</i>			
Female	55.4%	48.2%	43.3%
Male	44.6%	51.8%	56.7%
<i>Race</i>			
Non-White	5.0%	6.2%	9.9%
White	95.0%	93.8%	90.1%
<i>Population Centre</i>			
Metropolitan area	31.4%	23.4%	31.1%
Small city	10.9%	12.5%	13.4%
Small town	57.6%	64.1%	55.5%
<i>Provincial Region</i>			
British Columbia	12.2%	16.4%	7.6%
Prairie Provinces	16.9%	17.3%	21.0%
Ontario	38.7%	36.8%	31.1%
Atlantic Region	8.2%	6.2%	6.7%
Quebec	24.0%	23.3%	33.6%

Within the GSS data the omnivore group is most composed of those who live in large urban areas, and likewise metropolitan areas within the Project Canada Survey. This is closely

followed in the GSS groups by the entertainment-primary group, while the other three groups are much more highly composed of those in smaller and rural areas of Canada. Within the Project Canada latent classes, the entertainment-primary and sedentary-primary paucivores show almost identical patterning for population centre. These results suggest that the size of the population centre may indeed be a factor in predicting omnivorous consumption. This aligns with some other work on the geography of omnivorism (Cutts and Widdop, 2017), but will be confirmed or disconfirmed through the full regression models of the next section.

Finally, the sedentary-primary paucivore has the highest percentage of respondents from Ontario of all latent class groups, and for both surveys. Outside of this similarity, the results for region are relatively disparate between surveys. This is likely a result of the GSS's highly unusual oversampling of the Atlantic Region, while the Project Canada more accurately reflects the regional population distribution of the country. Those in British Columbia and the Prairie provinces are most likely to be in the PC omnivore and GSS entertainment-primary paucivore groups, respectively. Those in the Atlantic Region and Quebec are most likely to be in the GSS group and within the PC sedentary-primary and entertainment-primary paucivore, respectively. In general, the variable for provincial region is not as large a differentiator, at least in these crosstabulations, as they were for the intra-domain studies of sports.

While some of the results of these crosstabulations differ between surveys, both show support for an inter-domain omnivore by volume as the most capitally possessed group for both economic and cultural capital. This is true even as the omnivore group is a middle group for all of the demographic variables save for the variable for the size of the respondent's population centre, showing results that suggest that these inter-domain omnivores by volume are most likely to be found in large urban metropolitan areas. However, I now follow the

methodological course of the intra-domain empirical chapters and perform binomial logistic regression analyses on each of these latent class groups from both surveys to identify the most salient socio-economic and demographic predictors when controlling for the other independent variables.

Regression analysis of culture latent class groups

As the reader can see in Table 7.11, there are many variables that present as statistically significant parameters for predicting latent class membership. For the first GSS group, the sedentary-primary paucivore, statistically significant independent variable parameters are educational attainment, household income, age, sex, population centre and region. Those in the highest education category (graduate education) are nearly half as likely to be in this group as those respondents with the lowest level of education (less than a high school degree). This difference between the highest and lowest levels of education is the strongest predictor for this group. However, income also shows a significant parameters showing that those with the highest levels of income are also less likely to be in this first latent class. The variable of age is also a strong predictor for this group. Almost as strong a predictor as education, those in the highest age group are just over twice as likely to be in this group as those in the youngest age group. The oldest age group (60+) is also more likely to be in this group than the middle age group, and to a statistically significant level. Finally, this group is also slightly more likely to live in Ontario, smaller and rural population centres, and be female. The log odds coefficients for these variables, however, are all secondary to education, age, and income.

The sedentary-primary paucivore group for the Project Canada survey show similar social patterning results to the GSS group. Education and age are again by far the most predictive variables for this group. Those with an undergraduate degree are particularly unlikely to be in

this group for the PC data, followed by those in the youngest age group and graduate levels of education. Finally, as in the GSS group of the same composition, females are slightly more likely to be in this group than males.

The GSS TV-univore group is again most predicted by elevated levels of education, with generally increasing log odds coefficients showing an inverse relationship between education level and membership in the TV-univore group. For those with an undergraduate degree or graduate education, respondents in these categories are much less likely to be in this TV-univore group than those with less than a high school degree. The results are similarly progressive and substantial for income, with those in the lowest category of household income more likely to be in this TV-univore group than those of the next highest income group, more likely again than the income group above that, and most likely to be in this group compared to those with the highest levels of income. Finally, those in British Columbia are slightly less likely to be in this group than those in Quebec, females slightly less likely to be in this group than males, and those in the middle age group slightly more likely to be in this group than the oldest age group. From the results of the first two GSS, and first PC, latent class group of relative cultural inactivity, it is clear that these profiles are strongly and most predicted by (low) capital possession.

Cultural and economic capital are again the primary predictors for membership in the information-primary group from the GSS. Those with any level of education above a high school degree and above the lowest level of income are all approximately one and a half times more likely to be in this latent class group than those in the lowest categories for each group. Respondents owning a home are also more likely to be in this group. There are also a number of less substantial but still statistically significant demographic predictors for this group. This group is slightly more likely to be older, from small and rural locales, and the Atlantic Region. These demographic variables generally mirror the sedentary-primary

paucivore. However, the primary difference is that this group is predicted by elevated, rather than decreased, levels of cultural and economic capital.

The omnivore group for both surveys is most predicted by elevated levels of education and shows the highest educational predictors of any of the groups from either survey program. Those with an undergraduate degree are between nearly four times (PC) and nine times (GSS) more likely to be in this omnivorous group than those with less than a high school diploma. Likewise, those with graduate education are between nearly three times (PC) and fifteen times (GSS) more likely to be in this group than those respondents with the lowest levels of education. While education is by far the strongest predictor for omnivorousness in these results, the variable for income also firmly presents as the second strongest predictor of omnivorousness in the omnivorous latent class group for both survey programs. Those with the highest levels of income are between just over twice as likely (GSS) to two and a half times (PC) more likely to be in this group than those with the lowest level of income. While the results for cultural and economic capital are similar for both omnivorous groups, the PC omnivore is more likely to be younger than older, while the GSS omnivore is slightly more likely to come from the oldest age group than the youngest. While there are no other significant predictive variables for the PC omnivore in the full model, females, and especially those in large urban areas are more likely to be omnivorous according to the model for the omnivore from the GSS latent class analysis. The results of the fully omnivorous groups lead to a conclusion that affirms an inter-domain omnivore by volume. Cultural capital is especially important for predicting this voluminous participation. While intuitively one might hypothesize economic capital to be most important for inter-domain volume, these results would suggest it is rather cultural capital that is most predictive. However, for the GSS and especially for Project Canada, these inter-domain omnivorous groups also show the highest predictive results for economic capital in the fully model. While this is fully so for the PC

data, the GSS entertainment-primary paucivore shows similar levels of economic capital to the GSS omnivore.

Finally, the primary predictive variable for the entertainment-primary latent class group for both survey programs is age. This group is therefore the only latent class group whose most powerful predictive variable is one besides a variable representing either economic or cultural capital. Those youngest survey respondents are more than four times more likely to be in this group in the PC group and six times more likely in the GSS group. Likewise, those in the middle age group are also between two and three times more likely to be in this group than the oldest age group in both surveys. Neither the PC or GSS group show statistically significant predictors for education, although they show slightly contradicting results for income, with membership in the GSS group being predicted by elevated levels of income and lower levels of income for the PC group. Both groups are more likely to also be male, and for the GSS more likely to be in large urban population centres and slightly more likely to be in the Prairie provinces than Quebec and slightly less likely to be in the Atlantic Region. The entertainment-primary paucivore in both survey programs is the only latent class group that is more highly predicted by income than by education and thus the only group that is more predicted by economic capital than cultural capital. All other groups are most predicted by cultural capital. Because demographic variables are not as important for structuring the inter-domain groups of cultural activities in these two surveys of the Canadian population, I forego a split sample analysis of these groups. This suggests that elements of individualisation are not as important for patterns of inter-domain consumption as they are within intra-domain consumption for sports participation and major professional sports following. A second reason that this is done is because while an efficacious investigation of age may indeed be performed with these results, the theory of emerging culture is focused upon generational differentiation within intra-domain consumption. The cultural analysis in this chapter is also done mostly for what it is able to tell me about sports consumers, rather than being focused

on providing a comprehensive analysis of participation in these cultural activities in Canada. Therefore, while perhaps these are fruitful areas for future research, I now move on in this chapter to locate direct sports participation and professional sports following within these broader patterns of inter-domain cultural activity in Canada.

Table 7.11. Log odds coefficients from binomial logistic regression analysis of each latent class group (GSS data)

	LC One		LC Two		LC Three		LC Four		LC Five	
	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects
<i>Personal Education</i>										
Grad/Professional School	-1.115***	-.898***	-2.170***	-1.595***	.345**	.315*	3.155***	2.701***	.742***	-.274
Bachelor's degree	-.807***	-.410***	-2.030***	-1.676***	.496***	.498***	2.643***	2.190***	1.054***	.046
Diploma Comm/Tech coll.	-.377***	-.042	-1.316***	-1.035***	.487***	.481***	1.936***	1.559***	.971***	.133
Some uni/comm. College	-.155	.182	-1.429***	-1.224***	.428***	.404**	1.920***	1.560***	.855***	.089
High school diploma	.015	.148	-.780***	-.555***	.145	.219	1.179***	.928***	.817***	.211
Less than high school	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
<i>Household Income (C\$/year)</i>										
>100,000	-.755***	-.383**	-1.739***	-1.259***	.451***	.354**	1.290***	.747***	.962***	.676***
60 – 99,999	-.462***	-.183	-1.468***	-1.109***	.480***	.386***	.934***	.592***	.957***	.583***
30 – 59,999	-.159***	-.002	-.916***	-.726***	.465***	.387***	.510***	.297**	.644***	.414***
<30,000	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
<i>Home ownership</i>										
No	-.108	-.067	-.426***	.047	-.351***	-.216**	-.035	.249**	.040	.080
Yes	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
<i>Age Group</i>										
25 – 39	-.864***	-.727***	-.684***	.073	-.070	-.305**	.430***	-.283**	2.072***	1.797***
40 – 59	-.471***	-.313***	-.438***	.233**	.038	-.227**	.460***	-.092	1.312***	1.026***
60 +	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
<i>Sex</i>										
Male	.324***	.223***	-.174**	-.272***	-.102	-.110	.146	.284***	-.293***	-.211**
Female	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
<i>Population Centre</i>										
Smaller/rural	.289***	.277***	.424***	.113	.219**	.277***	-.894***	-.628***	-.470***	-.350***
Prince Edward Island	.122	-.009	.159	-.294	.135	-.351	-.219	.138	-.273	.138
Large/urban	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
<i>Region</i>										
British Columbia	.277**	.177	-.527***	-.325*	.049	.054	.030	-.083	.134	.126
Prairie Provinces	.210**	.056	-.298***	-.125	.072	.008	-.185*	-.128	.197*	.211*
Ontario	.310***	.314**	-.319***	.029	.025	-.026	-.038	-.224*	-.028	-.141
Atlantic Region	.086	-.043	.015	-.047	.277**	.278	-.172	.020	-.328**	-.322**
Quebec	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Nagelkerke R ²		.065		.163		.027		.162		.116

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

¹LC1=Sedentary-primary paucivore; LC2=Tv-univore; LC3=Information-primary paucivore; LC4=Omnivore; LC5=Entertainment-primary paucivore

Table 7.12. Log odds coefficients results of the binomial regression analysis for each latent class group (Project Canada data)

Latent Class	Sedentary-primary cluster		Omnivore cluster		Inactive cluster	
	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects	Bivariate gross effects	Model net effects
Personal Education						
Graduate School	-1.152***	-.715*	1.567***	.986*	-.831	-.733
Undergraduate	-1.583***	-1.206**	1.764***	1.311**	-.033	-.167
Tech/Bus School	-1.028**	-.696*	1.264**	.873*	-.137	-.292
High School	-.934**	-.720*	1.041**	.756	.175	.150
<High School	---	---	---	---	---	---
Before-tax Household Income (C\$/year)						
>100,000	-.711***	-.355	1.151***	.813***	-1.148**	-1.252**
60-100,000	-.225	.079	.624**	.345	-.914**	-.980**
30-59,999	.003	.169	.527	.152	-.643*	-.672*
<30,000	---	---	---	---	---	---
Age Group						
25 – 39	-1.298***	-1.067**	.897***	.606**	1.163***	1.466***
40 – 59	-.720***	-.565**	.600***	.366*	.559	.821*
60+	---	---	---	---	---	---
Sex						
Female	-.325**	.360**	-.206	-.190	-.347	-.459*
Male	---	---	---	---	---	---
Race						
Non-white	-.314	-.298	.069	.061	.581	.497
White	---	---	---	---	---	---
Population Centre						
Metropolitan area	.320*	.156	-.400**	-.131	.202	-.068
Small city	-.068	-.189	-.025	.041	.257	.401
Small town	---	---	---	---	---	---
Region						
British Columbia	-.137	-.037	.450*	.295	-.985*	-.976*
Prairie Region	-.005	.008	.080	.027	-.170	-.093
Ontario	.128	.122	.082	-.029	-.560*	-.278
Atlantic Region	.313	.235	-.161	-.132	-.398	-.315
Quebec	---	---	---	---	---	---
Nagelkerke R ²		.108		.092		.102

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

7.5. The place of sport within broader cultural lifestyles

Now that I have observed where groupings exist in cultural consumption, I will answer my broader research question of where direct sports participation fits within people's broader cultural lifestyles. To start to answer this question I will include each of the sports with the LCA model for the cultural activity variables that I performed for the intra-domain investigations of Chapters 5 and 6.

The conditional probabilities for each of the sports are reported in Tables 7.13 (direct sports participation) and Table 7.15 (professional sports following). Those probabilities that exceed their relative frequency for the sample are in boldface type and those values representing the highest probability for each sport is additionally reported in italicised and underlined values. As the reader can see, there are many sports included in each of the three most culturally active latent class groups. These three are the information-primary paucivore, the full omnivore group, and the entertainment-primary paucivore group. The first two latent class groups, the sedentary-primary and TV-univore latent class groups have very low probabilities that they include any sports.

The direct participation sports included in each latent class group are generally separated in a way that mirrors the intra-domain latent class groups from the 2010 GSS survey (see Chapter 5). For the information-primary paucivore latent class, four sports show their highest probabilities for being undertaken by this group. Ten pin bowling, five pin bowling, and rowing. Recall that both five and ten pin bowling were prominent components forming the golf and recreation sports group within the intra-domain investigation of direction sports following from Chapter 5. The sports from the golf and recreation sports group generally also required decreased levels of physical exertion, similar to the cultural activities of the

information-primary paucivore group. The remainder of the sports that have much lower but still significant relative probabilities for this latent class group are individual sports. Team sports show relatively low probabilities in this group.

The omnivore latent class group shows the highest probabilities for participating in nearly all of the traditionally elite sports from the individual and non-contact sports group from the 2010 data, plus the addition of golf. Other traditionally elite sports such as downhill skiing, equestrian and sailing and yachting are all most likely to be participated in by these inter-domain omnivores by volume. The sports with their highest probabilities of being participated in by the omnivore group are also generally those that are individual sports and involve little to no bodily contact in the normal course of playing those sports.

Finally, the sports that are most likely undertaken by the entertainment-primary paucivore group mirror those sports included in the team and contact sports plus latent class group from the intra-domain analysis of Chapter 5. With the lone exception of rugby (highest probability in omnivore group), all team sports have their highest probabilities for this latent class group of inter-domain cultural activity. Similarly, with the possible exception of taekwondo, all of those most physical contact sports are most probably included in the entertainment-primary paucivore group of inter-domain cultural activity.

In Appendix II, the reader can find the results from a replication of the intra-domain direct sports participation analysis from Chapter 5. It is most important here to highlight that the results of that analysis mirror almost identically the results of Chapter 5. It is for this reason of similarity that the technical results are included in the appendix and the description here is comparatively brief. This is all to say that there are again four observed latent class groupings of direct sports participation for the 2005 GSS data. The size of these groups is likewise nearly identical. There is first a non-participation group for 80% of the sample, followed by a

similar ‘golf and recreation sports’ grouping of 10%, a ‘team and contact sports’ group and again a final ‘individual and non-contact sports’ group, both of which have probabilities of approximately five percent within the sample.

Table 7.13. Sports participation probabilities for GSS latent class activity groups¹

Latent Class	Sedentary Primary Paucivore	TV Univore	Information Primary Paucivore	Omnivore	Entertainment Primary Paucivore
Group Size	0.2408	0.1993	0.1967	0.1917	0.1715
Archery	0.0009	0.0003	0.0014	<u>0.0021</u>	0.0015
Boxing	0.0008	0.0001	0.0006	0.0028	<u>0.0035</u>
Canoeing/Kayaking	0.0003	0.0008	0.0038	<u>0.0131</u>	0.0042
Cycling	0.0084	0.0050	0.0189	<u>0.0378</u>	0.0198
Equestrian	0.0013	0.0007	0.0034	<u>0.0056</u>	0.0026
Field Hockey	0.0011	0.0001	0.0017	0.0017	<u>0.0021</u>
Karate	0.0009	0.0002	0.0018	0.0026	<u>0.0027</u>
Rowing	0.0006	0.0004	<u>0.0022</u>	0.0013	0.0018
Figure Skating	0.0001	0.0000	0.0004	<u>0.0040</u>	0.0011
Water Skiing	0.0008	0.0005	0.0015	0.0008	<u>0.0027</u>
Squash	0.0018	0.0005	0.0024	<u>0.0104</u>	0.0068
Swimming	0.0128	0.0072	0.0241	<u>0.0476</u>	0.0355
Tennis	0.0043	0.0016	0.0132	<u>0.0338</u>	0.0155
Track and Field	0.0003	0.0000	0.0004	0.0011	<u>0.0013</u>
Weightlifting	0.0010	0.0004	0.0029	0.0016	<u>0.0040</u>
Sailing/Yachting	0.0004	0.0006	0.0027	<u>0.0064</u>	0.0012
Downhill Skiing	0.0065	0.0017	0.0167	<u>0.0446</u>	0.0166
Five-Pin Bowling	0.0073	0.0033	<u>0.0064</u>	0.0061	0.0062
Triathlon	0.0007	0.0000	0.0013	<u>0.0024</u>	0.0018
In Line Hockey	0.0003	0.0007	0.0010	0.0012	<u>0.0025</u>
Snowboarding	0.0013	0.0004	0.0032	0.0048	<u>0.0053</u>

Martial Arts	0.0011	0.0004	0.0031	0.0031	<u>0.0043</u>
Mountain Boarding	0.0021	0.0016	0.0030	0.0078	<u>0.0097</u>
Ultimate Frisbee	0.0005	0.0001	0.0012	<u>0.0030</u>	0.0021
Badminton	0.0029	0.0005	0.0065	<u>0.0144</u>	0.0079
Baseball	0.0075	0.0060	0.0137	0.0159	<u>0.0228</u>
Basketball	0.0035	0.0029	0.0089	0.0130	<u>0.0154</u>
Football	0.0013	0.0003	0.0018	0.0046	<u>0.0059</u>
Golf	0.0359	0.0172	0.0669	<u>0.1016</u>	0.0821
Gymnastics	0.0010	0.0005	0.0023	<u>0.0042</u>	0.0037
Ice Hockey	0.0136	0.0090	0.0353	0.0454	<u>0.0588</u>
Rugby	0.0005	0.0001	0.0004	<u>0.0024</u>	0.0015
Soccer	0.0040	0.0029	0.0114	0.0198	<u>0.0208</u>
Softball	0.0041	0.0026	0.0111	0.0155	<u>0.0162</u>
Volleyball	0.0036	0.0031	0.0101	0.0188	<u>0.0249</u>
XC Skiing	0.0032	0.0015	0.0118	<u>0.0234</u>	0.0084
Curling	0.0104	0.0058	0.0198	<u>0.0242</u>	0.0163
Ten-Pin Bowling	0.0068	0.0074	<u>0.0111</u>	0.0077	0.0101

¹Values underlined and in boldface type represents the highest probability for that sport.

There is thus again a golf and recreation sports group that is defined primarily by very high rates of golf participation and those other sports more often done for recreation (e.g. five and ten pin bowling). This group composes ten percent of the sample. The one differentiation between the groups from the 2010 data from Chapter 5 and the results for 2005 comes in this second group. This second group also includes sports of relatively high social status that were found in other latent class groups in Chapter 5. These include the expensive sports of ice hockey, and the traditionally highbrow and capitally intensive sports of sailing, yachting, and equestrian. Therefore, the ‘recreation’ sports within this group also include slightly more high status sports as the same group from Chapter 5.

The team and contact sports and individual and non-contact sports groups are again nearly identical to the groups from the 2010 data in Chapter 5. With the notable exception of softball and ice hockey, all other team sports have their highest probabilities for being in the team and contact sports group for the 2005 LCA of direct sports participation. This is true even as ice hockey also has quite high probabilities for being in this group. Likewise, the contact intensive sports of football, rugby, in-line (and ice) hockey, and boxing all show their highest probabilities for being in this third latent class group, similar to the results from Chapter 5.

Finally, the individual and non-contact sports group is also almost identical in make-up to the groups of Chapter 5. Individual sports of cross country skiing, downhill skiing, triathlon, tennis, swimming, cycling, and canoeing/kayaking show particularly strong probabilities for being in this group. Therefore, this group, while not including a couple of the high status sports from this group from Chapter 5, shows almost identical composition in this group for personal fitness focused sports and traditionally high status sports that require elevated physical exertion.

Now that I know that the groupings of direct sports participation from the 2005 GSS data are very similar to those found in Chapter 5 (using the 2010 data), I will compare the groups of direct sports participation with those of broader cultural activity found earlier in this chapter. This is done through a crosstabulation of these groups that is displayed in Table 7.14.

As Table 7.14 displays the first two groups of cultural activity, the sedentary-primary and the TV-univore groups, both show the highest percentage of respondents from the non-participation group of sports participation. These groups also have their lowest proportions for making up the three sports participation groups, particularly the individual and non-contact sports group. However, the groups of cultural activity are more evenly split within the non-sports participation group than the three sports participation groups. The information-

primary paucivore group has its highest proportion for making up the golf and recreation sports group of direct sports participation, however, this group shows a similar proportion for making up the individual and non-contact sports group. The fully omnivorous group of cultural activity shows the highest proportion for making up the fourth group of direct sports participation. The individual and non-contact sports group is almost half composed of those respondents that are inter-domain omnivores by volume with regards to their cultural activity. Omnivores also make up the second lowest proportion of the non-sports group. The group that makes up the lowest proportion of the non-sports group is the entertainment-primary paucivore group of cultural activity. It makes up a similarly low proportion of the individual and non-contact sports group. This entertainment-primary group, however, makes up 38% of the team and contact sports group.

From these crosstabulations, the conclusions reached previously are unchanged. The two most culturally inactive groups are most likely to non-participate in sports, although the sedentary-primary paucivore group is much more likely to be included in these groups than the TV-univore group. While the golf and recreation sports group is more evenly split in terms of its proportions for each sports participation group, the entertainment-primary paucivore, as a younger group, is also perhaps intuitively included as the most likely to be the profile of broader cultural activity for the team and contact sports group. Most importantly for the comparison of inter-domain and intra-domain analysis, however, is the location of the inter-domain omnivore by volume within the groups of direct sports participation. The omnivorous group of cultural activity is most associated with the sports and sports grouping that include those of highest social status. Because the fully omnivorous group does not have a monopoly on sports participation, but rather is approximately equal to include those who directly participate in sport, this suggests that these inter-domain omnivores by volume show relative homologous patterns in their direct sports participation and this homology is for those

sports of the highest social status. I now move on to engage in a similar process of analysis and discuss these same dynamics for the following of the major professional sports leagues in Canada.

Table 7.14. Crosstabulations of latent class groups of direct sports participation and broader cultural activity in the survey data of the GSS (column and row percentages, respectively).

Sports group¹	One	Two	Three	Four
Culture groups²				
One	28.5%	14.6%	11.3%	14.0%
Two	23.3%	6.0%	5.8%	3.6%
Three	19.4%	23.7%	17.1%	23.0%
Four	15.5%	31.0%	27.7%	42.7%
Five	13.3%	24.7%	38.0%	16.7%
Sports group	One	Two	Three	Four
Culture groups				
One	29.8%	23.1%	18.3%	15.4%
Two	14.2%	6.0%	24.8%	30.8%
Three	12.0%	5.8%	18.6%	27.1%
Four	13.3%	3.9%	24.7%	41.9%
Five	27.2%	20.2%	19.1%	18.2%

¹LC1=Sedentary-primary paucivore; LC2=TV-univore; LC3=Information-primary paucivore; LC4=Omnivore; LC5=Entertainment-primary paucivore

²LC1=Non-sports; LC2=Golf and recreation sports; LC3=Team and contact sports; LC4=Individual and non-contact sports

A full list of the same procedure for professional sports following is included in Table 7.15. As the results in Table 7.15 show, there is only one professional sports league that has its highest probability to be followed by the first group, the sedentary-primary group. Major League Baseball is most likely to be followed by this group. However, the probabilities of the other sports leagues are near the overall relative frequencies for the data and for the other two most Canadian leagues, the CFL and NHL, indeed meet or exceed their percentages of following within the sample. Generally, therefore, this first latent class group is not particularly distinguished in their professional sports following. Although respondents in the sedentary-primary group are most likely to follow MLB, the omnivore is the most likely to follow each

of the other professional sports leagues. The other four professional sports leagues included in this survey year, the NBA, NFL, CFL, and NHL, are most likely to be followed by the omnivore latent class group. Finally, the entertainment-primary paucivore group of inter-domain cultural activity perhaps counter-intuitively is the least likely to follow each of the five professional sports leagues. Therefore, these results suggest that each of the professional sports following groups from the intra-domain Chapter 6 may be primarily composed of inter-domain omnivores by volume, even as they are unlikely to be intra-domain omnivores by volume for professional sports following.

Table 7.15. The relative frequencies for following of each league within the broader LCA of leisure activities.

Latent Class	Sedentary-primary paucivore	Omnivore group	Entertainment-primary paucivore
Follow NBA	0.0576	<u>0.0632</u>	0.0387
Follow NFL	0.1163	<u>0.1507</u>	0.0803
Follow CFL	0.1967	<u>0.2154</u>	0.1513
Follow MLB	<u>0.1409</u>	0.1378	0.1066
Follow NHL	0.2919	<u>0.3233</u>	0.2053

The results of the intra-domain analysis of professional sports following can be viewed in Appendix III. The most important highlights and analysis will again be raised briefly in this section to aid in the analysis of this chapter regarding the broader cultural activity patterns of those who consume sports. Unlike the reproduction of the intra-domain analysis for direct sports participation, the same reproductive analysis for the Project Canada Survey produces a different number of groups (4 versus 6). This is primarily because unlike the GSS data, the 2005 Project Canada Survey only asked about the following of five, rather than six, professional sports leagues. This is likely because 2005 was before Major League Soccer expanded into Canada. Therefore, as Bourdieu (1978) predicts, and statistical intuition

likewise would suggest, the LCA results are different than for the 2015 survey data. The 2005 survey was also ten, rather than five years removed from the data used for the intra-domain investigation of professional sports following in Chapter 6, and the sample size was also much smaller, rather than slightly larger as was the case for the GSS data on direct sports participation.

All this said, however, the composition of the four resulting latent class groups from the 2005 PC data show some important similarities for comparing these groups to those groups of broader cultural activity from this survey program. First, there is of course again a group that does not follow any of the five major professional sports leagues included in the 2005 Project Canada data. This group is substantially larger than is found in Chapter 6, comprising approximately 69% of the sample. The cultural activity group that has its highest proportion for making up any of these professional sports following groups is the entertainment-primary paucivore.

The second latent class group is the most different from the latent class groups found in Chapter 6. Comprising 14% of the sample, this group is primarily defined by the high probability that people in this group follow the CFL. The other two sports with high probabilities in this group frequencies are the NHL and NFL. However, these probabilities are substantially smaller than those for the CFL. This group then, constitutes a kind of ‘CFL primary paucivore’. While only consisting of three of the five sports leagues, because this group still follows more than half of the leagues, outside of the CFL, they may be considered paucivorous or a kind of contact sports omnivore. MLB, and especially the NBA, do not have probabilities for inclusion in this third group that approach their overall relative frequencies. This group, then, like the non-NBA omnivore, shows especially low probabilities for following the NBA. It is interesting to note that all three of the sports followed by those in

this latent class are collision sports, with violence as a core component. It is also the case that the two most probable sports for this group are the two most distinctively Canadian sports leagues. Therefore, this second group seems to encompass characteristics of the non-NBA omnivore (perhaps most so), the NHL-univore, and the non-MLB omnivore.

In terms of where those in this group fit in terms of their broader leisure activity, this group includes the second highest proportion of those in the sedentary-primary group, the second proportion of those in the omnivore group, and finally also the second highest proportion of those in the entertainment-primary paucivore latent class group of cultural activity.

Therefore, this group is arguably the least distinguished of the four latent class groups, including a mixture of all cultural profiles. The third and fourth latent class groups from the replicated intra-domain analysis of professional sports following show the same characteristics to two of the groups from the analysis of Chapter 6 using the 2015 data.

The third latent class group follows the NFL, MLB, NBA, NHL, and MLS. This group is highly unlikely to follow the CFL. The probability for this group to follow the CFL is similarly low to the probability that the second latent class group has to follow the NBA.

Therefore, this group is again a 'non-CFL omnivore', which was found as the fourth latent class group of the intra-domain analysis of professional sports following from Chapter 6.

This characterisation again comes because besides the one exception of the CFL for this group, respondents here are otherwise omnivorous in their following of major professional sport. These non-CFL omnivores, while being majority made up from sedentary-primary paucivores, has the highest proportion of omnivores of any of the professional sports following latent class groups. This makes sense as this sports following group is the most highly capially possessed, as is the full inter-domain omnivore. This does suggest, however, that an omnivore by inter-domain volume and by intra-domain composition are paradigms

that exist in concert for the sports domain among those in Canadian society of elevated social position.

Table 7.16. Crosstabulations of latent class groups of direct sports participation and broader cultural activity in the survey data of Project Canada (column and row percentages, respectively)

Culture groups¹	One	Two	Three
Sports following groups²			
One	75.1%	68.4%	82.9%
Two	12.2%	16.8%	12.0%
Three	6.2%	9.1%	3.4%
Four	6.5%	5.7%	1.7%
Culture groups	One	Two	Three
Sports following groups			
One	58.5%	31.2%	10.3%
Two	55.1%	36.9%	8.0%
Three	52.3%	43.2%	4.5%
Four	67.1%	30.0%	2.9%

¹LC1=Sedentary-primary paucivore; LC2=Omnivore; LC3=Entertainment-primary paucivore

²LC1=Non-sports follower; LC2=Canada-primary; Non-CFL omnivore; Full omnivore

Finally, the fourth latent class group is again a full intra-domain omnivore by volume. This group follows all five of the professional sports league included in the 2005 iteration of the Project Canada survey data. Like the results for the non-CFL omnivore, the social make-up of the full omnivore in the 2005 Project Canada data mirrors the results for the same group in the 2015 results. This is to say that the full omnivore for this data is likewise not the most capitally possessed latent class group. The omnivore group of professional sports following is made up by the highest proportion of the sedentary-primary paucivore group. The full omnivore group of professional sports following also includes the lowest proportion of full omnivores from the latent class groups of broader cultural activity. This again highlights the disconnect between omnivores by volume within and without this domain. The full omnivore group of professional sports following also includes the lowest proportion of those who are entertainment-primary paucivores. Therefore, it is likely that one component of those

sedentary-primary paucivores included in this group include following sporting news and following these leagues through sedentary-primary activities such as newspapers, magazines, and television.

7.6 Discussion and conclusion

Patterns of cultural activity and direct sports participation

The findings from the cultural analysis from both the GSS and Project Canada generally support the argument of the omnivore thesis ‘by volume’ as most accurately describing the paradigm of inter-domain cultural activity in Canada. This mirrors previous suggestions regarding a possible omnivorous consumption profile in Canada, as posited by Veenstra (2010). It also confirms the recent findings Vanzella-Yang (2018) confirming the same, although using a slightly larger base of cultural activities in the study for this chapter. The alignment of these results with theories of the omnivore hold true especially because the omnivorous cultural consumption profile for both survey programs includes those who possess higher levels of cultural and economic capital. Therefore, it is clear from the results of this analysis that those in this omnivorous group are of higher social position. This is true, even as the age gap in consumption between the entertainment-primary paucivore groups and other latent classes also suggests a relative generational divide, something that other recent studies have observed in other national contexts (e.g. Bennett et al., 2009; Lizardo and Skiles, 2015; Purhonen et al., 2010; Roose, 2015; Savage et al., 2015). However, while age is the primary predictor of membership in the entertainment-primary paucivore groups, the most important variables for predicting membership in all other groups are the operationalised measures of capital possession in this thesis. This is especially true of cultural capital, which is the most important predictor for these other groups. These results seem to refute the

individualisation thesis, confirm the omnivore theory (by inter-domain volume) and suggest a primacy of cultural capital in patterning cultural omnivorism (and relative inactivity).

What did these results show towards the primary aim of this chapter? What do they show regarding broader cultural engagement of those who participate in sport and follow the major professional sports leagues in Canada? Firstly, based upon the inclusion of the sporting participation variables with the LCA groups, the patterning of the numerous sporting variables within the cultural groups is distinctively delineated between the first two groups of ‘sedentary’ cultural activities and no cultural activity and the latter three groups of increased activity. Indeed, the majority of sports had relatively high probabilities of being included in each of the sedentary-primary paucivore, omnivore, and entertainment-primary paucivore latent class groups.

However, there were sports that were not found in one of the three groups of cultural activity that were most likely to participate in sports and certain sports had their highest probabilities to be participated in by one or another of these three groups. Outside of the prominent exception of golf, other prominent sports of the golf and recreation sports group from Chapter 5, namely sports such as bowling, had their highest probabilities for the information-primary paucivore group. The majority of the most traditionally high status sports and most of the most capitally intensive sports were found most commonly in the omnivore group of broader cultural activity. These results highlight how the theories of omnivorism and homology can exist simultaneously. This is to say that these results show that direct sports participation is stratified similarly to how Bourdieu conceives of sport (Bourdieu, 1978) and how he conceives of other domains of cultural likewise operating, in accordance with the habitus of individuals and the resulting homologies of cultural behaviour (Bourdieu, 1984). This is true even as omnivorism is paradigmatic for the broader cultural activity profiles for this group

including the most high status sports in Canada. This omnivorism follows theories of the omnivore that assert its association with persons of higher social position.

There are some primary reasons that this might be the case. First is the difference between inter-domain and intra-domain investigations of cultural activity. While these are distinctly different areas of inquiry, it is not always the case that previous studies reflexively express how this might affect the resulting conclusions of those studies. Oftentimes, intra-domain and inter-domain omnivorism become conflated. This was one of the formative considerations when designing the study of this chapter. By assessing inter-domain patterns of cultural activity, it is clear that the debates regarding omnivorism and habitus and homology rely on this distinction, at least for this data from Canada. It is clearly the case from the results of this chapter that omnivorism is the inter-domain consumption profile for Canadians.

Team sports had their highest probabilities for being participated in by the entertainment-primary paucivore group. In Bourdieu's framework, the association of team sports in this entertainment-primary culture group that consumes more 'popular' forms of culture such as videos and movies make sense. It can be understood through Bourdieu's (1978) assertions that the mass spectacle of sport is appealing to those groups who consume other popular forms of culture. The spectacle of mass sporting performance, generally a product of team sports, thus influences consumers of other forms of popular culture in an application of Bourdieu's homology thesis. In the case of Canada, the example of this dynamic par excellence is ice hockey. Ice hockey is Canada's most popular sport. Ice hockey had its highest probability for being participated in by those in the entertainment-primary paucivore group. The likelihood for the entertainment-primary paucivore group to engage in team sports also makes sense through the age stratification found in both the team and contact sports group of Chapter 5 and the entertainment-primary paucivore group of this chapter.

The omnivores in this analysis are therefore less likely to play these sports that involve high levels of bodily contact. Omnivores are thus perhaps symbolically defining their omnivorism against specific activities in which they will conspicuously not engage (Bryson, 1996). These may be activities that they consider as putting their physical safety at risk or as less aligned with a disposition that engages physical activity as a body for others (Bennett et al, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984). They may relatively eschew these sports because of their relative violence (Bourdieu, 1978), viewing them more as a 'prole' sport for this reason (Wilson, 2002). This therefore again aligns with a reading of these results that concludes that cultural omnivorism by volume is paradigmatic for high status persons across the various available cultural domains but within sports, or perhaps all other cultural domains, Bourdieu's theories of habitus and homology are most prevalent for patterning activity and consumption.

Patterns of cultural activity and professional sports following in Canada

What do these results tell us about the exploratory research questions regarding professional sports consumption in Canada and its place in broader leisure lifestyles? First, regarding patterns of activity, the results for the Project Canada survey confirm the findings of the GSS latent class analysis in confirming that there is a distinct omnivorous pattern of participation in Canada. This finding is important for assessing the social position of this group. Towards this assessment, it is clear from the results that those in this omnivorous group are of higher social position, again confirming the results from the LCA of the GSS data. This is because members of this group possess increased levels of both economic and cultural capital. Therefore, this seems to support the theories Peterson and all subsequent scholars who have posited and empirically have similarly found both a presence of the cultural omnivore and its positive relationship to elevated social position.

What about the place of following professional sports in these patterns of broader cultural participation? With only one exception (MLB), those who follow professional sports in Canada are most likely to be generally omnivorous. This is true even as the two most Canadian leagues (the CFL and NHL), also have elevated probabilities for the sedentary-primary group. Additionally, the probabilities for the sports leagues to be included in each group decreases for each sport as the group includes fewer activities. All of the sports leagues have their lowest likelihoods of following in the entertainment-primary paucivore group. Given the socio-economic make-up of the omnivore group (and to a lesser extent the sedentary-primary group), these results makes sense. In order to follow these sports leagues, one needs both access to modes of following and the time to engage these modes to an extent that they follow these sports fairly or very closely.

The inclusion of baseball in the sedentary-primary group is at once surprising and unsurprising. It is surprising in that it is the only professional sports league that is not most likely to be followed by the omnivorous group of cultural activity. No other sports league shows these results. It is unsurprising as the sedentary-primary group is the oldest group of behaviour and the fan base of MLB is an ageing one (Gillies, 2015). The sedentary-primary paucivore group is likewise the oldest of the latent class groups for the Project Canada data.

In terms of the cultural participation profiles of the sports following latent class groups, the most omnivorous group of professional sports following does not have the highest proportion of those who are from the omnivorous group of cultural activity. Rather, it is the non-CFL omnivore that has the highest proportion of respondents that are omnivorous in the rest of their lives. This again highlights the difference between an inter-domain investigation where only volume can truly be taken into consideration in assessing the omnivore, while composition is able to also be considered in the assessment of intra-domain groupings. Similar to the aggregate

of research for other contexts and other domains, the results of this chapter show that inter-domain omnivores by volume are associated with higher social position. However, for professional sports following, omnivores by composition, rather than omnivores by volume are associated with respondents of elevated capital possession levels (see also Chapter 6).

As mentioned before, this chapter assesses the patterning of inter-domain cultural consumption and finds an omnivore ‘by volume’ (Vanzella-Yang, 2018). The omnivore of Peterson consumed both ‘high’ and ‘low’ forms of culture (specifically music). The data of this survey, and indeed most large-scale survey programs, only deal with actual participation in activities, rather than their taste within these activities. Therefore, a detailed analysis of taste is not available from the data in this survey. This is because the questions of the survey do not differentiate between, for example, genres of concert or genres of movie, some of which may be more traditionally high or lowbrow genres. Those who go to bars may go to cocktail bars, wine bars, or dive bars. A more thorough survey regarding taste would be required to fully rule out paradigms of consumption that more closely mirror Bourdieu’s original conceptions. However, it is generally the concern of governments and other large-scale survey projects to understand the actual physical behaviour of their citizenry, and therefore measures of personal taste preferences are largely ignored in the existing data of this type. Scholars are also divided about the efficacy of taste versus actual behaviour measurements (Bennett et al., 2009; Sintas and Alvarez, 2002; van Rees et al., 1999; Widdop and Cutts, 2017). This is the case as measures of social action are arguably the strongest measures of lifestyle preference and the most distinguishing aspect of lifestyles. Within studies of the relationship between consumption and social class, however, studies of actual social behaviour can have a relative tautological effect, depending on the capital intensiveness of the cultural activities. All this said, the results of this chapter certainly

suggest a distinct omnivorous pattern of consumption and that those who have these patterns of behaviour are generally of higher social position.

In conclusion, this chapter confirms omnivores by volume at the inter-domain level for both survey programs. There is little evidence for Bourdieu's habitus and homology except perhaps the non-inclusion of television for more capitally possessed cultural profiles. There is likewise little evidence of individualisation because the possession of economic and particularly cultural capital show the strongest predictive power in structuring inter-domain omnivorism. However, while omnivorism is the paradigm for those of elevated social position at the inter-domain level, within each domain it is rather Bourdieu's habitus and homology (in the case of direct sports participation), and an omnivore by composition that is defined against one of the major professional sports leagues (the CFL in the non-CFL omnivore), which form the intra-domain consumption profiles of the socially privileged. The next and final chapter of this thesis discusses further these primary findings of the thesis and draws to a conclusion this thesis.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In this thesis I have set out to analyse the consumption of sport in Canada. I have used the theoretical frameworks of Bourdieu's distinction, habitus and homology theses, the omnivore thesis, and individualisation arguments of the relationship between socio-economic position and social behaviour to understand this consumption. While Bourdieu often considered sport in analyses of culture, there have since been relatively few studies that are focused on considering sport in a similar manner and especially within the broader landscape of possible cultural activities. Likewise, the theory of the cultural omnivore has been applied to many cultural domains. However, given the pervasiveness of sport in contemporary societies, less is known about omnivorous behaviour when it comes to consuming this cultural form. This is similarly the case for arguments of the individualisation thesis. Arguments as to the individualisation of lifestyles, while considered in a few investigations of cultural consumption, are still yet to be assessed with respect to sport. This is true except for one prior investigation of the author (Gemar, 2018a; much of which is constituent of this thesis) that briefly assessed the concept with respect to sports participation within broader consumption patterns of Canadians.

I have aimed to apply these theories fully within the domain of sport and within broader leisure lifestyles and consumption profiles. Following the theory, literature review, contextual, and methodological approaches to this thesis in chapters two through four, Chapter 5 investigates the intra-domain patterning of direct sports participation and discusses

the socio-economic trends in this patterning. Chapter 6 investigates these dynamics for professional sports following. Finally, Chapter 7 seeks to identify where direct participation in sport and the following of major professional sports leagues in Canada fits within the broader cultural and leisure lifestyles of Canadians. I outline in this chapter the summary results and attendant takeaways of this thesis.

The key contributions of these analyses to the literature are their focus on continuing to bring considerations of sports consumption into more mainstream sociologies of culture. This contribution is made through the application of key theories of cultural consumption, statistical methods of analysis, and a comprehensive approach to intra and inter-domain comparison for both direct sports participation and professional sports consumption. It is thus novel in both its focus within and without this specific cultural domain, and in its consideration of direct sports participation and professional sports consumption at once. To further highlight these contributions, I will start by recapping the primary findings and important points of discussion from each of the three empirical results chapters. I will also expand slightly as to their macro implications for this thesis and the consumption literature as a whole. Finally, I will highlight key limitations of this research and suggest further paths of inquiry by which the knowledge formed in this thesis may be expanded and improved.

8.2 Key study findings and theoretical takeaways

The key empirical findings of this thesis come out of the statistical analyses of chapters five through to seven of this work. In this section I will both outline the primary empirical findings but more importantly highlight how they serve to answer the research questions of this thesis. These research questions ask both about the observable patterns of consumption

for sport in Canada and about the prevailing theories of consumption that explain these patterns.

In Chapter 5, the first research question that I focus on answering asked, what is the social patterning of direct sports participation in Canada? The results of this intra-domain investigation of direct sports participation support the existence of distinct groupings of participatory sports in Canadian society. One group does not participate in sports, one group primarily participates in golf and other recreational sports, one group team and contact sports, and a final group in individual and non-contact sports. Because these groups are easily characterizable by these dispositional factors (e.g. contact/non-contact), I primarily interpret these groupings through Bourdieu's assertions of the dispositions that different societal groups have towards sport. Using this interpretive lens, it appears that these groupings generally support Bourdieu's theorisations of the relationship between different class fractions and patterning of sports participation. These relationships are those that are bound up in different relations to the body, different teleologies of sport, and show support for consumption of sport that is based upon theories of habitus and homology. At the same time, it also supports Wilson's (2002) broad assertion that those with higher levels of capital possession participate in sports generally, while at the same time, elevated levels of capital, and particularly cultural capital, also stratify participation. This all serves to answer the second and third research questions of this chapter that ask which factors most contribute to the patterning of sports participation in Canada and which of the major three theories of cultural consumption under consideration is most useful for understanding this patterning.

For instance, regarding the team and contact sports group from the analysis of this chapter, Bourdieu argues that it is the privileged young (males) and those from larger (i.e. lower) social class backgrounds that participate most in sports that require physical contact and

displays of masculinity (Bourdieu, 1978). In contrast, the group of Canadians that participates in more exclusively non-contact sports and individual sports that can be done for personal exercise, exhibit an opposite disposition. This group is also the most capially possessed of any sports participation (or non-participation) group of Canadians, particularly in its elevated levels of cultural capital. The combination of elevated cultural capital possession and a disposition towards non-contact and individual fitness sports highlights a preference for sports that can be used for the physical cultivation of the body for its own sake. This contrasts to instrumental relations to the body of the previous group that through its bodily contact and focus on team sports supports Bourdieu's arguments that this disposition is more reckless, and has a focus on winning over the development of the body for its own sake (Bourdieu, 1978). Finally, this group's emphasis on fitness sports likewise suggests an emphasis on a type of 'body for others', by which social position can be readily shown through physical presentation and bodily appearance (Bennett et al, 2009; Bourdieu, 1978). In applied terms, this may suggest that programs that focus on broadening participation in team sports may be more successful than focusing efforts on individual exercise within fitness clubs. This is because the latter may entail more social judgment than the former according to the dispositions and social position of those who occupy each of these spaces.

But the results of this chapter do not preclude all possibilities of an omnivore concept or elements of individualisation in Canadian sports participation. For instance, both the golf and recreation sports group and the team and contact sports group include sports of both relatively high and low social position in Canadian society. Therefore, it is possible that omnivores by composition exist within this group. It is also possible that omnivores by volume exist in all three groups of sports participation. The individual and non-contact sports group is made up of traditionally high status sports. In this final group, then, omnivores by volume could very much exist. Similarly, the individual and non-contact sports group could

represent a type of 'highbrow omnivore' within sports participation as found in England and Wales by Widdop and Cutts (2013). However, while omnivores can certainly exist within this data, given the strict circumscription of the survey question regarding sports participation, and the model fit statistics of the latent class analysis, I argue that these groups are still most efficaciously interpreted through the lens of Bourdieu and arguments regarding bodily disposition towards sport of different societal groups (see also Chapter 5). However, the results also suggest some individualisation in the participation of sports in Canada and thus direct sports participation represents the most complicated and intricate relationship of social position and consumption within this thesis. Therefore, sports participation in Canada cuts across all of these theories of the relation between socio-economic position and sporting behaviour, including individualisation.

Elements of the individualisation thesis present themselves in the intra-domain investigation of direct sports participation in Chapter 5. The strong predictive results for the variables of age and sex for these two groups suggest theories of emerging culture and versions of individualisation arguments in the structuring of sports participation in Canada. For theories of emerging culture, this is because the social class patterning of the youngest latent class group (the team and contact sports group) and the oldest latent class group (the golf and recreation sports group), both show similar patterning of capital possession and each do so to higher degrees than the opposite age category in each of these latent class groups. Therefore, this suggests that it is generational difference, rather than differential capital possession, that organises participation amongst these two groups. Likewise, for the golf and recreation sports group, because males and females show nearly identical stratification based upon capital possession, this suggests individualisation for this group as well. However, the other groups show asymmetrical stratification between sexes, with older females unlikely to be in the team and contact sports group and more capitally possessed females more likely to be in individual

and team sports group. This reflects strong generational differences in females' access to team and contact sports and perhaps elevated levels of required capital for higher status sports compared to their male counterparts. Therefore, these results only suggest elements of the individualisation thesis in its weaker forms for sex (and age), but the influence of these categories is nonetheless unmistakable in the results of Chapter 5.

The research questions asked for the intra-domain investigation of professional sports following in Chapter 6 mirror those asked for direct sports participation in Chapter 5. Thus the first question seeks to find answers as to the patterns of major professional sports following in Canada. The analysis in furtherance of finding an answer to this question finds six distinct groups of professional sports following in Canada. One of these groups does not follow any of the six major professional sports league in Canada. Of the five groups that follow these professional sports leagues, one is univorous and four are omnivorous. The univorous group follows only the NHL, the most 'popular' sport in Canada in terms of following. Of the four omnivorous groups, there is one that shows a fully omnivorous consumption profile for these leagues and three that omnivorously consume five of the six leagues, with each of one group not following the NBA, CFL, and MLB, respectively. Therefore, there is a non-following group, a univorous group, one omnivore group by volume, and three omnivore groups by composition. However, in order to fully answer the second two research questions of this chapter, I analysed which socio-economic and demographic factors contributed most to these grouping in order to understand if it is the theory of the omnivore, or alternatively Bourdieu or individualisation, that most explains this consumption.

The most important take away from answering these final two research questions in Chapter 6 is that the most omnivorous group of professional sports following is the *least* socially

distinguished of the groups regarding capital possession. Full professional sports omnivores possess neither the highest levels of cultural capital nor the highest level of economic capital. This result disconfirms an omnivore the omnivore ‘by volume’, suggested in other inter-domain studies of consumption in Canada (Vanzella-Yang, 2018; Veenstra, 2010) as it pertains to professional sports consumption in Canada. It may also suggest limits to this theory more broadly when it is tested in intra-domain studies. Therefore, theories of the omnivore are clearly affected both by the substantive domain under investigation and the national context within which they are explored. More importantly, however, the reality of the intra-domain versus inter-domain nature of scholarly investigations may more crucially determine the type of omnivorous consumption patterns observed. This dynamic is currently unrecognized in the existing literature which has resulted in scholarly of cultural consumption often talking past each other when their studied examine these two different empirical phenomena.

The univorous group from this analysis, however, is the group with the lowest cultural capital possession. Therefore, univorism in professional sports following in Canada does appear to follow Peterson’s (1992) original conceptualisations of the cultural univore as consuming one popular cultural item and representing consumers of relatively lower cultural capital.

The groups of professional sports following, then, with the highest levels of capital possession are the omnivore groups that distinctly do not follow one of the professional sports leagues. Therefore, it is these omnivores by composition that represent the paradigm of professional sports consumption for those of elevated social position in Canada. Rather than relying on the composition of simple ‘high’ and ‘low’ professional sports leagues, however, this composition of these groups appears to rely on more ‘cultural’ markers of distinction. Thus these groups bridge the theories of the omnivore and Bourdieu’s distinction.

For instance, the cultural capital markers of openness (Ollivier, 2008), cosmopolitanism (Priour and Savage, 2013), and exoticism (Johnston and Baumann, 2007) are both distinctive displays of cultural capital in their own right and often a product of elevated levels of formal education within which these values are often prized and cultivated. Thus the educational divide between the group that consumes the mostly foreign, mostly non-white professional sports league of the NBA and the group that shuns this league may reveal this kind of cultural distinction in professional sports consumption. This group's rejection of the NBA echoes Bethany Bryson's findings that negative attitudes towards social groups can result in negative attitudes towards forms of culture associated with those groups (Bryson, 1996: 895). Likewise, the group that is omnivorous except in its following of the CFL possesses the highest levels of cultural capital, elevated economic capital, and is younger. This groups consumption of MLS and the NBA reflect this groups openness, cosmopolitanism, and taste for more exotic forms of professional sport. With the exception of MLS, this group also prefers the most 'excellent' of these leagues. The MLS, however, given its global presence and ethos, gives this group a prominent sporting location to operationalise as cultural capital their 'openness' and 'cosmopolitanism' in their consumption behaviour (Ollivier, 2008; Priour & Savage, 2013). This is especially exemplified by their relative rejection of the most Canadian and parochial of these sports leagues that is the CFL.

Because the non-CFL omnivore group in this analysis has the highest level of cultural capital, and the non-NBA omnivore has the highest levels of economic capital, these two groups are examples of omnivores that do not indiscriminately consume. They therefore represent omnivorous consumers by composition. These groups have selective omnivorous tastes that are still exclusive of certain forms of culture that they symbolically devalue for perhaps a variety of reasons. The most omnivorous group, however, is not the highest possessors of cultural or economic capital. Therefore, this again suggests some limits to the omnivore by

volume theory, confirmed in many inter-domain studies, when it is tested in an intra-domain cultural setting. Rather, the results of this analysis support an omnivore by composition within the domain of professional sports following. The details of this composition, however, may ultimately be based more upon the contemporary reconfigurations of cultural capital, such as cosmopolitanism and openness, than strictly upon the consumption of high and low status objects, which is a form of distinction that may ultimately be blurred by these other more powerful factors.

The divide between these two groups also represents that of the youngest group (the non-CFL omnivores) and the oldest (non-NBA omnivores). Therefore, much of this differentiation is also generational. Because the split sample age analysis from Chapter 6 showed that these two groups possess the highest levels of economic capital (non-NBA) and cultural capital (non-CFL), this also supports the theory of emerging culture and thus also elements of individualisation. Likewise, the results for all of the professional sports following groups for both males and females show similar general patterns of stratification between sexes. These results likewise support weaker versions of individualisation arguments that suggest identities such as sex and age have now become more prominent for structuring social behaviour and cultural consumption. This is true even as these identities have not replaced, and indeed appear still to be secondary to, the importance of economic and cultural capital in structuring professional sports following.

The final results chapter, Chapter 7, examined the inter-domain cultural lifestyles of Canadians and sought to locate sports consumption within these lifestyles. The research questions for this chapter thus asked, what are the wider cultural consumption profiles for those who consume sports in Canada? This includes both direct sports participation and professional sports following. In this chapter I first sought to examine the general inter-

domain consumption patterns of Canadians for both the GSS and Project Canada data sets. I then sought to locate each participatory sports and professional sports league within these broader patterns. Likewise, I sought to locate the intra-domain typologies of participation and following found in chapters 5 and 6.

The findings from the analysis of the cultural lifestyles of Canadians generally support an omnivore by volume theory of the case as most accurately describing inter-domain cultural lifestyles in Canada. These results align with the theory of the omnivore not only because there is a group that participates in a large number of cultural activities, but also because of the make-up of this group. The full omnivore groups for both sets of survey data find that capital possession, are the strongest predictors of this omnivorousness. This is particularly the case for cultural capital. Similarly, the univorous group from this analysis (who only watch TV), showed the lowest capital possession of any group of cultural activity. Even as one of the groups (entertainment-primary paucivore) also presents results showing it to be much younger and thus suggesting a generational divide in this regard, capital possession is still the most important for predicting all other groups. Therefore, the results from this inter-domain analysis of cultural lifestyles seems to generally refute individualisation arguments, confirm the omnivore theory by inter-domain volume, and suggest the primary of cultural capital in predicting this voluminous omnivorous behaviour.

With regards to where sports consumption fits within these broader cultural lifestyles, there were five typological groups of activity: sedentary-primary paucivores, TV-univores, information-primary paucivore, the omnivore, and the entertainment-primary paucivore. From the analysis of Chapter 5, most of the sports from the golf and recreation sports group were most likely to be done by the information-primary paucivore group. This is true with the exception of golf, which like the other highest status and most capitally intensive sports had

their highest likelihood of being participated in by cultural omnivores. Finally, most of the team and contact sports from the group of the same name from Chapter 5 are most likely done by the entertainment primary paucivores. These results show the intersection of the omnivore theory and Bourdieu's homology. This is to say, within the domain of sports participation, as seen in Chapter 5, patterns of consumption reflect Bourdieu's (1978) conceptions of sport based upon homologies of disposition towards the body and physical activity (see also Bourdieu, 1984). However, this is true within this domain, even while the inter-domain consumption of a high status sports participation habitus and homology is likely omnivorous (by volume). These results also reflect the difference between capturing consumption within and without the sports domain specifically, and cultural domains generally. Further research might likewise find other cultural domains where otherwise omnivorous persons utilise that domain for the formation of distinction.

I also examined how patterns of professional sports consumption fit into the broader cultural lifestyles of Canadians. The inter-domain domain analysis of broader cultural lifestyles confirms the results that there is a distinct omnivorous cultural profile. This omnivore is again one 'by volume' and possesses the highest levels of both economic and cultural capital. These results therefore similarly confirm the omnivore by volume theory with regards to inter-domain consumption. The other two groups from this analysis also similarly include a sedentary-primary paucivore and entertainment-primary paucivore group.

Towards locating the following of professional sport within these three groups, the omnivore group is most likely to follow the NFL, NHL, CFL, and NBA. The omnivorous group is also second most likely to follow MLB. Thus the study of this chapter finds that cultural omnivores are the most likely to follow professional sports in Canada. However, the sedentary-primary paucivore group is the most likely to follow MLB and second most likely to follow the CFL

and NHL. The entertainment primary paucivore group is the least likely to follow all five primary professional leagues in Canada.

Therefore, only the omnivore group is likely to follow the most foreign league of the NBA and NFL. Similarly, the group from Chapter 6 found to suggest the highest emphasis on cosmopolitanism and rejection of parochialism (non-CFL omnivore) contains the highest proportion of inter-domain cultural omnivores of any sports following group. It is therefore an intra-domain omnivore group by composition, rather than the intra-domain omnivore by volume, that is most associated with the inter-domain omnivorous cultural profile. This again highlights the difference between an inter-domain investigation and intra-domain assessments of consumption.

Therefore, each of the studies of this thesis support an assertion of an inter-domain omnivore by volume as a likely paradigm for cultural consumption among Canadians of higher social position. This is shown primarily through the inter-domain investigations of consumption in this thesis (see Chapter 7). At the same time, none of the studies in this thesis show strong support for a claim that the intra-domain of professional sports following operates in a similar way. This is because the most omnivorous profiles in this domain are not distinguished as persons of relatively higher social position. Ultimately, there are two explanations for why this could be the case. The first is simply that professional sports, as Bourdieu (1978) suggests, represent a form of mass culture that is most attractive to the larger (lower) social classes of a society. Therefore, this first explanation is that consuming more professional sport amounts to consuming more of a low status cultural object. The other explanation is that intra-domain consumption more generally precludes the existence of an omnivore by volume, only allowing for an omnivore by composition.

This second explanation, then, would be based on the premise that within every domain of culture, including professional sport, there are high and low status objects. This is indeed the case in the studies of this thesis. The results of this thesis do suggest the presence of intra-domain omnivores by composition for professional sports in Canada. It is by composition in two ways. First, it is by composition because some omnivorous profiles that include high status persons consume professional sports that present both high and low social position. Second, and perhaps more importantly, it is by composition because high status omnivores have specific sports leagues that they do not follow, thereby precluding a full omnivore by volume in this domain. Because the results of this thesis generally reject that professional sports as a whole represent objects of low status, this thesis mostly precludes the affirmation of the omnivore by volume theory of consumption in this domain. This is not to say it does not exist, as this thesis empirically suggests its existence, but rather rejects that it is associated with persons of high social position, which is a tenant of theories of the omnivorous consumer. As seen earlier, these dynamics of intra and inter-domain consumption also hold true with regards to direct sports participation, at least as shown in the results of this thesis.

8.3 Key study limitations and future research

As mentioned earlier, this thesis assesses inter-domain consumption and finds an omnivore ‘by volume’ (Vanzella-Yang, 2018). However, the omnivore of Peterson consumed both ‘high’ and ‘low’ forms of culture (specifically music). The data of this survey, and indeed most large-scale survey programs, only deal with actual participation in activities, rather than their taste (or behaviour) within these activities. While the ontological and epistemological approach of focusing on behaviour has merit (see Chapter 4), this behaviour is limited to the broad domain level. This is because the survey data used in this thesis is not able to

differentiate consumption at the genre level. This is to say that genres of movie or concert, some of which may be more high or low, cannot be assessed. It is a more thorough analysis of this genre-level consumption that would be required to fully rule of paradigms of consumption in Canada that support Bourdieu, an omnivore by composition, or even individualisation within various cultural domains of Canadians. The inability to assess a full range of consumption within a broad range of cultural domains is a weakness of this study.

Another key limitation running through the inter-domain analyses of this thesis relate to the age of the data used. This data is now more than a decade old. Because of limitations in existing data sources, the inter-domain studies had to be undertaken with this data from 2005. Indeed, a most recent investigation of cultural consumption within Canada (Vanzella-Yang, 2017) also had to utilise data from the same year. Much of the reason why this particular thesis had to use data from this year is that sports questions were not asked side by side with questions of general cultural and leisure engagement in subsequent years. Therefore, given the pervasiveness of professional sports in today's societies, more surveys, in more countries, should include information on sport into their questions on culture and leisure. The slightly differing results from the use of the 2005 and 2015 survey data on professional sports following also reflects the argument made by Bourdieu that the introduction of new cultural objects (in this case MLS) may create a relative restructuring of the social status of objects within this field and reconfigure any attendant cultural capital as a results (Boudieu, 1978; 1984).

The age of the data between 2005 and 2015 is also a key consideration because the nature of professionals sports following has changed. This is true much more so than the nature of direct sports participation. The proliferation of new technologies and sports media platforms (e.g. online streaming and fantasy sports) during the years since the survey used for the inter-domain investigation here may have changed the size of the population that now would characterise

themselves as sports followers. However, the beauty of the conceptualisation of the ‘follower’ is precisely that it is not a period-specific activity. Therefore, while new media platforms may perhaps skew new sports followers younger, the general aging of the population (with their own forms of following) likely mitigates any acute differences. This is to say that even if these new media technologies may allow greater ease of consumption for more technologically savvy younger generations, the consistent ageing of the population, who use their own forms of following or have adopted new ones, like precludes much empirical change in the age composition of sports followers.

This is especially true as it must be recognised that the various successes of Canadian teams in any given year will likely also skew these numbers. For instance, interest in the NBA or MLB may be up with the recent success of the Toronto Raptors and Blue Jays. However, these dynamics may ultimately be cyclical. For example, NBA television audiences have been found to be 4.5 times more sensitive to team success than those persons who attend games, ultimately affecting a broad audience in a cyclical manner (Mongeon and Winfree, 2012). Therefore, there are some reasons to believe that the age of the data is less of an issue. Indeed, empirically, the data from 2005 and 2015 did show similar dynamics in the consumption of professional sports, further supporting the relevance of this data. That said, more research into the changing landscape of professional sports consumption is needed to build off the findings and analyses of this thesis.

For direct sports participation, the analyses around this form of sports engagement has a primary limitation in the capturing of the omnivore for this area. Because of the mutual exclusivity with which the survey question was asked around direct sports participation, and the great breadth of sporting activities included in this analysis, traditional constructions of omnivorism are hard to definitely observe. This means that the analysis of direct sports

participation in Chapter 5 may suffer from an underappreciation of omnivorousness within this data as a result of the inability of the data and methods to fully capture patterns of omnivorous behaviour for this domain. Indeed, previous studies of direct sports participation did find important groups of omnivorous participation (Widdop and Cutts, 2013; Widdop et al, 2016).

Finally, there are other limitations to the methods used in this thesis. The quantitative approaches of this thesis are also not able to capture the internal mechanisms utilised by individuals in the groups of sports consumers with the highest levels of capital possession. I am therefore unable to capture the ‘hows’ of consumption (Jarness, 2015) associated with the reconfiguring of contemporary cultural capitals of distinction amongst more omnivorous consumers (Savage et al, 2015). Therefore I am unable to fully understand if my suggestion of the importance of styles of cosmopolitanism (Prieur and Savage, 2013) and openness (Ollivier, 2008) are indeed prominent markers of distinction in the consumption of sports in Canada. Towards these understandings, more qualitative work would need to be undertaken.

This, then is the final suggestion for further study running through all of the analyses of this thesis. Qualitative research would be needed to more thoroughly understand how people in these various sports consuming groups come of their dispositions and acquire their tastes. Likewise, what structures their dislikes and does this manifest itself in the production of distinction? I would need more qualitative approaches to fully understand the shifting and nuanced nature of cultural capital to understand if and how it is configured and reconfigured within the domain of sports consumption in Canada. While I make my best empirically informed guesses in this direction, I am unable to fully understand the symbolic judgements and boundary drawing (e.g. Lamont, 1992) that may be bound up in this consumption. The results of the quantitative analysis of this research cannot, therefore, capture the degree of

symbolic force that accompanies the different patterns of consumption observed in these results.

Further research would qualitatively study the quantitative findings of this thesis to understand how precisely professional sports operate within the cultural lifestyles of consumers. Although some scholars are starting to do more work in these areas (e.g. Pope, 2015), this work is still generally lacking. While this analysis can account for the distribution of sports among various socio-economic and demographic groups, it cannot fully capture all of the internal mechanisms by which ‘the affinity between the ethical and aesthetic dispositions characteristic of each class or class fraction and the objective potentialities of ethical or aesthetic accomplishment which are or seem to be contained in each sport’ (Bourdieu, 1978: 836). While this thesis makes theoretically and empirically informed inferences in these areas, it is ultimately hard to capture these dynamics within a large-scale quantitative examination. Likewise, further qualitative work would be able to highlight the more cultural and symbolic dynamics that may place different societal value in the consumption of various sports and activities, and within cultural lifestyles more broadly.

8.4 Conclusion

This thesis represents a first of its kind examination of the professional sports consumption. It is particularly interesting in the national context of Canada, a context in the unparalleled professional sporting market of North America, and a case more efficacious for this type of analysis than the United States and its more adulterated professional sports environment. This thesis also represents the first large scale quantitative sociological analysis of direct sports participation in Canada and the first comprehensive analysis to consider both sports participation and following fit into broader cultural and leisure lifestyles.

The most interesting findings of this thesis surround professional sports following. Those who follow none of the professional sports in Canada are generally of lower social position within Canadian society. However, those who follow all professional sports are not of the highest social position. It is rather those who have very distinctive patterns of consumption, conspicuously not following one professional sports league that have the highest levels of economic and cultural capital in Canada. These results disconfirm an omnivore by volume thesis in professional sports consumption in Canada and implore scholars to more reflexively consider whether their investigations of the cultural omnivore consider inter-domain or intra-domain dynamics of consumption.

This theoretical finding is again confirmed by the results of Chapter 7 of this thesis that finds that the omnivore thesis by volume is confirmed on an inter-domain basis while intra-domain sports consumption does not adhere to the omnivore thesis by volume. It is again an omnivore by composition that is confirmed in professional sports consumption and a more Bourdieusian pattern of distinction confirmed for sports participation. The latter of which is primarily organised by a homology of dispositions towards the body that are a results of a Bourdieusian class-based habitus. This final finding could have important implications for how efforts at encouraging sports participation go about these efforts. Scholars of culture around the world should continue the types of investigations undertaken in this thesis and into this relatively ignored domain of culture that is too large and socially salient to be further neglected in the ever-growing corpus of research into cultural consumption.

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Appendix

Appendix I:

Table AI.1 Key demographics from census data from Canada for comparison with survey samples of this thesis

	2006 Census	2011 Census	2016 Census
<hr/>			
Age			
25 – 39	28.5%	27.7%	27.6%
40 – 59	44.3%	42.5%	39.6%
60 +	27.2%	29.8%	32.8%
Sex			
Female	52.1%	51.9%	51.7%
Male	47.9%	48.1%	48.3%
Region			
British Columbia	13.2%	13.1%	13.2%
Prairie Region	16.9%	17.6%	18.3%
Ontario	38.2%	38.4%	38.3%
Atlantic Region	7.5%	7.2%	6.9%
Quebec	24.2%	23.7%	23.3%

Appendix II:

Table AII.1. LCA model summary report for 2005 GSS sports participation data

	LL	BIC(LL)	AIC(LL)	CAIC(LL)	L²	p-value
1-Class	-13023.8201	26400.4776	26125.6401	26439.4776	2741.1596	1.00
2-Class	-12486.1322	25686.9865	25130.2643	25765.9865	1665.7838	1.00
3-Class	-12364.1229	25804.8526	24966.2459	25923.8526	1421.7654	1.00
4-Class	-12312.0387	26062.5687	24942.0773	26221.5687	1317.5968	1.00
5-Class	-12279.9226	26360.2211	24957.8452	26559.2211	1253.3647	1.00
6-Class	-12242.1444	26646.5494	24962.2889	26885.5494	1177.8084	1.00

Table AII.2. LCA profile for 2005 GSS sports participation data

	LC1	LC2	LC3	LC4	Overall relative frequency
Cluster Size	0.8012	0.0964	0.0541	0.0483	
Indicators					
Archery	0.0013	0.0000	<u>0.0030</u>	0.0000	0.001
Boxing	0.0007	0.0000	<u>0.0160</u>	0.0000	0.001
Canoeing Kayaking	0.0012	0.0040	0.0000	<u>0.0671</u>	0.005
Cycling	0.0031	0.0080	<u>0.0216</u>	<u>0.2642</u>	0.017
Equestrian	0.0013	<u>0.0036</u>	<u>0.0226</u>	0.0000	0.003
Field Hockey	0.0011	0.0006	<u>0.0058</u>	0.0000	0.001
Karate	0.0008	0.0036	0.0000	<u>0.0116</u>	0.002
Rowing	0.0010	<u>0.0039</u>	0.0000	<u>0.0021</u>	0.001
Figure Skating	0.0000	0.0005	<u>0.0031</u>	<u>0.0175</u>	0.001
Water Skiing	0.0002	0.0000	<u>0.0115</u>	<u>0.0083</u>	0.001

Squash	0.0000	0.0163	<u>0.0348</u>	0.0138	0.004
Swimming	0.0125	0.0151	0.0641	<u>0.1982</u>	0.024
Tennis	0.0000	0.0648	0.0345	<u>0.1001</u>	0.013
Track and Field	0.0004	0.0000	<u>0.0056</u>	0.0000	0.001
Weightlifting	0.0008	0.0000	<u>0.0141</u>	0.0092	0.002
Sailing/Yachting	0.0004	<u>0.0133</u>	0.0000	0.0104	0.002
Downhill Skiing	0.0023	0.0541	0.0211	<u>0.1684</u>	0.016
Five Pin Bowling	0.0042	0.0258	0.0000	0.0000	0.006
Triathlon	0.0002	0.0000	0.0074	<u>0.0120</u>	0.001
In-Line Hockey	0.0005	0.0012	<u>0.0104</u>	0.0000	0.001
Snowboarding	0.0000	0.0099	0.0096	<u>0.0279</u>	0.003
Martial Arts	0.0012	0.0000	0.0108	<u>0.0173</u>	0.002
Ultimate Frisbee	0.0000	0.0057	<u>0.0080</u>	0.0064	0.001
Badminton	0.0019	0.0156	0.0114	<u>0.0506</u>	0.006
Baseball	0.0012	0.0696	<u>0.0910</u>	0.0000	0.013
Basketball	0.0000	0.0378	<u>0.0826</u>	0.0000	0.008
Football	0.0000	0.0023	<u>0.0437</u>	0.0000	0.003
Golf	0.0193	<u>0.4002</u>	0.0005	0.0916	0.059
Gymnastics	0.0009	0.0000	0.0000	<u>0.0309</u>	0.002
Ice Hockey	0.0017	<u>0.1978</u>	0.1489	0.0495	0.031
Rugby	0.0000	0.0000	<u>0.0174</u>	0.0000	0.001
Soccer	0.0027	0.0138	<u>0.1398</u>	0.0001	0.011
Softball	0.0018	<u>0.0699</u>	0.0149	0.0087	0.009
Volleyball	0.0004	0.0490	<u>0.0941</u>	0.0211	0.011
XC Skiing	0.0012	0.0070	0.0043	<u>0.1564</u>	0.009
Curling	0.0067	<u>0.0894</u>	0.0001	0.0200	0.015
Ten Pin Bowling	0.0073	<u>0.0229</u>	0.0022	0.0070	0.008

Appendix III:

Table AIII.1. LCA model summary report for 2005 Project Canada data on professional sports following

	LL	BIC(LL)	AIC(LL)	CAIC(LL)	L²	p-value
1-Class	-2841.9916	5720.0526	5693.9833	5725.0526	1013.2287	5.8e-197
2-Class	-2390.2112	4859.7748	4802.4224	4870.7748	109.6678	2.3e-14
3-Class	-2354.9573	4832.5501	4743.9145	4849.5501	39.1599	0.00034
4-Class	-2341.7788	4849.4763	4729.5577	4872.4763	12.8031	0.12
5-Class	-2338.1757	4885.5531	4734.3513	4914.5531	5.5967	0.061
6-Class	-2336.4410	4925.3670	4742.8821	4960.3670	2.1275	.

Table AIII.2: LCA profile for 2005 Project Canada data on professional sports following

	LC1	LC2	LC3	LC4	Overall relative frequency
Cluster Size	0.6890	0.1390	0.1025	0.0695	
Indicators					
Follow NHL	0.1085	0.6320	0.6046	0.9554	0.291
Follow CFL	0.0031	0.9177	0.0111	0.9451	0.196
Follow MLB	0.0189	0.1265	0.3929	0.9304	0.137
Follow NFL	0.0056	0.2062	0.3420	0.8127	0.124
Follow NBA	0.0094	0.0182	0.2271	0.3733	0.059