

A Taste for Cigarettes:
Tobacco Smoking as Cultural Capital in the Working Class Symbolic Economy

by

Stephen Andrew Farrance
BA, Simon Fraser University, 2008

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Supervisory Committee

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Supervisory Committee

Dr Karen Kobayashi (Department of Sociology)

Supervisor

Dr Neena Chappell (Department of Sociology)

Committee Member

Abstract

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Dr Karen Kobayashi (Department of Sociology)

Supervisor

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Committee Member

Tobacco smoking in Canada has decreased over the last 20 years but remains persistent in lower socioeconomic status (SES) groups. The current study is an examination of tobacco smoking among lower SES Canadians that seeks to explore the social context of tobacco smoking from the perspective of those individuals who participate in it. This study utilized in-depth interviews with nine working class males from the Greater Vancouver and the Capital Regional Districts. It followed the phenomenological method in attempting to understand the experience of a working class smoker, reading that analysis through a Bourdieusian conceptual framework. This framework served to define the social context in terms of multiple symbolic economies bounded by symbolic boundaries, providing a coherent geography within which to locate the experiences. The study finds that within the working class symbolic economy, tobacco smoking is seen as legitimate and is enmeshed within conceptions of leisure, of self and intimately tied to other culturally-mediated commodities such as alcohol and other drugs. The findings further indicate that tobacco smoking in and of itself is not a cultural capital, but becomes culturally relevant when it is performed correctly. Correct performance requires adherence to certain rules, however, the best performance of smoking is done when it is presented as natural. Tobacco smoking, the findings indicate, is so “taken-for-granted” that unless one is a committed, ‘real’ smoker all others, social smokers included, are considered non-smokers. Through sharing and semi-ritualized consumption, tobacco smoking helps to reinforce reciprocal relationships that strengthen potentially insecure social bonds. Finally, working class males present themselves as self-reliant individuals that find cessation aids and therapies to be an embarrassment to their conception of self, thus to use cessation aids is to admit failure. The implication of these findings is that tobacco persistence exists within a classed symbolic economy that is simply not reached by current tobacco cessation programs and health research. To be effective then, such programs need to take into account the value and role tobacco smoking plays within this economy.

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To Elvin French Burrows who got his PhD in post hole digging

A great man and a great example

Chapter 1: Introduction

Tobacco smoking, according to Health Canada (2011a), claims the life of a Canadian on average every 11 minutes, which is an alarming figure. It is common knowledge that tobacco use is causally related to lung cancer and other respiratory ailments and yet tobacco smoking still persists, largely in low socioeconomic status (SES) groups (Barbea, Krieger & Soobader, 2004; Grieves, Vallone & Velicer, 2006; Mao, et al, 2001). The question this thesis aims to explore is what does it mean to understand tobacco smoking as a cultural capital for the individuals who participate in its performance.

There have been numerous studies that attempt to understand tobacco smoking from a biological or bio-medical perspective (Barbeau et al, 2004; Feng, et al, 2004; Health Canada, 2011b; Mao, et al, 2001), and a large number have found correlations between tobacco smoking and SES (Denny, Rogers, Hummer, Pampel, 2010; Pampel, 2004; Stronks, van de Mheen, Looman, & Mackenbach, 1997; etc). While these studies help us to better situate the problem of the persistence of tobacco smoking vis-à-vis class markers, there is still, as Poland, et al (2006) note, a lack of inquiry into the “social context of smoking” (p. 59). It is this social context that the current study intends to interrogate. This is important because without an understanding of the social context, there is the possibility of symbolic violence or viewing others’ actions through deficit/ deviant lenses, however unintentionally. This thesis then is an attempt to respond to Poland et al.’s (2006) call to re-contextualize the individual by applying a Bourdieusian conceptual framework to understand the socio-cultural reasons that justify smoking in lower SES groups.

1.1 Reflexivity

My interest in this subject derives from my being a smoker and having lived experience as a member of the working class. From around the age of 16 I have been engaged with working in a broad range of manual labour positions. I like to say that I have done everything on a construction site from the dirt up; that is, from foundations and drain tiles to trusses for the roofs. I have poured concrete, dug holes for fence posts, worked on a factory line, mopped floors, driven Bobcats, hung drywall, painted interiors and exteriors, landscaped, framed buildings, fed fish and hauled out garbage. All the while I have lived and worked with others who have been chronic smokers. So, it is fair to say this is a subject I know something about.

However I wasn’t interested in studying this subject, nor the particular direction I have taken, until I had began my Master’s degree at the University of Victoria. I was halfway through my classes

when I decided to attempt to quit smoking. I had attempted to quit before and had the occasional successful month or two but something was different this time. I considered using nicotine gum. I had actually bought a package, had consulted the pharmacist on the type and dosage that we felt was best suited for me and had taken it home with every intention of using it. I tried a piece of the gum, felt the tingling sensation, knew it was working and then I spat it out. Something had come over me, and other than that one piece I have not tried it again. What happened, I wondered. Why was I so distrustful, not comfortable, with this product? I started thinking about it deeply; I wondered what about using this product made me feel like a failure. It was then that I realized that I wanted to better understand this feeling. Was I the only one or did others also feel that using these cessation aids made them a failure or weak in some way?

An interest in understanding multiple symbolic economies and class culture had been 'on my radar' since moving from Douglas College to Simon Fraser University to complete my Bachelor's degree. It was in this environment, and especially after my move to the University of Victoria, that I began to see the disparities in 'taste', behaviour, values and norms between the academic community and the working class community from which I hailed. I was, in essence, straddling two worlds, one of the upper/ middle class of the academy where 'being-in-the-world' was very different from my home life in working class circles. It was these disparities that pushed me to understand how habitus, doxa and cultural capital inform our 'being-in-the-world' and how this knowledge reproduces class, or, as the title of Willis' (1977) book points out, how working class kids get working class jobs.

I came to university for largely two reasons: first, my mother, after her divorce, decided to pursue a career as a high school teacher, and one day took me to Simon Fraser University. I was fascinated by all the people and imagined myself being there in the future. It would be six or seven years after that experience that I would actually move 'up the hill' as it were. The second reason was my cousin, who was pursuing a PhD in education, and I would, during holiday gatherings, discuss philosophical points. At some point he told me I should go to school, to which I backed quickly away, citing the mantra, "I don't need a piece of paper to tell me I'm smart". Eventually I did listen to them and finally enrolled at Douglas College.

It was the confluence of these experiences, the straddling of two worlds and developing the skills and the reflexivity to examine these experiences, like an anthropologist setting up his tent in the midst of the 'natives'; the lived experience as a smoker and as a member of the working class coupled with my passion for sociological inquiry that set this thesis in motion.

1.2 Situating the problem

Tobacco smoking is problematic for any individual, but when the largest proportion of tobacco smokers are located in the low SES group this is particularly problematic as it points to more than merely the addictive qualities of nicotine, the active ingredient of tobacco. While smoking in Canada has decreased significantly over the past 50 years it has slowed to an incremental decrease in the past ten so that the amount of “ever smokers” in 1999 is roughly the same in 2009, at around 12 million (Health Canada, 2009). However, the percentage of those who claim to have never smoked has increased from 49% in 1999 to 56 % in 2009 (Health Canada, 2009). Of those who have ‘ever smoked’, those who are current smokers (as opposed to former smokers), the percentage has fallen from 25% in 1999 to 18% in 2009, so it is clear that, while not dramatic, there has been a decrease in smoking behaviour (Health Canada, 2009).

Unfortunately, as mentioned, those who persist in smoking are largely those who are in lower SES positions (Barbea, et al, 2004; Grieves, Vallone & Velicer, 2006; Mao, et al, 2001). There has been much research done to answer the question of smoking persistence but much of this research has focused on biological or bio-medical answers (Barbeau, et al, 2004; Feng, et al, 2004; Health Canada, 2011b; etc) or, worse, this literature has implied deviance, lack of competence or done symbolic violence to those in lower SES positions. The findings of Siahpush, McNeill, Borland & Fong (2006), for example, indicate that “lower SES groups are more addicted to nicotine” (p. iii73) pointing to a biological deficiency in those who are of lower SES. It is this type of study that not only neglects the social context of smoking behaviour but also degrades lower SES individuals by implying biological weakness. Rather, as Poland et al (2006) note, researchers need to focus on the social context and understand what socio-cultural factors help to maintain tobacco smoking behaviour.

It is this gap in the literature that my thesis aims to address. My study explores the cultural capital of tobacco smoking through an examination of cessation strategies, introduction to smoking and daily smoking behaviour. This is done using the phenomenological method which provides the best means through which to decrease the symbolic violence done to participants, and lower SES groups as a whole, by soliciting their experiences as the corner stone of analysis.

The broad research questions I address are:

- 1) Will understanding tobacco smoking as a form of cultural capital help to explain its persistence among lower socioeconomic individuals?

2) What does it mean to health researchers to understand tobacco smoking as cultural capital?

Data collected from in-depth interviews with nine working class individuals from the Capital Regional District and the Greater Vancouver Regional District in B.C. were analyzed to understand the lived experience of tobacco smoking for working class individuals; that is, to explore how smoking is a cultural capital and how smoking is embedded in the habitus/ life-world of the working class individual.

1.3 Situating myself

In this thesis I am attempting to facilitate the articulation of experiences of my participants through the interviews and member checking process. I acknowledge my role as researcher and as insider (see chapter 3.8, and chapter 4.1 role of the researcher) and triangulate my own experiences as a smoker and member of the working class to further flesh out the themes developed from these interviews. I do not make a claim of perfect neutrality as I do not believe that such a position is possible to achieve but I do attempt to maintain, as Moustakas (cited in Creswell, 2007) would have it, a curious and reflective attitude, actively listening and probing to allow the experiences of my participants to come to the surface.

Much research has been done that has helped to locate smoking behaviour in lower SES groups but my goal and my role here is to further uncover the socio-cultural reasons that enable this behaviour to persist. This is not done strictly to help target this group for a more calculated intervention, though I recognize that that is a likely outcome, rather the goal is to highlight the lived experiences, the social context and the habitus of working class individuals as a legitimate means of being-in-the world. The goal is not to make “*them*” more like “*us*” but to recognize that in different social, cultural and classed environments, different understandings and ways of being are created and that one is not necessarily better than another. Tobacco smoking cannot be claimed to be good for one’s health but without knowing what role tobacco plays in the life-world of the smoker or what “health” actually means, effective cessation strategies will be difficult to develop and symbolic violence is likely.

1.4 Thesis Overview

I conceptualize tobacco smoking as cultural capital, exploring what that means, through understanding the experiences of working class males living in the Capital Region District of Victoria and the Greater Vancouver Regional District. Chapter 2 explores literature on health and tobacco smoking, situating my research within the current state of knowledge. I begin the chapter with tobacco

history for context and move on to present the conceptual framework employed for the study. The explication of the framework helps to focus the chapter on the dearth of research that has examined smoking in such a way. I then elaborate on socioeconomic status and health research. Next, I explore the social versus the biological, making the case that the social is at least as important in understanding the persistence of tobacco smoking as the biological. I conclude with a discussion of the social context literature.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology and methods used for this study. First, I elaborate on ethical considerations. I next explain sampling and recruitment strategies, the inclusion criteria and data collection methods. This is followed by a presentation of the analytical framework, which is grounded in phenomenological methods, and discuss the use and application of these methods. From this I explain insider/ outsider status and its pertinence to the analysis. Finally, I elaborate on symbolic violence and the methods I undertook to minimize that effect. I conclude with a discussion of validity, i.e., what I did to ensure it within the phenomenological process.

In chapter 4, I present my research findings and analysis of the experience of tobacco smoking within the working class. The chapter is laid out in such a way so as to draw out the multiple experiential positions of tobacco smoking within the working class culture, the symbolic economy, that exposes the structural and textual descriptions that emerge from the participants' experiences. I begin the chapter with an explication of my role as researcher. I move on to a discussion of what a 'real smoker' looks like, from their first smoke to smoking as sustenance, legitimate taste, and the limits of good performance. From here I explore the symbolic boundaries and facets of social exclusion that delimit the symbolic economy of the working class smoker, which includes a conceptualized 'other as non-smoker'. I present, next, ways in which tobacco smoking is seen as embedded within the working class by way of examining the working class 'non-smoker'. This is followed by an outline of how tobacco smoking works within the context of sharing and bonds of solidarity, and how it is embedded within leisure and stress relief. Next, I explicate conceptions of health and move on to elaborate the importance of control, the self reliant individual and the impact this has on the perception and reception of cessation aids. Finally, I examine broadly individuality versus sociality and conclude with a presentation of the essence of the experience, the performance of tobacco smoking.

The discussion of the findings in light of the literature is presented in chapter 5. In this chapter I present a deeper analysis of the experiences of the participants, that is, connecting the experiences to

the conceptual framework, a Bourdieusian perspective. I open the chapter with a further explication of the symbolic economy and move to a review of symbolic boundaries followed by an examination of taste and the social context. I next examine smoking persistence as derived from the participant's experiences followed by a brief assessment of symbolic violence. The chapter is concluded by a summary of the findings, the study's limitations and directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter outlines the literature and theoretical paradigm that help to situate my thesis within the larger health research literature and to explain how I attempt to understand tobacco smoking persistence in low SES groups. The chapter begins with a brief history of tobacco use in Canada. The second section of the chapter is an explanation of the conceptual framework on which my thesis is predicated. This section begins by explaining Bourdieusian terms and how they will be used and then moves through the broader theoretical paradigm of class culture, symbolic violence, and what I coin as ‘multiple symbolic economies’.

The third section of chapter 2 is the literature review. I provide a short history of health research generally and discuss tobacco use research more specifically, keeping an eye toward the relationship between socioeconomic status and health. This leads to a discussion of the background, promise and the challenges of the health literacy perspective. Section four examines the bio-medical paradigm by way of highlighting studies that point to the difficulty of explaining tobacco use persistence through addiction alone. The final section examines the concept of ‘social context’, what it looks like and how this concept fits with the overall perspective this thesis takes.

2.1 Tobacco History in Canada

Tobacco is native to the Americas, originally growing in South America and diffusing into the north. It is estimated, that by around the 8th century AD it was fully integrated into First Nation’s societies in what is now Canada (Collishaw, 2009). Soon after European settlement, tobacco smoking was adopted by settlers who grew and smoked a strain of tobacco called *Nicotiana Rustica* (Collishaw, 2009). *N. Rustika* was commonly grown in household gardens from as early as the the 1600’s (Collishaw, 2009). As tobacco smoking increased in popularity and became more commercialized, in the 1800’s, it became a signifier of class division based on the type of tobacco smoked. The Cartoon, in figure 1 (below), is a political/ social commentary depicting tobacco as a form of class distinction, highlighting the historical connection between class and tobacco. Cigarettes were hand rolled until 1881 when a cigarette rolling machine was invented (Collishaw, 2009). Cigarettes were seen as the smoke of those who were poor or, especially for women, those with “loose morals” (Amos and Haglund, 2000, p. 3). Cigar smoking, especially Cuban cigars, were seen as a smoke fitting for an upper class man while smoking the home grown *N. Rustika*, which was still common in household

gardens, was seen as the practice of the poor (Collishaw 2009). Tobacco use and class, then, have had a long association in Canada.



Figure 1 (Collishaw, 2009, p. 9)

Tobacco smoking was primarily a male dominated endeavour until the 1920's when Edward Bernays promoted smoking "as a symbol of emancipation, 'a torch of freedom'" (Amos and Haglund, 2000, p. 3) essentially doubling the market of tobacco consumers. This then made tobacco smoking a ubiquitous commodity wherein men and women, rich and poor alike were able to participate, albeit divisionally; women smoked different brands than men and the upper class smoked different tobacco and in different forms than the lower classes (Amos and Haglund, 2000; Collishaw, 2009). Following this acceptance of women smoking tobacco, it began to be seen in a largely favourable light, at least by governments. According to Collishaw (2009), in "1903-1904 and 1969-1971, the will of parliament in favour of tobacco control... bent in favour of the tobacco industry" (p. 53).

It wasn't until the late 1980's that tobacco control received official support in Canada. With the passing of bills that saw tobacco smoking banned in all federal owned and operated buildings and a ban on tobacco advertisements (Collishaw, 2009). According to Collishaw (2009), this was the first time that a successful bill regulating the tobacco industry had gone into effect and in a few short years of this, the consumption of cigarettes fell by one third by 1991 (p. 54). The tobacco industry has been fighting for deregulation ever since (Collishaw, 2009).

This brings us to the last 20 years which has seen, since the 1990's, significant declines in tobacco use (Health Canada, 2009). This decline has been largely located in upper SES positions while individuals of lower socioeconomic status have persisted in tobacco smoking behaviour. According to Poland et al (2006), in order to understand this persistence one needs to understand the 'social context' in which the behaviour occurs.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

I begin by explicating Bourdieu's concepts that are central to delineating class culture, symbolic violence and multiple symbolic economies, which are, in turn, central to understanding the thrust of this thesis.

Habitus, doxa, and cultural capital all play a significant role in the formation of this conceptual framework. Doxa is “a set of core values and discourses” which are taken to be necessary and true, are largely unconscious, and relatively durable (Webb, Shirato, Danaher, 2002, p. XI). Doxic attitudes play a role in the formation and maintenance of habitus which is both the field (that which actors operate within such as the culture at large or sub-cultural norms) and the embodied practices that actors engage in (Webb et al, 2002). These core values and discourses guide behaviour because, fundamentally, other actions are ‘unthinkable’. Webb et al (2002) use the example of eating dog for western cultures, the thought of which is so repugnant that it is, in a very real way, unthinkable.

Habitus is the “durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisation” (Webb et al, 2003, p. 36) which means that actors operate within an over-arching framework but have relative agency; this creates a relationship between the structure and the agent which is “recursive and co-dependent”, which is to say that each acts to influence the other (Williams, 2003, p. 144). Habitus is both the largely unconscious process of absorbing the ‘rules of the game,’ the doxic attitudes, that are specific to one’s social class, and the ways in which the ‘game’ is played. Social class is one’s position in the social hierarchy, has its own habitus and also has its own market for cultural capital. The actions of an individual within their cultural field produce and work with the currency of cultural capital.

Cultural capital is the capital of meaning. It is the accumulation of acceptable behaviours, attitudes and dispositions and the ability to consume commodities properly. It being a ‘capital’, means that it is a currency of sorts, but it is probably best conceived of as a sort of badge that one wears in, on, and of their body in their posture, language and ‘style.’ With the right cultural capital, one is granted access to the right social network or is able to position oneself as a member of a class (Eaton, Pendakur & Reed, 2000). Bourdieu conceptualized cultural capital in terms of high, middle or low brow with low brow individuals having less cultural capital than those with high brow cultural capital (Lareau, 1987). As will be explained in more detail I do not hold that view, instead, I believe that those of different classes hold cultural capital that is meaningful in specific classed environments. These environments are, what I call, class cultures.

2.2.1 Class Culture

The idea of class culture is important to understanding how I am attempting to frame the persistence of tobacco smoking within the working class. I examine class culture by exploring culture as an important ground for the reproduction of class and commodity, a basis for community. Classic Marxist notions of class relations place the economy and the material reproduction of class at the centre

of the question of social inequality. Butt (2006), however, considers that given the change of society from an industrial to post-industrial to an 'information society,' a reworking of the reproduction of class is necessary for a proper analysis. Butt (2006) proposes to place "culture at the 'base' of [the] reproduction... of class... [giving culture a] central position in economic analysis" (p. 13). He is interested in exploring cultural resources which he conceives of as "learning within [an] environment [which] provides familiarity with a certain lifestyle, knowledge base, and a set of unspoken conventions" (P. 16). His conception is an unacknowledged reconstitution of habitus, doxa and cultural capital. For Bourdieu (1984), these 'cultural resources' arise from and respond to the material conditions that make up lived environments. Rather than valuing one sphere over another it seems a safer and better route to examine both the material and symbolic resources of classes to better understand the class culture derived from them.

Commodities are both materially based and symbolic in their use. For Veenstra (2005) the consumption of commodities and "shared cultural tastes... [create] a sense of shared group/ class identity" (p. 250). Eaton et al, (2000) take a different tack but come up with a similar construction. They determine that social networks are maintained through shared consumption of commodities. But they also note that the commodities need to be consumed properly or discarded properly. For example, watching a movie and mocking it may be more valuable to group cohesion than not watching the movie at all. These two examples show how class culture is maintained through the consumption of commodities which support shared values and tastes. As Weber (1978) noted it isn't just the ownership of property but the meaning ascribed to and to the use of that property (p. 44).

Willis (1977) provides an ethnographic account of how 'working class lads' experience the reproduction of class. In his ethnography he engages with young 'working class' students and develops a theory of the reproduction of class that involves the active participation of those who are involved in that reproduction. He considers that, given the student's working class cultural milieu, the student as agent places him/herself in relation to the history (their inherited cultural resources) and the future (the imagined social and cultural rewards based on actions taken now) concerning their conceived position within the social ladder.

Willis (1977) takes into account the structural influences that play on his agents, but rather than focus on an absolute nature, he focuses instead on the ways in which the participants in his ethnography are able to express their agency. This study helps to highlight the ways in which working class young

men live their habitus and doxa and use their cultural resources to recreate and reaffirm their working class culture. They wear their working class culture on their sleeves both figuratively and literally.

Butt (2006) reopens the door to a discussion of culture as a basis for the reproduction of class. Eaton et al (2000) and Veenstra (2005) provide accounts of how cultural commodities are used to locate in-group and out-group members, which can be seen as a basis for class definition by virtue of commodity consumption – or taste. Taste, for Bourdieu (1984) are the objects, actions and dispositions that are acceptable to the class in question be they high, middle or low brow tastes. Finally Willis' portrayal of 'working class lads' shows how class culture comes to life in the educational system, how habitus and cultural capital play out to reproduce class positions through the performativity of class culture.

2.2.2 Symbolic violence

Symbolic violence is derived from the struggle for the “monopoly of the legitimate representation of the social world” (Swartz, 1997, p. 154). Symbolic violence is an invisible domination because it is an unrecognized subjugation of knowledge and the ‘proper’ expression of social reality (Wacquant, 1993). As Connolly and Healy (2004) note, symbolic violence is “symbolic in the sense that it is achieved indirectly and without coercion, however it is also an act of violence as, ultimately, it results in constraint and subordination” (p. 513) of the other. Symbolic violence is a taken-for-granted stance that can be seen in, for example, gender roles whereby a woman needs to be caring, quiet, obedient, or beautiful with such traits being accepted not only by the dominant observer but also as part of the observed, the other.

Symbolic violence serves a dual function. It is taken-for-granted by both the other, the dominated, and by the dominator. It is not simply a matter of distancing oneself from the other through disgust but also a matter of making oneself normal and universal. As Lawler (2005), in regards to the working class, notes:

The issue here is not simply about middle-class people ‘looking down on’ working-class people. Such understandings work to produce working-class people as abhorrent and as foundationally ‘other’ to a middle-class existence that is silently marked as normal and desirable. But ... they also work to produce middle-classed identities that rely on not being the repellent and disgusting ‘other’. (p. 431)

So symbolic violence works by creating symbolic distance that is taken-for-granted by both parties, which works to degrade the subordinated party and make normal the dominant one.

This dual function of symbolic violence will be evidenced throughout the literature review as I discuss the stance researchers have taken on low SES groups and their behaviours; particularly the issues around the psycho-social dimensions of health. Much of this research, as will be discussed later, defines the low SES, working class groups as deficient or deviant while concurrently creating a middle/upper class as normal and proper (for example: Stronks, van de Mheen, Looman and Mackenbach, 1997; Ross and Mirkowsky, 1999; Wilkinson, 2002). This can be expressed through Bourdieu's (1984) discussion of Kant's 'pure taste'.

The immediate enjoyment or facile pleasure of an object is a vulgar enjoyment and one worthy of disgust. The bourgeois enjoyment, the proper enjoyment, is a "refusal of what is easy in the sense of the simple, and therefore shallow, and 'cheap', because it is easily decoded and culturally 'undemanding'" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 486). Bourdieu's (1984) description here is primarily about aesthetics, music and art but it underlies the dual function of symbolic violence; justifying ones cultural tastes as sophisticated while denying the other as shallow and cheap. It might make one wonder whether cigarette smoking is seen as a facile pleasure.

Inherent in understandings of symbolic violence is a notion of lack; that is, lacking the proper attitudes, values or aesthetics. The notion is that there is a sliding scale of proper modes of being-in-the-world with lower SES groups located at the bottom of the scale, or as Lawler (2005) notes as "over fertile, vulgar, tasteless and out of control [but above all]... they are held to lack everything perceived of having value" (p. 434).

The logical means of undoing the damage of symbolic violence, this cultural domination, is to not impose the classed values of one class culture onto another class culture. Similar to the cultural relativism that came out of colonial discourses in anthropology, the means of reversing the symbolic domination is to accept that there are cultural attitudes that are different but no less meaningful to individuals within that culture, the working class culture. As Lawler (2005) notes, "there is certainly no virtue in poverty, or indeed being on the receiving end of... cultural violence... [yet] even the poor and the dispossessed partake in some forms of cultural enjoyment which are collective resources which make people what they are" (p. 434). And, from this desire to mitigate symbolic violence to acknowledge the agency of working class individuals is to recognize that the working class have cultural resources. This is indeed necessary because if we are honest about our attempts to temper symbolic violence then we need to not only look to but also accept multiple symbolic economies.

2.2.3 Multiple Symbolic Economies

The symbolic economy that I will describe for use in my thesis is both similar and vastly different to that which is described by Zukin (1995). The symbolic economy for Zukin (1995) is an economy of icons, art and culture in its popular form. For Zukin (1995) “the symbolic economy unifies material practices of finance, labour, art, performance and design” (p. 9). While the symbolic economy I will describe is similar, in that material practices, labour and performance are central, the concepts are not used in the same way.

Symbolic economy, for my thesis, is defined as a semi-closed economy wherein individuals and groups trade cultural capital in a semiotic market of sorts, where the performativity of attitudes, embodied styles, types of speech, consumption of commodities and dispositions are, perhaps not equal, but are understandable and acceptable within that semiotic market. The symbolic economy, for my thesis, is a cultural or geographic space (often both) where individuals who share these performative markers share cultural resources from which social networks form, are recreated and transmitted. In essence, a symbolic economy is a play on the concept of cultural capital. It is a symbolic space where this symbolic currency is exchangeable or not, valued or not, understandable or not. While Zukin (1995) sees a symbolic economy as a monolithic structure that guides architecture in cities, the bailiwick of cultural industries, I posit that there are multiple classed symbolic economies within which individuals draw and bolster cultural resources.

If we accept the concept of cultural capital then we must also accept that there will be different “markets” for different cultural capitals. Different material conditions will produce different habitus, which will operate within different symbolic economies. It does not make sense to impose one system of values and meaning upon another group that operates under a different rubric. Working class culture then is a field in which actions and behaviours are meaningful for those that are within that field; working class culture is a symbolic economy within which material and symbolic/ cultural resources are deployed.

By using the Bourdieusian concepts of field, habitus and cultural capital, we can better understand the skeins of meaning within which individuals from different classes perform cultural capital. To better explain what I mean by this I will draw from Kosut’s (2006) explication of cultural capital, which helps clarify the nature of symbolic economies. The performance of class carries signifiers that make up one’s store of cultural capital. This capital carries currency within a particular milieu so that knowing Proust or Wilde, Kant or Aristotle, is important in an upper class university milieu (Kosut, 2006, p. 252) while knowing sports statistics, varieties of poker, and how to behave in a

pub might be more important in a working class milieu. One is not necessarily transferable to the other, thus they are different semiotic spaces.

By not recognizing multiple symbolic economies, by not recognizing the agency and cultural resources of the working class or lower SES groups, one does symbolic violence to those groups. As Skeggs (2004) notes, “working class culture is not point zero of culture; rather, it has a different value system, one not recognized by the dominant symbolic economy” (p. 153). In fact, Bourdieu does just that by his almost exclusive focus on “the social profits stemming from high culture” (Lareau, 1987, p. 83). As Lareau (1987) notes,:

his research on the cultural capital of elites may be construed as suggesting that the culture of elites is intrinsically more valuable than that of the working class. In this regard, the concept of cultural capital is potentially vulnerable to the same criticisms that have been directed at the notion of the culture of poverty. (p. 83)

If, however, we presuppose multiple symbolic economies wherein cultural capital is valued differently and is not a continuum of high brow versus low brow then the concept of cultural capital carries more theoretical value and loses the spectre of symbolic violence.

Answering the questions of what a working class symbolic economy or what a working class culture looks like is difficult as there is very little written on this topic. However, any research in this area must be inductive in quality in order that the voice of the working class is not silenced. To understand this, we must begin with the assumption that the working class is not devoid of or deficient in its performance of culture as that presupposes the dominant symbolic economy of the middle and upper classes as the normal and right one. Developing these understandings of class culture will enable the creation of new measures that will be able to speak from and to different classed positions and thus enable a more robust understanding of social and health inequalities.

Imagining a working class culture may be uncomfortable as it challenges the hidden “assumption that middle class dispositions, tastes and bodies are, by definition, the ‘right’ ones” (Lawler, 2005, p. 443), but this is precisely what we must do if we are serious about understanding the inequalities in health outcomes for individuals in lower SES positions, in particular why smoking behaviour persists in this group. While one of the goals of my thesis is to understand and help uncover a working class culture, this should not be taken to mean that this, or possibly any research program, could uncover a definitive and conclusive explication of a monolithic ‘working class’. In as much as any three Canadian cities share a certain ‘Canadiana,’ it would be folly to claim that a study of Vancouver will uncover perfectly the nature of an individual who lives in Toronto or Halifax. So rather

than taking this as the last word on multiple symbolic economies, as defined here in terms of classed cultures, this is rather a starting point into the inquiry of classed culture as a means of reducing symbolic violence and symbolic dominance.

2.2.4 Symbolic Boundaries

Understanding symbolic economies is key to understanding the social context of working class smoking persistence, but I turn now to a brief discussion of symbolic boundaries, the semiotic means through which symbolic economies are separated.

Symbolic economies are a semi-closed semiotic relationship between members of a similar class that share cultural capital and habitus. Unlike a nation that has more fixed and physical boundaries, a symbolic economy relies on cultural capital to more or less define the limits of that symbolic economy. Bryson (1996) discusses the concepts of social and symbolic exclusion as forms of, what I am calling, symbolic boundary making. Social exclusion is a process of social selection based on cultural criteria which can determine one's "inclusion in social intercourse" (Bryson, 1996, p. 885). Symbolic exclusion "depicts the subjective process that orders those social interactions" (Bryson, 1996, p. 885). So social exclusion can be thought of as the act of exclusion and symbolic exclusion can be thought of as the reasoning behind that exclusion. For example, I am unable to enter this club (social exclusion) because I was unaware that I needed and/or do not own a black tie (symbolic exclusion). This, Bryson (1996) considers, is a form of boundary-work, which I am simply calling symbolic boundaries.

Symbolic boundaries are a necessary outcome of multiple symbolic economies that are more or less dictated through cultural capital. The result of having inappropriate cultural capital is exclusion. Lamont and Lareau (1988), in attempting to dissect the concept of cultural capital suggest that there are four forms of exclusion, which are thus four ways through which symbolic boundaries are enforced: self-elimination, over-selection, relegation and direct selection. Self-selection, as a form of exclusion is where an individual "adjusts their aspirations to their perceived chances of success... they exclude themselves because they do not feel comfortable in specific social settings where they are not familiar with specific cultural norms (Lamont and Lareau, 1988, p. 158). Over-selection occurs when individuals "with less valued cultural resources are subjected to the same type of selection as those who are culturally privileged and have to perform equally well" (Lamont and Lareau, 1988, p. 158). Relegation is a form of exclusion where individuals "with less valued cultural resources end up in less desirable positions and get less out of their educational investment" (Lammont and lareau, 1988, p.

159). Finally, direct selection is a reversal of exclusion in that it excludes those with dissimilar taste by including only those with “elective affinities based on similarities in taste” (Lamont and Lareau, 1988, p. 158). All of these forms of exclusion flow from one’s cultural capital

As an individual navigates the physical geography of their daily lives they may be subject to any or all of the forms of exclusion described above. Because one’s class position provides the basis for one’s habitus and amount of cultural capital, the values, tastes and attitudes of a working class individual may engender exclusion from formal institutions more often than for a middle or upper middle class individual. This is often seen through studies of class within the educational system. The best example of this is Willis’ (1977) account (see also, DiMaggio, 1987; Ingram, 2009; Lareau, 1987; and others). However, it is only reasonable that all classed symbolic economies would be in a position of exercising exclusionary practices, such as the direct selection form of exclusion, noted above which involves selecting those who have similar taste and excluding those who do not. Given the forms of exclusion, the form of symbolic economies and the role of cultural capital, symbolic boundaries must be reinforced by both sides. From the middle class the working class become, in Lawler’s (2005) words, “disgusted subjects,” (P. 429), while the working class, according to Skeggs, define “themselves through distance and difference from others, in particular the middle class, heaping scorn on those with pretensions to gentility” (p. 40). Thus both symbolic economies -- both classes -- work to maintain the symbolic boundary.

Understanding exclusion, symbolic and social, as a two-way street makes the concept of exclusion more valuable. It must also be made clear that while members of different classed symbolic economies may act to exclude others ‘above’ and ‘below,’ the working class and the middle class are not on equal footing. Exclusion is a matter of power, notes Lamont and Lareau (1988), which has the potential to produce “dehumanization, frustration... humiliation [and] resentment” (p. 159). When that exclusion is reified through institutions, such as the educational institution, on the premises of cultural resources, the result is symbolic violence (Lamont and Lareau, 1987, p 159). Therefore, even while symbolic boundaries must be reinforced by ‘both sides,’ the middle and upper classes have access to institutions that reinforce their authority turning the working class either into ‘disgusted subjects’ or an essential being that is known, valued and becomes an “object of distanced contemplation” (Skeggs, 2004, p. 158) for the upper classes. Recognizing that the working class culture is no more or less legitimate than that of the middle or upper classes is the only defence to the symbolic violence that is an unfortunate but, in many ways, necessary by-product of investigation or study.

2.3 Socioeconomic Status Overview

This section provides a brief history of SES and its current usage in order to explain how SES will be used in my thesis. I am interested in class and not merely socioeconomic status (SES). For the most part, class has been examined using SES as a measure to operationalize class, which de-contextualizes the lived experience of class and effectively divorces individuals from their social environments (see for example: Poland, et al, 2006; Williams, 2003). As Navarro (2009) notes, the replacement of class analysis by the use of “‘status’ or other less conflictive categories... is precisely a sign of class power” (p. 427). It is this replacement that my thesis seeks to address by attempting to give voice to the groups most affected by these behaviours and poor health outcomes.

As this thesis focuses on class as a systemic hierarchy expressed through cultural capital and divided through multiple symbolic economies it would be prudent to explain my criticisms of SES which should help explain why I do not rely on this measure heavily, and why I chose the particular theoretical and methodological frameworks. This section will provide a brief overview of SES in general and in health research. Following this there will be a brief discussion about education as an SES measure and education through a Bourdieusian lens.

SES is a measure that was developed utilizing a predominantly Weberian theoretical approach in order to uncover the “distinct but interrelated [aspects of] class, status and power” (Powers, 1982, p. 1). SES measures were developed to understand social stratification by locating an individual along a single hierarchy (Powers, 1982). During the 1950’s and the 1960’s many different indices were constructed in an attempt to rank occupations. These rankings focused on occupational status or occupational prestige and this was followed by the creation of new indices that included education and income (occupation still remained the cornerstone for the index) (Powers, 1982). In attempting to determine what occupational prestige meant Reiss (cited in Blishen and Carroll, 1982) notes that “a man qualifies himself for occupational life by obtaining an education; as a consequence of pursuing his occupation he receives an income” (p. 44). So we can see that income and education become corollaries for occupation and help to orient an individual within a single social hierarchy. So, socioeconomic indices were developed in an attempt to rank occupations in terms of a Weberian status for the purposes of creating a hierarchy that could be used to help explain social stratification. Income and education are used to help identify the status of one’s occupation or one’s position within the social hierarchy because, as Reis (cited in Blishen and Carrol, 1982) notes, “if we categorize an occupation

according to the prevailing levels of education and income... we are not only estimating its 'social status' and its 'economic status' we are also describing one of its major 'causes' and one of its major 'effects'" (p. 44). Because occupational prestige was regarded as a subjective process, using education, income and occupation was seen as a more objective process to locate an individual on a single social hierarchy, and thus this came to be the dominant means of measuring socioeconomic status (Blisshen and Carrol, 1982).

Turning to health research, the relationship between SES and health status has a history "dating back to ancient Greece" (Oakes and Rossi, 2003, p. 769). That is, those in lower SES positions are more prone to disease, ill health and disability (Oakes and Rossi, 2003; Coburn, 2006; others), but while the link from SES to poor health is well established it is also a flawed measure. Coburn (2006) notes that class determines one's SES position. Recalling Navarro (2009), the substitution of class, which is a designation that denotes systemic economic disparity, by status, which implies individual achievement based in merit, obscures the full picture of social stratification. So, as Coburn (2006) notes, a reliance only on SES is "not necessarily wrong, [but it is] simply, radically incomplete" (p. 84). A reliance only on SES measures overlooks the social context, the social networks and environment, that are important in understanding how social inequalities are translated into poor health outcomes (Oakes and Rossi, 2003; Poland, et al, 2006).

While SES is an incomplete measure it is still useful in pointing toward groups who are at risk. Unfortunately, rather than expanding SES measures to "capture more of the social context than income, education or occupation..." (Oakes and Rossi, 2003, p. 773), it appears that recent research has narrowed the focus to education as the most significant variable with regards to health outcomes and tobacco smoking in particular. This is evident in recent research in health literacy and is pertinent from a Bourdieusian perspective as education has been seen to hold a central place in the formation of habitus and is loosely regarded as the basis for cultural capital.

2.3.1 Education as SES

I will briefly expand on the Bourdieusian notion of education as it factors into the critique of health literacy. Education, in the Bourdieusian sense is more than merely the three R's, it is about accumulating the attitudes, values, tastes and dispositions that are necessary to perform one's class; that is, it is the accumulation of cultural resources that are transformed into cultural capital (Lareau, 1987). Within formal educational institutions there are two types of learning: (1) the formal act of learning, say, the alphabet, sentence structure, numbers and math; and (2) learning one's social position.

According to Lareau (1987) the cultural resources that define one's social positions come in the form of "linguistic structures, authority patterns and types of curricula [which] children from higher social locations..." (p. 74) are already familiar with. So, lower class individuals are attempting to learn the formal material and also bump up against cultural conditions that are, in many ways, foreign to them. This is best expressed by recalling Willis's (1977) ethnographic account that highlighted the interplay between working class young men and the educational institution. Willis's (1977) study exposes the importance of the cultural strata beyond the formal curriculum of educational institutions.

The cultural stratum, as Lareau (1987) explains, is fostered within the home, so that lower class individuals come to formal institutions with different accumulations of cultural capital. To help explain this, consider that while one may be able to recall learning addition or subtraction, s/he will not recall learning that eating dog is not acceptable. As Bourdieu (1984) points out, we do not know that we have learned, in fact he notes that, "the important thing is to know without ever having learnt" (p. 330). A simple way of explaining this would be to think of how we learned to speak our first language. We learned without knowing that we learned and so we may have taken for granted the language and thus are shocked the first time we heard someone stumble over words we assume everyone should know; just as we were likely shocked when we learned that people eat dog. Consider also that this same process of learning language works among classes, where in the upper classes perhaps children are read to, they hear classical music or they learn particular table manners, in the lower they may learn to 'swear like a trucker', hear rock music and learn how to smoke. These differences of cultural appropriation, of habituation to the semiotic code, fold themselves into the formal education system and grant easy access to some and working class jobs to others.

When taking into account the Bourdieusian perspective we can see that to measure one's education in purely quantitative terms (i.e., high school diploma or graduate degree) is a flawed principle as it neglects the social context that helps to decode the semiotic resources and cultural capital of the individual who has attained (or not) that level of education. There is more than just the educational acquisition as social networks play a role in determining its usefulness in terms of one's educational or occupational success. Of this I will only say, that when diploma inflation devalues a degree it will be those who have connections to networks and the semiotic skills and abilities that allow them to exploit those networks who will succeed. So while I am not discussing social networks I will point out that cultural capital, habitus and doxa play a role in the formation and usefulness of those networks.

To use education alone as a measure of socioeconomic status then, based on the above critique, is problematic in that it is a partial measure and should be used with the caveat that it lacks the power to uncover the social contexts of those it is intended to study. This is why my thesis is not based on SES as a means of uncovering the social context of smoking but only as the basis for inclusion into the study. This also means that even while SES occludes the systemic nature of class and social stratification, it is indeed a useful measure in pointing toward social inequalities vis-à-vis health.

2.4 Health Literature Review

According to House (2001), interest in and research concerning the social determinants of health began to emerge in the late 1950s. This was in contrast to the epidemiological and bio-medical discourses that had been prevalent at the time, and it could be argued are still very prevalent in the understanding of health outcomes for individuals and populations. For the most part, the social determinants of health research has attempted to identify what social factors contribute to various health outcomes. To this end, researchers in this field have found a strong correlation between socioeconomic factors and health inequalities. An important element to this research is risk factor discourse, which was largely bio-medical in nature but gradually began to consider environmental and behavioural factors (House, 2001, p. 127). For example, a risk factor of the famous cholera outbreak in London in the late 1800's was determined to be certain pumps that gave contaminated water to London's residents (Coburn, 2006). Risk factors are the 'causes of the causes' of disease which are a "behaviour or other characteristic that is associated with the condition being studied" (Coburn, 2006, p. 16).

Of particular importance to my thesis is the role that smoking behaviour plays as a "major risk factor for morbidity and mortality", though, House (2001) concedes that, "the social nature and nexus of these behaviours remain inadequately appreciated even today" (House, 2001, p. 127). It is precisely the social nature of these behaviours that my thesis examines, but while there has been a call for more depth and contextualization in regard to this relationship (Poland et al, 2006; Williams, 2003), few studies have actually attempted this (see for example, Haines, Poland and Johnson, 2009).

Much of the work on health inequality has been focused on populations as the unit of analysis. Coburn and his colleagues (2003) discuss the population health perspective while providing a useful critique and good starting point for a discussion of the overall literature. Coburn et al. (2003) describe the population health perspective as focusing on a macro level analysis that oversimplifies the "layered and textured" (p. 393) nature of social reality. Furthermore, they use SES as a proxy for class which is

problematic because “while SES is simply a ranking of individuals in regard to income, education, or status, class represents structural characteristics of society” (p. 395). Studies that use SES as a proxy for class, as noted above, are limited in their ability to understand the structural forces and cultural factors that reproduce social and health inequalities.

These types of studies are important because they point to the demographic trends within nations (see for example Health Canada, 2009) and between nations (Doorslaer, 2006). However, such studies are limited in their ability to express the lived experiences of the individuals who occupy lower SES positions, and, furthermore, this type of research de-contextualizes the individual from their social context. For example, in a study of access to care in Canada, Asada and Kephart (2007) found that while lower SES individuals were not accessing cardiovascular surgeries they were disproportionately dying of these diseases. While the Asada and Kephart (2007) study does not specifically fall under a population health paradigm, it is indicative of the limitations of such studies in that it does not express the cultural, economic or social structures that limit access to care. These types of studies are also limited by their reliance on narrow measures of health, such as the self reported health measure, that may be framed in ways that produce results that do not adequately reflect the lived experiences or speak to the structural effects that maintain social and health inequalities.

Research that examines SES and smoking behaviour, which is particularly germane to this study, is equally hampered by these limitations. This is not to be taken as an attack on studies that focus their attention on a macro level analysis as these studies provide an overall picture of the distribution of health within and between nations, rather, the above and following statements are meant to draw attention to the need for more research that can articulate the cultural and social contexts within which these behaviours and conditions are fostered and recreated. Without a focus on the social contexts and the lived experiences of individuals in differing social positions, the possibility of symbolic violence is high. Macro level analysis is important as it can draw attention to ‘vulnerable’ populations, but such analysis, I contend, must not be the end of analysis as, to reiterate Coburn et al.’s (2003) comments, we miss the “layered and textured” nature of social reality.

As health researchers refined their strategies they refocused their energies on the neighbourhoods and the behaviours of lower SES individuals in an attempt to understand what gives rise to health inequalities. A primary focus of this perspective is the psycho-social model, championed by Wilkinson (2002). Simply put, the model explains that the experience of being in a lower socioeconomic position produces stress and that this stress produces poor health outcomes. Wilkinson

(2000) claims that those in low SES positions have increased stress due to their insecure social positions and this chronic stress produces high levels of cortisol which, if experienced for long periods of time, produces poor health outcomes. The main proposition is that chronic anxiety which produces this fight or flight endocrine response and constant exposure to it produces poor health outcomes for these individuals (Wilkinson, 2000). It is not merely those in low SES positions that are at risk but anyone in a subordinate position, as Wilkinson (2000) cites the Whitehall study of middle class civil servants, but it is especially those who have job insecurity, financial stress and who lack friends (i.e., supportive social relationships) who are at the highest risk (Wilkinson, 2000, p. 37).

While Wilkinson's psycho-social model is able to include individuals in higher social strata it is largely those in lower SES positions that are targets for this type of study (see for example Lindstrom, 2003; Ross and Mirowsky, 2001; Wilkinson, 2002). It is from the above premises that this perspective considers that the neighbourhoods of low SES individuals are disorganized, untrusting, and lacking in social cohesion (Lindstrom, 2003; Ross and Mirowsky, 2001; Wilkinson, 2002). In an attempt to explain the correlation between health inequality and low SES, this perspective points to the ways in which individuals in such positions live which carries a latent message of impurity. That is, low SES individuals do not live the "right" way, the middle class way and are therefore disorganized, untrusting and in a constant state of anxiety, and fearful of each other. Following from this disorganization, they are thereby stressed and experience poor health outcomes. This perspective ignores the possibility, however, that these individuals may live within different cultural paradigms and different schemes of social organization that may be meaningful within those communities and for those individuals in particular.

The psycho-social model forces the researcher into a position that necessitates the creation of low SES individuals as pitiable and anxious objects, who are constantly living in fear. As Ross and Mirowsky (2001) note, these individuals live in neighbourhoods that are filthy with no social order where "many individuals may find life... threatening and forbidding [which]... may stimulate frequent terror and chronic foreboding, repeatedly flooding the body with adrenal hormones that undermine health" (p. 258). This type of discourse does more to highlight the "normative and normalized middle class" (Lawler, 2005) life than it does to uncover the 'fundamental causes' of health inequalities related to low SES position. This discourse, perhaps unintentionally, does symbolic violence to working class/ lower SES individuals by reifying their communities as filthy and their subjectivities as deficient or deviant.

Turning directly to smoking behaviour, Lindstrom (2003), continuing in the vein of Wilkinson (2002) and Ross and Mirowsky (2001), inquire into the persistence of smoking behaviour by examining social capital. Social capital, for Lindstrom (2003) is defined as both social participation and levels of trust. As was shown above, this line of research follows from the proposition that those without supportive social relationships experience poor health outcomes. Trust is a measure using a self-reported item asking whether one can trust other people, while social participation is divided into 13 items which include questions regarding whether participants had attended an art exhibit, had written a letter to the editor of a newspaper or journal, a demonstration, had attended a study circle/course in the workplace or had attended some other study circle/course (p. 179). These items reflect the “middle class gaze” as such measures of social participation are reflective of the middle class experience. The researchers also asked questions as to whether individuals had attended large family gatherings, theatre/ cinema, a sports event, night club/ entertainment or a private party (Lindstrom, 2003, p. 178). These questions are sufficiently vague that respondents in different class positions may respond with a completely different understanding of what ‘large family gathering’ means than the interviewer had intended. An individual might for instance go to a pub and meet with friends but the item ‘night club/ entertainment’ might mean something entirely different to the individual at the other end of the survey. It is this kind of “sleight of hand” survey that does not ask questions in the language of the working class which produce responses that support the notion that these individuals are isolated.

Studies that use self reported health strategies ask a simple question of how one would rate their health ranging from excellent to poor (Kawachi, Kennedy & Glass, 1999, p. 1188). What this approach fails to take into account is meaning; that is, the assumption that all people will respond in the same way to these questions. However, health means different things to different people in different contexts. Krause and Jay (1994) noted in a study examining the meaning of health that “people do not use the same frame of reference when answering the global health status item” (p. 938). Race, age and level of education all have different impacts on how people consider the self reported health question (Krause and Jay, 1994). In another study examining health and rural communities, Weinert and Long (1987), found that participants defined “health as the ability to work or be productive in one’s role. Ranchers and farmers stated that pain would be tolerated for extended periods so long as it did not interfere with the ability to perform... The cosmetic, comfort and life-prolonging aspects of health were rarely viewed as important” (p. 452). This helps to partially explain what Poland et al (2006) mean by social context and that there is no global understanding of what health means. With this understanding,

we can see the same fallacy of composition in social capital research (Kawachi, et al, 1999; Lindstrom, 2003); that is, a 13 item scale can contain language that is understood differently to different people in different social contexts at different times. This is not meant to disparage all social capital and health research, but rather to explicate the need to understand the social position and the social context of individuals and researchers participating in studies, noting that there may be a discrepancy between what is being said and what is being heard on both sides of the survey or interview. This is a position that health literacy advocates seem to support.

2.4.1 Health Literacy

Health literacy in a simple sense can be seen in grocery stores, corner stores and markets in British Columbia that sell tobacco when one sees the signs warning about tobacco use while at the same time hiding the tobacco itself. It can also be seen on the side of cigarette packs as the warnings explain some of the effects of cigarette use and also the harmful contents of the cigarettes. But health literacy is more than just about being able to read information. Health literacy is an emerging field of health research that aims at enabling individuals to be able to understand and engage with the information and the services of health care providers in order to be able to manage self care and to make suitable health choices (Hay, 2011, p. 2). As Hay (2011) points out, “Health literacy represents the cognitive and social skills which determine the motivation and ability of individuals to gain access to understand and use information in ways which promote and maintain good health” (p. 2). This perspective then represents a shift to make patients more involved in the management of their own health. In order to create a ‘health literate’ population, according to this perspective, the population needs to be educated, both as children and adults, in the “complexities of the health care system, the many and often contradictory health messages, [and] rapidly advancing technologies” (Committee on Health Literacy, 2004, p. 4).

In many ways, the goal of health literacy campaigns are similar to that of formal education: for the users/ consumers to learn and be taught. Like the issues with the formal educational institutions, discussed above, cultural differences and the life experiences of individuals create marked differences in health outcomes (Institute of Medicine, 2002). According to the Committee on Health Literacy, et al (2004), “Differing cultural and educational backgrounds between patients and providers, as well as between those who create health information and those who use it, may contribute to problems in health literacy” (p. 9). There is a recognition in health literacy research that different life experiences,

cultural backgrounds, education, income, age and ethnicity (Institute of Medicine, 2002) result in different interpretations of health messages/ information.

Cultural background, given the list of markers of stratification, seems to imply national differences, such as American, Canadian, Taiwanese, and Jamaican etc. The problems that arise from this discourse on health through health literacy is that class is devalued and income and education are used as proxy variables which obscure the systemic nature of class. While health literacy research acknowledges differences among different strata in society at large, the goal of health literacy campaigns appear to be educating the masses in order to bring them in line with a global understanding of what health means and the proper mode of accessing and understanding it.

Health literacy can be an important step in better understanding how different individuals from different classed, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds interpret health. However, to presume that there should only be one understanding is to do symbolic violence to the disparate groups that make up society. Concurrently the concept of class culture itself, something this thesis is intent upon expounding, is missing from the equation. As Lareau (1987) notes, “class provides social and cultural resources” (P. 84) from which individuals are able to derive identity and the means of being in the world. To reiterate Weinert and Long’s (1987) conclusion, health in rural communities, as opposed to urban communities, was “the ability to work or be productive in one’s role” (p. 452). In health, as in education, the imposition of one set of group values onto another group with different values is symbolic violence. Health needs to be understood from the perspective of the cultured individual, whether class culture or national culture, not imposed on that individual. As Ingram (2008), commenting on education notes, “when the equation of working class plus education equals academic success, education is not about the valorization of working classness but its erasure” (p. 425). It is likewise in health understanding -- it looks toward an erasure.

For an example of how this works I will highlight a study conducted by Denny, Rogers, Hummer and Pampel, (2010). This survey uses education as its primary measure of SES, which is common in the literature (see for example: Lindstrom, 2003; Stronks, van de Mheen, Looman and Mackenbach, 1997; Ross and Mirkowsky, 1999; Pampel, 2004; Graham, Inskip, Francis and Herman, 2006;). The usage of education as the primary measure of SES is concurrent with the challenging nature of the stated goal of health literacy; how to increase the health of a population without doing symbolic violence to that population. These studies, Denny et al.’s (2010) in particular, can imply an individual smoker as “deficient” due to their lack of education or health literacy. This study also

suggests that individuals who are least educated engage in risky behaviour, but that even if they were to quit they may “substitute another risky behaviour for cigarettes” (Denny et al, 2010, p 22). This implies that individuals who are less educated engage in risky behaviour due to their lack of education. The implication of this is that were they educated they would stop smoking. Stronks et al (1997) literally offer this as a solution when they note that health inequalities could be reduced “among the lower socioeconomic strata... by means of health education programs” (p. 754). What is interesting here are both the creation of the working class subject as deficient and the equivocation between a lack of formal education with a lack of information. The assumption being that the working class subject is ignorant and must be informed about the potential health risks associated with smoking when this may not be the case.

Education as a primary marker for SES and as a measure of health literacy is problematic because of the potential for symbolic violence and the devaluation of class as a marker of inequality in society. While the goal of reducing health inequalities through a better understanding of the health care system and a broader understanding of what health means appears admirable, one should be cautious as to how to approach this end. That, say, the Canadian health care system, and health care professionals hold the right and correct view of health is a subtle hubris that devalues all other conceptions and cultural interpretations of health. This hubris is seen in Denny et al.’s (2010) study that assumes that ‘risky’ behaviour is intrinsic to lower SES groups so much that they would simply replace one ‘risky’ behaviour with another because they are uneducated or not health literate.

2.5 Biology and Addiction Versus Society and Cultural Capital

The discourse of addiction and the biomedical perspective that looks at bodily effects of tobacco use are underscored in the health literature (Barbeau, et al, 2004; Feng, et al, 2004, Health Canada, 2009; Mao et al, 2001; Siahpush, et al 2011). In questioning the nature of the persistence of tobacco use in lower SES individuals Pampel (2004) takes an interesting tack when he considers smoking behaviour as the diffusion of innovation. The main argument is that upper SES groups adopted smoking behaviour historically and have since turned their back on that behaviour in favour of ‘healthier’ lifestyles. Concurrently, lower SES groups adopted smoking behaviour, as Pampel (2004) argues, mimicking the behaviour of upper SES groups. Therefore, the lower SES groups will eventually adopt ‘healthier’ lifestyles as they continue to mimic the behaviours of upper SES groups. The solution then is time. Taken alone, this research is quite deterministic which is problematic in its own right. But what is more troubling is the implicit devaluation of the lower SES groups by denying

them agency and culture. This line of reasoning reaffirms the normative gaze of the upper SES groups to impose their ways of being in the world and meanings onto the lower classes. This research, couched in neutral language, devoid of class analysis, again does symbolic violence to the lower classes by denying these groups the authority to produce a culture apart from an infantile mimicry of the upper classes.

Pampel's (2004) argument, if taken together with the literature on the genetic predispositions to nicotine addiction, can produce a eugenic picture that is far more disconcerting. Feng et al (2004) are searching for the genes that predispose an individual to smoke nicotine. This is not to say that either Pampel (2004) or Feng, et al (2004) are attempting to craft a eugenic argument; this is only to say that these two discourses when taken together can be interpreted to produce this argument. This is not idle speculation as there is also a historical precedent to naturalize and biologize the lower classes as a means of justifying social inequalities (Skeggs, 2004). If the upper strata have been able to move away from smoking behaviour while the lower strata retain this behaviour and there is a genetic predisposition to smoking, it is a small step to claim a natural inferiority of the lower classes. The reason that the idea that smoking behaviour is hereditary and genetically linked is dangerous is precisely because smoking behaviour within Canadian society (Mao et al, 2001) and globally (Lopez, Collishaw and Piha, 1994) is located within lower SES groups.

The notion that smoking behaviour is derived from our genes not only contains dangerous connotations, but also draws attention away from the social context of smoking to the biologically deterministic context of the bio-medical model. While it is important to understand the physiological effects of or the genetic predispositions to smoking and nicotine dependence, a focus on this ignores the context within which one is exposed to tobacco products and the ways through which these behaviours are maintained. Researchers in the field of nutrition are taking up this line of reasoning which parallel the concerns in the proposed study. As Crotty (1993) noted, "the act of swallowing divides nutrition's 'two cultures'; the post-swallowing world of biology, physiology, biochemistry and pathology and the pre-swallowing domain of behaviour, culture, society and experience" (p. 109). This sentiment can be easily applied to the understanding of smoking behaviour in that we need to understand not just what happens to the body (post-smoke), but what prompts that body to have a cigarette (pre-smoke) in the

first place. The biological domain is important in understanding the bodily effects of smoking, but it is not positioned to explain the social context that allows entry into and maintenance of smoking circles¹

The biological/bio-medical models of smoking and other research (for example Denny, et al. 2010) carry an implication that individuals smoke alone. Christakis and Fowler (2008) have challenged that notion by studying the movement of smoking behaviour in a large social network. The study of this social network over a 30-year period showed that smokers ended up at the periphery of the social networks, and that there is a cascade effect in regards to cessation (Christakis and Fowler, 2009). This points to the social nature of smoking, but it is limited in its ability to engage the question of why smoking behaviour persists. Explaining that those who continue to smoke move to the periphery of the social network points to individuals who fail to quit when their peers succeed; in other words, this study essentializes the individual as defective. This study is also relatively silent on class other than the correlation between education and smoking. While this study gives us information about large social groups it leaves the reader wanting more research that is able to examine the most vulnerable groups, i.e., low SES groups, and how these social networks function to reproduce or halt smoking behaviour.

Pampel's (2004) diffusion of innovation and Christakis and Fowler's (2009) social network study illustrate the social nature of smoking behaviour. Often the addictive quality of nicotine is used to explain the persistence of smoking behaviour, but these two studies highlight the improbability of this as being the sole determining factor of smoking persistence. If smoking behaviour was determined through addiction alone we would not see the cascade effects evidenced in Christakis and Fowler (2009) nor would there be the classed effects shown through Pampel's (2004) diffusion of innovation thesis. Therefore inquiry into the social context and social pressures of smoking need further analysis and explication.

2.6 Social Context

The social context is an important new trend in literature that aims at understanding the link between smoking behaviour and SES. In an attempt to bring context back into these studies Pampel (2006) employs a comparison of taste in music, SES and smoking behaviour. He finds that "heavy metal-youth music relates positively to smoking" (Pampel, 2006, p. 31). While this is helpful in painting a more complex picture of what a low SES individual who smokes may look like, it is still distanced from social meaning and social context. This study helps point research in the right direction

¹ By smoking circles I mean the social networks and groups within which individuals engage in and reproduce smoking behaviours.

in that it is an attempt to flesh out a broader picture of what individuals who smoke look like. We still, however, need more information as to what “heavy metal-youth music” means to the smoker and why this might correlate with smoking behaviour. Without this information the taste in music is abstracted from its social context (Poland et al, 2006; Williams, 2003) and, without examining the depth of working class experiences, “factors associated with people’s [smoking] experiences... tend to be denuded of social meaning” (Williams, 2003, p. 144). Rather than a dissection of the General Social Survey that may obfuscate the meaning of “heavy-metal youth-music,” what may help to reveal the significance of this term is a study that literally asks participants what that means to them. In this way we may move beyond the limitations of the above survey, and may be better positioned to understand the factors related to the persistence of smoking behaviour.

Poland et al. (2006) have called for a new program of research that reunites the individuals with their social context. What they mean by social contexts are “the circumstances or events that form the environment within which something exists or takes place and as that which therefore helps make phenomena intelligible and meaningful” (p. 59). While many of the studies thus far have laid the groundwork for socially locating smoking behaviour, the de-contextualization of the individual from their social context needs to be addressed. Haines, Poland and Johnson (2009) have attempted to do this by applying a Bourdieusian conceptual framework to examine smoking behaviour as cultural capital.

This study represents an important step in bringing the social context into this field of research. In their examination of young women and their accounts of smoking, they explicate how smoking behaviour has meaning and becomes a useful form of cultural capital for this group. Rather than assuming a deviant model of smoking behaviour, Haines et al. (2008) find that smoking behaviour is a means of mediating social interaction which re-contextualizes the individuals within the social. They utilize in-depth interviews to draw out the experiences of these young women and through this method they respond to Poland et al.’s (2006) call to return the social context to tobacco research.

What is problematic with this research is the implication that smoking behaviour loses its cultural capital as these young women become adults. Haines et al. (2009) focus on young women and smoking behaviour and find that smoking “lacks legitimacy in the adult world” (p. 72). While the authors did not focus on class, this response is a classed one. What they consider the “adult world” can only be the middle class world, which is dominated by middle class discourse, middle class cultural

capital and middle class habitus. They accept that smoking may be a cultural capital for middle class youth, but, in essence, deny it to adults, which is similar to Lawler's (2005) content analysis.

Lawler examined media portrayals of white working class individuals in the UK and found that while working class individuals were degraded for their tattoos and piercings, those same behaviours were acceptable forms of "individual expression in the young middle class" (p. 432). So while smoking is illegitimate in the middle class adult world it must be legitimate for middle class youth; this seeks to mark out what is normal, right and proper, in the middle class life world. It can only be the middle class life world because, as stated above, smoking persists in low SES groups, which must, in some way, gain legitimacy if it is to persist.

Haines, et al (2009) point the way toward a Bourdieusian analysis of smoking as cultural capital. Researchers who take this tack, however, need to be aware of classed symbolic economies. Symbolic economies and class culture are the social contexts that Poland et al (2006) called for and need to be understood from the perspective of those individuals who live in them. Just as Haines et al (2009) sought to understand the cultural capital of smoking for young middle class women from their perspective, we should extend the same courtesy to lower SES individuals as well.

2.7 Summary.

The consistent theme I have attempted to illustrate throughout this chapter has been the lack of a class analysis in health research from the perspective of a class culture or from individuals with lived experience in low SES positions. I have drawn attention to class as a cultural resource site which is often at odds with or seen as deviant, even disgusted, by upper and middle class subjectivities.

I have attempted to emphasize how a Bourdieusian conceptual framework, paired with the concept of multiple symbolic economies richly explains the relations and actions within a class, how class norms and values are maintained and recreated, and the ways in which individuals normalize those values. If we view the actions of the working class individual through the lens of the middle class habitus, we are in danger of painting working class individuals as all deviants due, possibly, to their variable access to the same material or symbolic resources. Such a view may lead to social research that views the working class through "social deficit or deviance models which posit a lack of competence... to understand the risks..." (Haines et al, 2009, p. 76) associated with smoking. Instead, we need to understand working class actions as meaningful within their own social context because smoking behaviour is seen as legitimate within these groups.

The act of smoking, rather than being deviant is better seen as part of the everyday life world of the working class individual. It can be seen as a means of expressing identity and as a bodily act that is performed by individuals within a specific social context with certain rules attached to its performance. The habitus of smoking is not deviant and while it is performed individually it is regulated through the habitus of the cultural field. The cultural capital attached to smoking is a part of the complex doxa of the working class habitus. In order to understand groups who engage in smoking behaviour, there needs to be an examination of how their habitus legitimates smoking and values it as a cultural capital within their social context.

The self rated health fallacy of composition, the problem with social capital research, and the potentially problematic nature of health literacy are also what Haines et al (2009) are subtly guilty of, that is, claiming the “authority to make their definitions work” (Lawler, 2005, p. 439). What I am highlighting is the position of researchers to date in that they come from a particular classed perspective and speak only to that perspective. In controlling what is meant by “night club/ entertainment”, “the adult world”, “health” or “health literacy,” they presuppose the meaning held by those who occupy different subjective positions. Haines et al (2009) are able to confidently claim that smoking lacks legitimacy because, speaking from and for the middle class, they are able to establish control of what is right and legitimate behaviour that is “not innate but an effect of unequal social and cultural relations” (Lawler, 2005, p. 439-440). It is this re-contextualizing that Poland et al (2006), in regard to smoking, and Williams (2003) in regard to understanding health more generally call for. I aim to address the need to recontextualize this in my thesis.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction:

This study is, in part, a critique of the middle class gaze that permeates the literature on health inequality vis-à-vis smoking. This gaze effectively creates a working class subjectivity that is deviant and lacking (Denny et al, 2010; Haines et al, 2009; Lawler, 2006; Lindstrom, 2003; and others). Given that smoking behaviour persists within lower SES groups, the proposed study is an attempt to understand the experience of smoking from the individuals who engage in that behaviour. The phenomenological method is a method that focuses on the essence of lived experience (Creswell, 2007, p.236) and it is this lived experience that this study intends to understand. That experience when read through a Bourdieusian framework will enable an understanding that will not only allow smokers to speak for themselves, but will also help to better understand smoking persistence. Furthermore, an understanding of the cultural capital of smoking within the working class necessitates an acceptance of multiple symbolic economies; briefly, what is acceptable behaviour in a working class home is not acceptable behaviour in a middle or upper class home. Taking all this together, focusing on the essence of experience this study aims to contextualize this behaviour and understand how/why it persists within working class culture.

In order to understand the persistence of smoking behaviour I direct my inquiry to probing cessation strategies. Foucault (1995), in various works (for example, Discipline and Punish) explains what is perceived of, or defined, as normal by attempting to understand what is aberrant. To test the limits of the normal we can look to what is abnormal, and since to define means to outline and delineate we can define or delineate what is normal by examining what is outside of normal. To bring this back into the context of this study, in order to explore what it means to be a smoker, I examine what quitting smoking, being a non-smoker, and what cessation strategies look like, and in this way I can move to define and delineate what a good smoker is, what it means to keep smoking, and what might be required to effectively cease smoking. In this way, too, as a necessary by-product of this Foucauldian move, this study examines working class individuals' experiences as a means of delineating them from the norms and habitus of middle class individuals. This is done to explore the limits of what it means to be middle class; that is, to show the value of multiple symbolic economies and a certain intra-cultural relativism. This intra-cultural relativism makes sense because of the hegemonic assumptions that a Canada, for example, is a symbolic whole. I am attempting to problematize that notion with the introduction of a working class symbolic economy whose

behaviours and attitudes – habitus and doxa – are neither aberrant nor deviant, but that make sense within their cultural milieu.

3.2 Ethical Considerations

I secured ethics approval from the UVIC Human Research Ethics Board for this study before beginning the project. Anonymity of participants was guaranteed through the use of pseudonyms. Confidentiality was assured by locking all transcripts and recordings in a fireproof filing cabinet. In the analysis, names of places and defining characteristics were changed to protect the identities of the participants. As each interview was digitally recorded, informed consent was secured before proceeding and the data was stored on my home computer in password-protected files. All transcripts and memos were marked using pseudonyms to increase anonymity and will be shredded and/ or erased after seven years as per the requirements of the ethics application. The participants were informed that they would have access to counseling services through the university if they felt distressed by the questions asked. The participants were informed that they could withdraw from the project at any time and for any reason. The use of a key informant, which is discussed in 3.10, ensuring validity, poses a potential breach of confidentiality as the individual may have been aware of the other participants in the study. However, the key informant was used as a sounding board, due to the lack of interest on the part of the participants in the process of member checking, and was only privy to discussions at the stage where themes had been developed and was not exposed to transcripts, participants' names or their contributions.

3.3 Sampling strategy

This research employed a non-probabilistic sampling strategy targeting individuals connected with working class participants in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia and persons in the Victoria British Columbia area. These two sites were chosen because I am acquainted with individuals in both regions who could act as 'link people' to grant me access to potential working class participants, and because these two regions are the two major metropolitan areas of British Columbia.

Because of an already established connection to individuals who met the inclusion criteria (see below) I applied the chain sampling method and where possible sought to find "link people", or gatekeepers, people who were not interviewed but who could help to identify other potential interviewees (Ritchie and Lewis, 2008, p. 94). This helped to diversify the sample not in terms of demographic characteristics, but in that those who chose to participate were not close friends or

family members of the researcher or the ‘link people’ (Ritchie and Lewis, 2008, p. 94). I recognize that this method has potential dangers, as Ritchie and Lewis (2008) note that “the diversity of the sample frame” may be compromised (p. 94), but because building rapport was important in this study, the chain sampling method helped move past potential problems of gatekeeping by having participants speak on my behalf to other potential participants. This sampling method was also especially useful because ‘link people’ were able to help identify participants who fit the inclusion criteria.

The sample size was nine individuals from a working class background as defined by the inclusion criteria below. The sample reached that size because of problems with recruitment. Some potential participants did not respond to the request and some that did respond did not arrive to meet with me. An attempt was made to make the participants comfortable while they spoke about their experiences and thus interviews were conducted where and when the participants felt most at ease, which was often at their homes, although in two cases it was in a pub they frequented after work.

3.4 Recruitment:

Recruitment consisted of contacting working class individuals I was acquainted with via telephone, email and social media sites such as Facebook. Through this media I was successful in having the contacts either agree to an interview or put me in contact with potential participants ‘down the chain’. I drafted a formal letter asking for participation but found that an informal request that downplayed both my serious interest in the project and the relation to the academy was better suited for recruitment from this population. This downplaying of both of these aspects of my project was crucial to the participation of individuals. Often during first contact, participants would claim to be poor sources of information or knowledge because they seemed to feel that their experiences were so ordinary or simple that they couldn’t be of much use. It was at this point that I would explain that they knew best about their own experiences while framing the study in terms of a high school homework project. I did not deceive my participants; I fully explained the project, but when academic explanations were met with silence, explaining the project in terms of a high school homework project was accepted readily. Through this informal process, downplaying my interest and the high school metaphor, participants were more willing to participate and cooperate.

3.5 Inclusion Criteria:

The inclusion criteria for participants were as follows: smokers, males, 20-35, renting an apartment/ suite/ house etc, Canadian born, employed (30 hrs a week or more, not seasonal or on

assistance), making under \$40, 000 per year, English speaking, high school or less, trade certificate or vocational course training or less. These criteria have been used to create SES scales (see Pample, 2006; Stronks, et al, 1997) and thus were the basic criteria for entry into this study.

Smokers were originally identified as those who currently smoke tobacco. However, through the course of the study this definition was challenged as there are many types of smokers; from those who casually, socially or smoke part-time, to those who are ‘real’, ‘full-time’ or ‘committed’ smokers, to those who are recent former smokers or who are trying to quit and still, in some way consider their identity bound up in smoking or still have ‘the odd smoke’. Furthermore, it became evident that the classification ‘tobacco smoker’ was too broad and that those who primarily and regularly smoked cigarettes (versus cigars or cigarillos) were designated smokers. Smokers, as operationally defined for this study, were those who ranged from full-time smokers (those who smoke about a pack daily) through to those who had (attempted to) quit less than 30 days ago and those who primarily smoke(d) cigarettes. Since cessation strategies are an important part of understanding smoking capital and each participant had attempted to quit at least once, it is logical to include those who had recently ‘quit²’ to apprehend their experiences.

Because of my small sample size, I chose these criteria to maintain a level of consistency, homogeneity, of demographic characteristics (SES, age, gender, language and country of origin) as too much variation would likely produce poor themes in the analysis. Also, because I chose the triangulation method of utilizing my own experiences (see section 3.10), I chose individuals who had similar demographic characteristics to me and my lived experience of the working class. This served to help increase rapport as we were able to commiserate and I was able to utilize my insights as an insider. Males were chosen for the above reasons and because males are underrepresented within the qualitative literature (e.g., Haines, 2009; Graham, et al, 2006), I selected this criterion to help address that gap. The age criterion was chosen, again for the above reason, and because this age range is underrepresented in the literature. I chose individuals who did not own, for example, real estate as assets of this kind are associated with higher socioeconomic status (Powers, 1982) and therefore if they owned property they would be exempted from participation.

The income cut-off lines, education and occupational requirements were consistent with general constructions of SES scales (Oakes and Rossi, 2003; Powers, 1982). As Oakes and Rossi

² To highlight the importance of this qualification, one participant was attempting to quit at the time of the interview and has now returned to full-time status.

(2003) note, “SES measurement today relies almost entirely on data from occupational position, education, and/or income” (p. 773) which was consistent with the approach in this study. Of course, because of the nature of this study I used these indicators as the entry point and this SES scale was only meant to capture the material conditions of my participants to better understand their cultural experience and social context.

3.6 Data Collection

This study consisted of face to face interviews following an open-ended interview schedule that allowed “the participants to introduce relevant information that [I] may not have been considered during the selection of questions” (Norton and Baker, 2007, p. 46). This strategy was important so as to draw out the ‘essence’ of their experiences (Creswell, 2007, p. 236). The interviews tended to last around an hour, some lasting to around 2 hours with the shortest being 50 minutes. While I allowed interviews to be completed on more than one occasion, none of the participants were eager, or obliging to participate in another lengthy interview, and, even though one lasted only 50 minutes, there was still a great deal of experiential detail provided.

As mentioned, emails were sent to potential participants and individuals spoke on my behalf to other potential participants as links for recruitment. These initial correspondences were used to help explain the nature of the interview process and to build rapport with the participants. Also, before the interview I would explain the process, as the participants read the consent form, answering any questions and assuaging any fears or doubts the participants had. The most common concern being that they were insufficient sources of knowledge rather than any concern with the topic or the process itself. Contact with the participants post interview was discussed, at which time I assured them that such communication was intended for clarification of content as well as for the development of themes in the analysis.

The questions used in the interview revolved largely around when one was first exposed to smoking, why they continue to smoke/ how they feel about smoking, what brand they smoke and why, what they did when they smoke, who they smoked with/ shared cigarettes with, working and home life, cessation strategies and smoking now (see appendix A). This was an open-ended exercise in order to allow the participants to fill in their experiences. The questions and the probes were deliberately loose and vague to encourage participants to speak more freely. Often a short silence produced more thoughtful responses than another question would have. In parallel with grounded theory, the questions were not static items, but instead developed and changed during the interview

and over multiple interviews. For example, questions about cigars and cigarillos were not included in the initial formulation but were later incorporated into questions defining 'real' smokers.

These questions follow what Moustakas (cited in Creswell, 2007) describes as the process of developing the structural and textual descriptions. The questions inquired about the experience itself, textual description, and asked questions about the structural description which was the context within which the phenomenon was experienced. Furthermore, these questions, in their bareness, were meant to understand the 'common sense' understanding of what smoking is and what it means to those who smoke. The format of asking what smoking means to you, what you do when you smoke, for example, is to look first at what is natural about smoking. Asking about cessation is, in a way, to see what is unnatural, and thereby highlight what normal/ natural smoking behaviour actually is. It is through these simple questions and simple probes (why, does that mean x, who else etc) that the taken for granted nature of smoking becomes more evident.

During the course of this study the social landscape in British Columbia changed. In a May 9th press release the British Columbian Provincial government announced that it would provide "Nicotine replacement therapies ... to all British Columbian smokers at no cost and smoking cessation prescription drugs [would] be covered under PharmaCare" (Office of the Premiere, 2011, para 1). While cessation strategies such as nicotine replacement (e.g., "the patch" and "gum") and government regulations were included in my interview schedule, this new tack by the provincial government provided an opportunity to introduce a quasi-experimental condition. I had completed five interviews before this announcement and the rest of the interviews included this change in the response from government (see appendix B).

During the interviews I used a memoing strategy to keep track of important points brought up by my participants and also to make connections to other interviews. Memoing, during the interviews and transcription, was used to denote jokes, disgust, shame, and other emotive responses that were later used in the organization of themes. Memoing was also used in the analysis phase of this study, which was intended to help keep track of clusters of meaning, triangulate my experiences as a smoker and erstwhile member of the working class, and aid in arriving at an articulation of the essence of the experience of cigarette smoking for my participants (Creswell, 2007, p. 236). Memoing is most commonly associated with grounded theory (Creswell, 2007) and there are parallels between this study and a grounded theory approach, however, this study used a phenomenological approach to the collection of data. So, while the study borrowed from grounded

theory methods the goal of the data collection for this study was still to understand the experience of cigarette smoking within the working class.

3.7 Analytical framework

Phenomenology and the Bourdieusian conceptual framework are well suited to work together as they both focus on the creation of meaning and everyday experience. Here I provide a summary of the key tenets of a phenomenological approach. Phenomenology is largely based in the philosophy of Husserl (2000) who saw it as a neo-Cartesian method for the 20th century (p. 209). The neo-Cartesian method, developed from Descartes' medium of meditation, became the method of epoche which is a form of bracketing out all previous knowledge of the world, or as Husserl (2000) notes, one must "abstain from any... opinions, judgements, and valuations from the world" (p. 211). A further discussion of epoche will occur later. However it is important to understand that Husserl (2000) wanted to achieve a pure state of transcendental subjectivity, which is a state of pure experience without opinion and valuations etc, in order to perceive the world as it was. This state is necessary for phenomenology so that one experiences the phenomenon "freshly, as if for the first time" (Creswell, 2007, p. 60). This pure experience of phenomena is what the consciousness perceives and thus, for Husserl (2000), consciousness, or the 'ego cogito', is intentional, or as he puts it, that "consciousness is always the consciousness of something... [and every]... cogito contains a meaning; the cogitatum" (p. 213). These points became the fodder for Schutz's (1967) phenomenology of the social world.

Schutz (1967) absorbs and reposes Husserl's work. Schutz is still concerned with consciousness, epoche, transcendental subjectivity and intentional consciousness, but he adds a new dimension by incorporating everyday life (the life-world) and inter-subjectivity (Ritzer, 1996). So, an individual is conscious of a thing and gives meaning to that thing where, for Husserl (2000) it would be a purely private and unknowable matter to an observer, Schutz (1967) gives this over to an inter-subjective plane. This inter-subjective plane is the everyday life world we, as human beings, inhabit. The life-world, rather than being a vacuum wherein Husserl's (2000) ego cogito would exist, is a world that is already set up with artefacts and institutions which essentially form a series of precedents that allow actors to interact with one another. Schutz (1967) does not deal directly with the problem of how we can even begin to be aware of other minds but "rather is concerned with the ways in which we know other peoples lived experience once we have postulated and taken for granted the general thesis of the alter ego" (Walsh, 1967, p. xxv, emphasis removed). The general

thesis of the alter ego is to accept that just as X human is intentionally conscious then Y human must also be so as well. Schutz (1967) is able to accept that another human may be conscious, but he denies that we can perfectly know what is in another's mind. Human beings are however able to make deductions based, in part, on the common experience shared within the everyday life world and because of what Berger and Luckman (1966) describe as the objectification of subjective intentions (p. 35).

As noted, consciousness is intentional, it is directed towards something and that something is meaningful. It is taken for granted that other humans are intentional, and, according to Berger and Luckman (1966), it is through the habitual interplay of interaction between humans that we develop institutionalized reactions that ground our thoughts and actions and allow for the rise of institutionalized objectifications of subjective intentions; for example, language, gesticulations and artefacts. These institutionalized objectifications of subjective intentions are only meaningful to those who have been habitualized to understand the signified meaning; those who are "insiders" to the experience. Immersion in a given culture from birth provides the habitualized semiotic understanding to read the meaning of a stop sign, or a pan-handlers' outstretched palm. These are both instances of objectified subjective intentions. They are available for all individuals who have been habituated to the semiotic code of a particular culture.

Berger and Luckman (1966) describe the process of objectifying subjective intentions. They note:

Human activity is capable of objectivation, that is, it manifests itself in the products of human activity that are available both to their producers and to other men as elements of the common world. ... For instance, a subjective attitude of anger is directly expressed in the face-to-face situation by a variety of bodily indices... [allowing] access to another's subjectivity. ... Anger, however can be objectified as a weapon... the knife *qua* object expresses my adversary's anger. (p. 34)

What Berger and Luckman (1966) are relating here are the ways in which one is able to apprehend the intentions and motives of another individual.

This leads back into an explanation of the inter-subjective life world. If we take the case of language it can be simply seen that it precedes the individual, and while the word 'blue' means nothing without the proper code it is clear that 'blue' precedes the individual and the individual becomes habituated to what 'blue' means. Language is also useful to show how meaning is temporally dependent in that words often take on new or different meanings and new words are

coined and/ or “fall out of fashion”. That institutions precede individuals and that they are open to augmentation show that the “inter-subjective world [is one] in which people both create social reality and are constrained by the pre-existing social and cultural structures created by their predecessors” (Ritzer, 1996, p. 75-6).

From this brief history and explanation of the tenets of phenomenology and from a recollection of the discussion of the Bourdieusian conceptual framework (see Chapter 2) we can see that phenomenology and Bourdieu’s theory are well suited to each other. To remind the reader, habitus is both the field within which actors operate and the embodied practices that actors engage in (Webb et al., 2003). Habitus is the “durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisation” (Webb et al, 2003, p. 36) which means that actors operate within an over-arching framework, but have relative agency. This is on par with Berger and Luckman’s (1966) understanding of human activity that points to how the repetition or habituation of actions becomes the background and “opens up a foreground for deliberation and innovation” (p. 53). Cultural capital is the capital of meaning. It is, in the parlance of phenomenology expressed above, the understanding of the habituated semiotic code that enables an individual to know what “the third fork in the place setting” is used for.

In the same way knowledge of a fork is useful in a certain context, knowledge of how, what and when to smoke is useful in (perhaps) another context. So, like Haines, Poland and Johnson (2009), the use of a Bourdieusian conceptual framework acts to broaden the understanding of why working class individuals “initiate smoking and why these behaviours are sustained over time in spite of their exposure to considerable messaging about the health consequences of tobacco use” (p. 67). It is with these Bourdieusian concepts of cultural capital, habitus and doxa, coupled with the analytic frame of phenomenology that this study aims to provide a better understanding of the social context of smoking for working class individuals.

The social context is both a symbolic context and a cultural context. What makes sense in one culture may not make sense in another. It is the shared common reality in one culture that provides the background which enables individuals to make “common sense” of experiences, artefacts and gestures that would be meaningless or misinterpreted in another realm. This should not be taken to mean that simply by virtue of being a Canadian citizen one would have the same experiences or be able to interpret the same semiotic code that another individual in the same culture might be able to read. This also does not imply that because one may not know what another is

thinking and/or that one may experience something different, that all individuals exist in isolated spheres unreadable to others. What I mean here is that “common sense” is common to those who share common experiences, those who share a common habituated understanding of symbols, gestures, and artefacts, those who share a common habitus and cultural capital, those who trade in a similar symbolic economy.

The main purpose of the phenomenological method, according to Creswell (2007), is “to reduce the individual experiences with a phenomenon to a description of the universal essence” (p. 58). To accomplish this I utilized Moustakas’s (cited in Creswell, 2007) approach of transcendental phenomenology, specifically during the interview and aggregation process where one attempts to filter out their own experiences and focus on “the experiences of participants” (p. 59). This leads us back to a discussion of epoche.

As mentioned earlier, Husserl (2000) considered epoche as an approach that attempts to remove all knowledge, valuations and opinions about the world from consciousness in order that an experience be rendered pure. In phenomenological sociology the suspension of one’s own experiences while focusing on the experience of the participants is the goal (Creswell, 2007, p. 61). Even then, as Moustakas (cited in Creswell, 2007) notes, there are limitations to the extent to which a researcher can suspend experience. With this in mind, I attempted to limit coaching participants, making over-determining statements and moved to suspend my understanding in a reflective way in order to cultivate a curious attitude (Creswell, 2007, p. 62). In this way I was able to open up to the experiences of my participants while limiting my own biases to the best of my ability.

Working from the transcripts I read and reread the interviews and used the process of “horizontalization” which is a process whereby significant statements are culled from the interviews and “provide an understanding of how participants experienced...” tobacco smoking and cessation (Creswell, 2007, p. 61). In this stage of the analysis all statements were given equal weight. At this stage I was merely finding commonalities among the statements. I could not presuppose meaning upon these statements but only seek out commonalities or wide discrepancies among the respondents.

This stage in the analysis was perhaps the most challenging because of the desire to impose order on the transcripts and to delve into the meaning while being aware that that is precisely what one must not do. This stage involved reading and re-reading the transcripts, noting repetition in statements across participants and noting where statements were vastly different. At this stage I

examined responses to the questions I asked and noted whether they were similar or different and what those responses actually said. But because each individual responded differently and each response often produced different probes with different responses this process could be likened to collating answers from a survey. This was a messy process which required me to, in a way, memorize the transcripts so that when a response from participant 3 from an unrelated probe came up I could relate it to a response from participant 8 answering a question about their first experience with smoking.

From these responses I developed “clusters of meaning” which is the process of organizing these significant statements into themes (Creswell, 2007, p. 61). The themes help to identify what smoking as cultural capital looks like, in what contexts does one smoke, by what means does one justify smoking against the backdrop of a climate that devalues smoking, etc.

For Moustakas (cited in Creswell, 2007) the goal of these clusters of meaning should highlight two important areas, the “textual description” and the “structural description” (p. 60). The textual description is the experience of the phenomenon itself while the structural description highlights the setting or context that the phenomenon occurs in (Creswell, 2007, p. 60). Together these two main descriptions are used to “convey an overall essence of the phenomenon” (Creswell, 2007, p. 60).

After parsing the transcripts into significant statements I combined the statements into clusters, literally. I copied and pasted them into word documents which I then printed out and hung on the wall and at other times scattered around the kitchen table. I began naming and dividing these into what might be structural or textual descriptions. For example I called one document ‘smoking wrong’; I examined the transcripts for terms like ‘that’s not cool’, ‘no I wouldn’t do that’, ‘that’s disgusting’, etc and compiled these into the ‘smoking wrong’ document. This document was then examined to see whether it fit within a structural or textual description and examined to see what sort of information it could provide about the overall essence of the phenomenon. At the stage where I had aggregated the data into structural and textual descriptions I discussed these themes with my key informant as a sounding board of sorts to gauge the validity of the themes and whether this added to the understanding of the experience. The key informant will be further discussed in section 3.10, ensuring validity.

Finally, I also followed Moustakas’ (cited in Creswell, 2007) recommendation that I “write about [my] own experiences and the context and situations that have influenced [my] experiences”

(p. 61). The phenomenological method is one where the researcher must always be recognized as present. It is a process of translating experiences in a general sense and particularly in the case of this study because of the difference of experience of the participants and the audience for the study. Because of these conditions of the method and because I occupy the position as researcher and researched I wove my experiences as a member of the working class and smoker into the analysis. I presented my experiences as a means of triangulation to bolster the experiences of the participants but not to eclipse theirs. I make the distinction between my roles as researcher and researched by providing a description of my experience as researcher at the opening of chapter 4.

3.8 Insider/ Outsider Status

With this in mind, I would like to address what Merton (1972) refers to as insider/ outsider status. Being a university graduate student I cannot claim to be wholly an insider of the working class, but having lived experience as a member of the working class I can make a claim to having insider understanding. I was, therefore, both an insider and an outsider as Merton (1972) would have it. Being an insider granted me a unique understanding of the meanings of the turns of phrases, postures and tones of my participants. However, there is also a potential disadvantage to insiderism, as I may have taken for granted my own understandings and interpreted themes in ways that may have been unfaithful to the participant's intended meaning. I did, however, make a conscious and concerted effort to be aware of my role as researcher so that I might "transcend [my] status as Insider or Outsider" (Merton, 1972, p. 41) to retain the "autonomous values of scholarship" (Merton, 1972, p. 42).

Moustakas (cited in Creswell, 2007) would say that there is no perfect epoche, no absolute disregarding of one's biases but by virtue of the phenomenological method of analysis and through my concerted effort to be reflective and develop a curious attitude I attempted to reduce, both through the process of data collection and analysis, my own perspective. But because of the phenomenological method and role as insider I allowed space to include my experience as an insider.

3.9 Symbolic Violence.

The issue of symbolic violence needs to be briefly addressed in this chapter. According to Wacquant (1993), symbolic violence "is exercised whenever instruments of knowledge and expression of social reality are imposed or inculcated that are arbitrary but not recognized as such" (p. 131). It follows then that in order to avoid doing symbolic violence to my participants I had to continue to allow my participants to speak on their own behalf, becoming the instruments of

knowledge themselves. I attempted, through the process of analysis, to remain in contact with my participants, as much as they were willing to allow, and through my key informant, ensured that the analysis was true to their intentions and experiences.

3.10 Ensuring Validity:

For qualitative methods there are a number of strategies available to ensure validity. Creswell (2007) considers ensuring validity as a process and advises that one should avoid the concept of verification, but rather attempt to find an authenticity or trustworthiness of themes and meanings developed through qualitative analysis (P. 207). I used the process of triangulation with my own experiences as an erstwhile member of the working class and as a smoker coupled with a key informant to help develop themes and consult on the appropriateness of meanings. I attempted to utilize the process of member checking that, according to Creswell (2007), is the process of “taking data, analysis, interpretations and conclusions back to the participants so that they can judge the accuracy and credibility of the account” (p. 208).

Utilizing my own experiences as a member of the working class and a smoker was meant only to complement the experiences of my participants and not to override theirs. This complementary experience bolsters their experiences rather than overshadowing them and is merely another experience of the phenomenon. So, for example, when my participants discussed attempting to quit and they noticed that they confronted cigarettes as a consistent part of the social landscape I added my voice to the experience by commenting on my own experiences in this regard. My experiences are not to be read as having any more weight as that of my participants but were used merely as another validity check with which to gauge the analysis.

A key informant was also used to check the themes and clusters of meanings for accuracy and truthfulness. A key informant should be a member of the community, in this case I take that to mean one who has experienced the phenomenon because, as Marshall (1996) notes, the key informant should be exposed “to the kinds of information being sought by the researcher” (p. 92). They should be knowledgeable, have a willingness to communicate, the ability to communicate with the researcher and should be impartial, “objective and unbiased” (Marshall, 1996, p. 92). Of the five qualities identified, the first four are the most important to this study. It was the subjective experiences which I intended to understand and therefore an objective observer was not what I wanted in a key informant and for these reasons I chose to disregard the final qualification that Marshall (1996) recommends. My key informant was an individual who had lived experience as a

working class individual and a smoker (as defined by the inclusion criteria). The information I shared with him contained no direct citations of transcripts but related only to themes and generalizations of experience. The goal was for my key informant to provide information that helped to corroborate the authenticity of the themes and clusters of meaning that I developed. In this way the assistance provided by the key informant was similar to member checking.

Member checking was intended to be used at all levels of the analysis, from the selection of significant statements to the development of structural and textual descriptions that formed the basis for the clusters of meaning that defined the experience. While all members had agreed to remain available to discuss themes and clarify meaning etc, at the time of writing only two had responded to my requests for this access. One participant who was 'quitting' during the interview was back to smoking 'full-time' but none of the participants were eager to discuss themes as a part of the analysis as they saw this as none of their concern. No matter how I cajoled them, they steadfastly refused to engage in this stage of analysis.

As I read and reread the transcripts I found similar statements that were deemed significant statements. These were categorized into textual and structural description categories. From these I elicited the help of the key informant to attempt to understand the meanings behind these categories and to pull together the experience. This was read through the Bourdieusian conceptual framework so significant statements that denoted an "instinctual" knowledge of how to smoke, sharing cigarettes with friends rather than a stranger in the street, or the confrontation of smoking as a part of everyday life pointed to the habitus/ field of smoking. Being a smoker who never provided cigarettes but only 'bummed' off others was seen as an improper way of interacting and this also directed attention to the cultural capital of smoking, highlighting how smoking relations ought to exist. These examples show the textual description, the experience of the phenomenon, and the structural experience, the context of being a working class male who smokes as read according to the conceptual framework. The contexts and experiences are ideally related back to participants in order to gauge the accuracy of the significant statements, both in their veracity as significant and their clarity of meaning. Unfortunately, due to the lack of engagement by participants, the key informant and the triangulation of my own experiences were relied on more heavily to develop accuracy in the broader clusters of meaning that pointed to the essential experience of the persistence of smoking for working class males.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Role of researcher:

My experience as a researcher was both exactly as expected, in that some participants fell into easy conversation and were willing to talk at length reflecting on their own experiences, and occasionally difficult to explain to some participants. Getting the participants to agree to take part in the project was initially difficult because many were sure that they had no meaningful input on the matter, that they had no understanding or knowledge and so, for my sake, they said it would be better to interview someone else. Once I assured them that it was their input that the study was about they eventually did concede to the interview.

The main hurdle was actually finding the time to meet with participants. One interview needed to be conducted at 3 am because that was when the participant finished work and my travel constraints meant that was the only feasible time to complete the interview. Often the interviews happened in participants' homes, and we would sit around the kitchen table, or in the living room, have a beer and either pause to smoke or smoke in the house. There were two interviews where we met in a pub near to the participant's home because that was convenient and comfortable for them, though it made transcribing much more difficult due to background noises.

Being an individual with potentially two class identities, or perhaps a blurring of class identity resulting in a lack of one, and procuring narratives from individuals who have had similar experiences as I did was a good exercise. I felt comfortable in discussion with participants and felt that they were comfortable with me. There were times, however, especially at the beginning of the interview process when it felt clear that I was a researcher and they were a participant. Often we moved easily passed that but occasionally during the interview process we would come back to the point when, rather than being two 'class mates' we were distanced by researcher and participant roles. Apart from a few bumps in the road, however, I managed to maintain an informal atmosphere to keep us both at ease and allow for rapport to be established.

There was at least one time when I recognized the 'good participant' and had to try to explain that there were no right answers, it wasn't about what I wanted to hear but was about their experiences. For the most part this didn't happen but one example of this was when a participant asked, "is that what you were thinking" (Geoff, 26 year old male). I then had to reiterate that in this process, what I thought

wasn't as important as his thoughts and reactions. Apart from this instance most of the interviews went smoothly. Often the participants reflected on their own statements and my probes.

My experiences as a smoker and member of the working class culture will be used below to reaffirm, when appropriate, the experiences of the participants. The goal of this section was to highlight the experiences of doing research as an individual with potentially two class identities. I continue to smoke, but, since completing this section have begun to look at cessation aids in a different light and have been considering using them as a means of quitting smoking and it is possible that if the participants read this they may also consider these aids in a different light.

4.2 The Real Smoker

4.2.1 The First Cigarette

Understanding how individuals first became acquainted with smoking cigarettes is an important path to understanding how individuals become tobacco smokers. The participants describe their first experiences with smoking, below, and these experiences enable an understanding of a number of factors. The participants all began smoking at different ages and at different stages in their life course but there were commonalities among the responses. For most of the participants during their life course cigarettes were either present or were easily accessible and for those who remained, for most of their teenage years a non smoker, cigarettes were being smoked by friends, parents, or other acquaintances; in other words, cigarettes were always present. Smoking cigarettes, for my participants was an intentional act and in many cases the participants sought out cigarettes and either bought their first pack or requested a cigarette from a friend who smoked. The final commonality is that rather than the participants being unaware or ignorant to the health effects of tobacco smoking, they were aware of the negative health effects of smoking and proceeded to engage in it anyway. Some of the participants started smoking in early adolescence as Tyler, a 27 year old male, noted:

Dude, I started smoking when I was a kid you know... a long fuckin time ago... you know you saw your parents smoke, and your friends are like 'hey lets go get some smokes man'... steal some from your parents... I was like seven or eight... We'd pass 'em around... we knew we were smoking cigarettes.

Another participant describes:

I think I had my first cigarette when I was like 12 or 13... you know, out of moms pack with my best friend... my best friend, well, he actually introduced me to some interesting things when I was younger and one of those things was, you know "hey cigarettes"... He was a bit more of a badass than I was. ... He took some cigarettes and we went for a walk and, uh, we just 'wow,

neat' (miming smoking). Other people were smoking, what's this all about. We hacked our lungs out...

- Jacob, 29 year old male

The above participants show how they first experienced cigarettes by being introduced to it through a friend or a group of friends, while another participant explains how he actively sought out a pack of cigarettes at the age of 13:

I bought my own pack... yeah, it was easy at the [...] corner store... you know those stores you can just walk in and buy anything.

- Jeremy, 25 year old male

The above experiences help to show the degree to which cigarette smoking is embedded within the working class culture, which will be developed further later on, and hints at an intentionality. The next participant describes his experience which further explicates an intentionality that mirrors my own experience:

My first cigarette... ever... would've been when I was 18... yeah... actually.. I must've like tried one one night from a friend, or... I must've went and bought myself a pack... that was... yeah, it was pretty bold... Being 18, high school, like I said, you want to learn things the hard way... but you're just like, "fuck it, I want to try smokes, I want to try every drug there is on the planet, because ... you just want to try everything and you don't want to be like someone who says "oh I never did that because someone told me that that was bad"... I want to find out that that was bad for myself and realize it... for myself... I actually wanted to buy a pack of smokes because I wanted to see what it was like. I was at this stage in my mind where it was like, you know, screw all these people, screw what everyone's telling me I wanna figure it out for myself

- Simon, 24 year old male

The desire to "figure it out for myself" is something I relate to as, in my own experience, I recall smoking a joint with some friends and one of them pulled out a cigarette. I had decided that week that I would, like the above participant, try everything, and so I asked to have a cigarette. I was initially refused, but after some pestering was given a cigarette. I smoked completely wrong; I inhaled it like a joint which provoked laughter from the others. Over the next several weeks I learned how to smoke a cigarette properly and became a real smoker. Like the above participants I actively sought out a cigarette, not because I felt pressured to do it, I was initially rebuffed, but because I wanted to experience it; there was a sense of missing out on something. There was an intentionality behind my actions and that of my participants in becoming smokers and this was borne out in the narratives. Furthermore, the understanding of health risks was, in some sense, understood prior to smoking, as one participant relates:

Well, the first time I ever tried a cigarette I was drunk, and I was like, oh, yeah this is pretty sweet ...one of them smoked and he just offered me a cigarette and I was like, yeah I'll try that it looks pretty decent (chuckle) ... I've heard what everyone else hears, it causes lung cancer, emphysema, all the other fun diseases that they like to advertise on the box, like disease and bad teeth and like, pregnant women ... yeah, I wasn't too concerned...

- Nate, 24 year old male

That he wasn't 'too concerned' is not the same as saying he was ignorant of the health risks associated with smoking. He even makes a joke about the health warnings by including 'pregnant women' in the list of potential ill health effects because one of the warning labels shows a pregnant woman. It is a kind of nonchalance with regard to smoking rather than an ignorance of the negative effects. I, likewise, knew that smoking was 'bad for you', but, I saw myself as strong enough to overcome the negative side effects of smoking. As one participant declared:

I, I don't think it's going to be what kills me... no... granted these little fucker could do me in and I fully respect them for that fact but they're, cigarettes are going to be, I'm going to fall off a cliff or something, It's just going to be WHACK!

- Patrick, 28 year old male

4.2.2 A 'real smoker'

The goal of this study was to understand the experience of smoking from within the working class and in order to do that there needs to be an understanding of what a 'real smoker' is. The participants defined a 'real smoker' in a variety of ways, including the number of cigarettes consumed a day which some participants described as being around "a pack a day, every day" (Edward, 27 year old male). Some of the other participants were more lenient with the definition putting the minimum lower:

If you smoke like five and upwards a day I'd say you're a legitimate smoker ... like even though five is like a light smoker I would say you're a legitimate smoker at five, if you smoke five a day while not drunk...

- Nate

The amount of cigarettes consumed a day is important as it speaks to a regularity in the smoking habit. Particularly important is the idea that one must not be drunk and engage in regular smoking activity to be constituted a 'real smoker'. Those that smoke only when consuming alcohol will be discussed later, but, what is important here is that a 'real smoker' smokes daily and regularly for the sake of smoking and not for the sake of social circumstance, like 'going out for a drink'. Going out of one's way to procure cigarettes is another important factor in determining a 'real smoker':

When I started, you know, leaving the house on my way to school I actually, like consciously making sure that I had, ten dollars because I wanted to get a pack of smokes that's the first time

I had the desire to go out of my way to get my own pack... is when I consider my actual smoking days to have begun.

- Patrick

So, a smoker can be recognized by their smoking regularity, their commitment to smoking when not intoxicated or in other social situations, and the commitment to go out of one's way to procure cigarettes in order to maintain a supply of cigarettes. The real smoker is also, as will be shown below, one who primarily smokes cigarettes rather than cigars, little cigars or cigarillos.

4.2.3 Cigarettes as sustenance

Tobacco comes in many different forms, from chewing tobacco to cigars, little cigars and cigarillos. Cigars are familiar, they are larger than a cigarette, rolled in a tobacco leaf. A cigarillo is a smaller version of a cigar, rolled in a tobacco leaf and can be tipped, where a plastic tip is fixed to the smoking end, or untipped. A little cigar, having a filter, looks like a cigarette but rather than having the tobacco wrapped in paper, as a cigarette is, it is wrapped in a tobacco leaf. Smoking these types of tobacco products does not warrant one the status of 'real smoker' though a real smoker may smoke any or all of these products. By understanding where these products fit in the symbolic economy of the working class we can see how cigarettes are a taken-for-granted experience for the working class subject:

[cigarillos] don't have much of a filter and so you... it seems like a weighty meal, like a heavy meal, compared to a cigarette that's like a cheese burger... [cigarettes are] like a snack... and then a Prime Time [little cigar] is like a baron of beef. I'm thinkin, like a captain black would be a full meal. Well, like a fast food meal like with fries and a shake and then you got a full cigars and that's like a prime steak

- Geoff, 26 year old male,

Another participant describes cigars and cigarillos:

I don't know... because I... when I smoke a cigar I mean that's... being a smoker... because it's a whole different experience... it, it, to me it's like... if you were to buy... I dunno... say like a really nice dessert every day as opposed to just eating food...

- Simon

So cigarettes are compared to food, one defines it as a snack while the other directly as food, as sustenance. Cigarettes are unnoticed; they are a daily intake while other tobacco products produce a different relationship and reaction. A cigar is a prime steak or a nice dessert, something special. As one participant points out:

[there is] more flavour in cigars... richer tobaccos ... it's a better taste it's not just the taste of the tobacco, it's not just the taste of a regular smoke, you actually get to enjoy it...

- Jeremy

Where as cigarettes are taken for granted. It isn't that you don't enjoy cigarettes, rather, it is that a cigar is associated with a special event, something to be savoured while cigarettes are a constant companion. Not all cigars are the same:

Delicious Cuban cigars are ... a lot of them are quite foul... but if you get the right one... [My girlfriend] got some good Cubans and they were, that's what made me realize, this is a good cigar... it was like an epiphany to me, like this is a good fucking cigar...

- Patrick

Two interrelated themes come from these narratives. That of the occluded centrality of cigarette smoking in the form of smoking as sustenance, and having the requisite taste to notice both the difference of richer tobacco/ a good cigar and knowing how to consume them. We begin to see here the way that tobacco is situated in the life-world of the working class individual; even non-smokers might share a cigar when a friend or sibling becomes a parent, for instance. The theme of cigarette smoking as central and unnoticed is one that will be brought up again later, but we begin to see it forming here.

Having the requisite knowledge, the requisite cultural capital to distinguish 'richer tobacco/ a good cigar' and knowing how to consume them is the definition of Bourdieu's (1984) 'taste'. Aesthetic taste is learned though it is not recognized as such because we are meant to assume we have naturally always been this way/ always known this action. So the act of smoking should come naturally and, typically, the participants did not recognize having ever learned to smoke. For example, as one participant recounts:

it always came naturally to me... when my niece was born my brother came over with some 'it's a girl' cigars and my dad, you know, everyone was on the deck smoking them and I asked for some, ... he's like 'you have to take a drag and inhale it' he wanted to make me sick, ... so I did it and it didn't make me sick... I just took it, and my dad and everyone else there was like 'holy shit' and I was like (exhale) ... tastes awful... got a little tingly in my head, and my dad was like you got a lump in your throat or your chest and I was like no... is your mouth dry you feel like you're getting sick and I was like no, I feel light headed and that's it...[smoking] always came to me naturally

- Patrick

It becomes clear that within the working class the knowledge of a good cigar versus a 'foul' cigar, the understanding of how to smoke a cigar, when to smoke a cigar, and distinction and taste, is part of the underlying knowledge of how to be a 'real smoker' particularly for the working class

individual. The participants acknowledge the performance as natural and are able to distinguish between a good smoke and a bad smoke; the very essence of taste but one that is only palpable or understandable within the specific symbolic economy.

4.2.4 Little Cigars, Cigarillos and Legitimate Taste

Cigarillos and little cigars while being more than the, essentially, non-event of cigarettes are sometimes greeted with scepticism. A popular brand of little cigars are Prime Times which offer flavoured cigars. While another brand of cigarillos, “Captain Black”, offer a cigarillo that has a plastic tip on the smoking end. These two types of tobacco products have a unique place within the working class symbolic economy. On the one hand “Prime Times” are seen as being just another flavour, as one participant notes:

And you know, Prime Times, you know, I like them, they’re just a different flavour of beer... I like all flavours of alcohol... so a Prime Time is just another flavour ... and they have so many flavours

- Patrick

While these little cigars are a sort of novelty that can be consumed ad hoc they are not to be taken as the primary means of smoking. One might smoke them for the simple novelty of it or because, it is “better than a smoke out of your own pack” (Jeremy). That they are a novelty reduces the cultural capital of these little cigars, as a participant notes:

They’re all *fruity* flavours and ... it’s more targeted toward the youth, I mean you’ll get the odd person who’s like a real smoker who’ll smoke them but 95% of the time it’s mostly the kids who are trying to buy them.

Jeremy

There is slight derision when he notes ‘fruity flavours’, indicating that the flavour is not the taste that is appropriate for the working class. Much like a glass of wine that is too sweet would be inappropriate for the middle or upper classes, the taste of the commodity in the physical sense is incompatible to the taste, in the Bourdieusian sense, that the working class knows to be ‘good tobacco’. As one participant describes Primes Times:

Well, it’s a joke... if you were to drink scotch or whiskey and enjoyed that and you saw someone put fuckin’ grape juice in it and be like yum... it’s also one of those things where it’s like, you’re smoking a Prime Time it smells like you’re smoking a grapey jelly.

- Simon

So the taste is not a legitimate taste, it does not satisfy the criteria of being a ‘smoke’. The legitimate taste of a cigarette is important to the working class smoker. The taste of tobacco undiluted by flavouring provides the ‘proper’ sensation that ‘real smokers’ pursue. Just like regularly mixing

grape juice, as the above participant describes, into one's whiskey would be seen as an affront to the authentic taste of the whisky, so too is flavouring tobacco regarded as a loss of authenticity for the 'real smoker'. Likewise, tipped cigarillos are largely viewed in a similar way as the flavoured little cigars.

One participant describes his experience of smoking a tipped cigar:

I don't like the plastic tip cigars, on account of , I don't want to smoke on, suck on a big fucking plastic tube... I want the butt of a smoke ... or a cigar or a doobie, or whatever it is... if I'm going to suck on something like that it's going to be a pipe or a bong, I will be blasting my brains on that ... the way I hold it, place it in my mouth, it doesn't fit naturally into my habits, I have to adjust myself to smoke one of those...

- Patrick

In the above narrative, the participant is describing the lack of authenticity of the tipped cigar. The experience of smoking tobacco through a plastic tube is inauthentic; it is a mediated 'unnatural' experience that might be akin to drinking wine through a straw. The proper performance of smoking involves smoking a tobacco that has the requisite flavour, the rich tobacco flavour, and it involves having the cigarette or cigar be in an unmediated form; the sensation of having the paper or the tobacco leaf in one's hand, against one's lips, provides the authentic experience, it is the 'right way' to smoke. Going back to the 'Prime Times' we can see that the unauthentic experience does not satisfy as, an authentic experience, smoking a cigarette does. This is best described by a participant who noted:

It's the strangest of things, they're so much stronger and even harder to smoke... and they will... calm your craving and sedate your craving, but won't satisfy it like a cigarette will... I can smoke 5 Prime Times to try and kill that last little bit of an itch and never get it... and then I smoke one cigarette and it's gone...

- Patrick

Prime Times do not satisfy the craving that is simply satisfied by a cigarette. They are only meant to be consumed as a novelty. They are not the legitimate taste that is acknowledged by the working class, and, as the participant noted, real smokers will largely not smoke them. The individual who does smoke Prime Times instead of cigarettes is, in a way, participating in smoking while remaining outside of being a smoker. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with an individual who smokes Prime Times or tipped cigars exclusively, but they are recognized as being largely separate, as not being a member but only a visitor. One participant sums up the little cigar smoker:

I would say they're more in the spectrum, they are more of a non-smoker who likes to enjoy Prime Time's once in a while... if it was me I would be buying the cigar because I wouldn't want people to think that I was a smoker but at the same time wanted to be thought of as a smoker... trying to appease both...

- Simon

4.2.5 Limits of Good Performance

Cultural capital is the currency of the symbolic economy and tobacco smoking is cultural capital. Tobacco smoking alone, however, is not a cultural capital but rather how one smokes is the determining factor in the ‘amount’ of cultural capital one has. The performance of smoking as cultural capital can be expressed through what is not acceptable, thereby expressing what is acceptable and what is the right way of smoking. One must be able to smoke without being perceived of as being dominated by smoking in order to be successful in the performance. Situations where smoking becomes too overt are situations where the smoking loses its value. If my teeth, moustache or fingers are deeply stained yellow, I have not performed smoking properly because it shows that I have not only consumed the cigarette, it has consumed me. In this way the working class male performs smoking through an act of control.

Individuals who roll ‘butt smokes’, or pick up butts off the street have no cultural capital, even though they smoke. When asked whether or not he would smoke a ‘butt smoke’, a cigarette rolled out of cigarette butts the participant responds quickly and strongly, “no, oh god no!” (Edward)

Another participant describes observing his mother:

...she even goes to the ashtray and pulls out all the butts and rolls those up and smokes those so... it’s kind of a disgusting habit...

- Tyler

Another participant when asked about butt smokes replied, “crackers... [butt smokes] shouldn’t be smoked” (Jeremy). A ‘cracker’ can be defined simply by substituting the term ‘junkie’, it is a derisive term that is derived from ‘crack-head’, or crack smoker. The use of this term means that those who smoke rolled butts, or pick them off the ground are those that are beneath him, those that are outside his cultural milieu. But when asked if he would smoke a cigarette butt in his ashtray he responds that “that’s okay” (Jeremy). However, even while the ‘half butt’ is allowable it does not have the same cultural capital as a fresh cigarette. As a participant noted:

[smoking a half-butt is] not as good as it would be if it was a fresh cigarette because it tastes rude depending on how long the butts been sitting there... uh, on occasion I would smoke a half a cigarette and save the rest of it for later... I would, I would do that ... but if I had the choice I would smoke a fresh cigarette...

- Richard, 26 year old male

Another participant adds to this by noting:

[Smoking butts out of my own ashtray]... I'm not a fan... I find that since it's been smoked taste... yeah... and it's close to the filter so some of that smoke's been filtered through so... it's not good. And, even having a half smoke... the first three hauls on it is... rather strange.

- Simon

Smoking a butt out of one's own ashtray is frowned upon but, in a small part, acceptable and understandable, so long as it is not the primary means of getting one's smoke. Smoking a half butt is also acceptable, only in so far as there is a reason behind it. Taste is being sacrificed; the aesthetic capital of the working class smoker is being degraded. Fresh tobacco provides the smoker with the most cultural capital. Rolling your own cigarettes is an acceptable practice while rolling cigarette butts is not because:

It's a hell of a lot different to take out fresh tobacco as opposed to rolling a bunch of stuff out of an ashtray, like you've already smoked on something that's been smoked on it's a crackers' smoke

- Jeremy

Again, a "crackers' smoke" explains that anyone who resorts to smoking tobacco in this way has no cultural capital. Chain smoking is another way one has the potential to lose cultural capital. The context is important to determine whether one is chain smoking legitimately or whether one has allowed their smoking to become overt, to lose control and thereby become a 'cracker'.

Yeah... I think everyone who's smoked has chain smoked at one time or another... [because of] I dunno, stress...

-Jeremy

Another participant describes his experience with chain smoking:

Going back to the [old job], like the pub allows you to smoke when I'm drinking at those pubs I'm pretty much just chain smoking... it's hilarious, how much I smoke when I'm drunk, like an absurd amount, just chain smoke sometimes... it's like you're sitting there and you've got your full jug of beer and your full packs of cigarettes and all your friends are there doing the same thing you're like, one after the other ... I've literally lit the end of a cigarette with the lit end of the last one

- Nate

Chain smoking is universally acceptable under these two conditions; when consuming alcohol or when stressed. When one is consuming alcohol or stressed, social control is relaxed and therefore it is acceptable to smoke excessively. In my own experience there have been stressful times, such as having a rough break up or fight with my intimate partner, or sitting with someone going through the same, when I will smoke more than one cigarette at a time. Similarly I have sat on pub patios with friends, drinking excessively and, like the above account, have chain smoked. However, if you are simply sitting at a bus stop and chain smoking:

If they're drunk, hilarious if they're not, harsh... well I mean, I'm sure you have a lighter if you lit the first one (both laugh) okay, maybe not harsh, that was a harsh word, but I mean like if you're chain smoking that badly and you're not drunk that's like a serious amount of smoking, like I only do that when I'm drunk and that's because like a) I want cigarettes a lot more and b) it's kind of funny so I do it

- Nate

When he notes that you are chain smoking 'that badly' it is an indictment of the individual who is chain smoking; the participant is pointing out their lack of cultural capital. In many ways this is a fundamental breach of protocol, it raises smoking from a background fixture to an overt and recognizable act. Rolling butt smokes or chain smoking, openly, is to the smoker as drinking mouthwash would be to the alcohol drinker. It is a breach of the rules of smoking; it marks one as an individual who cannot control their smoking, who smokes in the foreground, rather than the background. This will be shown later, for now, however, it is enough to say that this breach of control, results in a loss of standing and is evidence of a lack of cultural capital. In many ways, it is akin to not knowing the right fork, bringing the wrong wine, etc; it marks an individual as an outsider, or perhaps, a 'cracker'

The above narratives show how smoking in and of itself does not necessarily imbue an individual with cultural capital. How one 'performs smoking' is important in the maintenance of cultural capital. When the performance of smoking becomes too overt, when one evidences a lack of control, one loses cultural capital.

4.3 Symbolic Boundary and Symbolic Exclusion

Symbolic boundaries mark the semiotic space where individuals of different classed symbolic economies interact, and, in a sense, weigh the other's cultural capital. If we consider the analogy of the physical market we can imagine the symbolic boundary to be a physical gate. To cross that gate one must show the proper documents; in this metaphor that would be one's store of cultural capital. One is allowed or denied entry through the process of symbolic exclusion. In this section I will elaborate on the participants experiences to show how symbolic boundaries are reinforced by the multiple symbolic economies. This explanation will show that symbolic exclusion, as a means of denying individuals with improper cultural capital 'entry,' does not work in a single direction but is utilized by multiple symbolic economies. It is necessarily so as symbolic exclusion is a means of claiming legitimacy by denying legitimacy to others. This competition for legitimacy happens at the symbolic boundaries and has real effects for individuals.

Symbolic exclusion can become palpable when a working class member enters a middle class context. A good example of this type of exclusion comes from a participant who took an English course at a community college. He talks about his experience:

I'm pretty sure, like, completely, out of like 30 kids I was the only smoker and... I would go outside and have a puff and that was my thing... but yeah you feel like... you feel like ah, I'm the smoker I'm... a versus sort of feeling as opposed to these non smokers and like... obviously I made that connection because I've noticed that being the only smoker there [...] I was also the only guy who didn't have an aluminum bottle on my desk.

- Simon

So, not only was he the only smoker there, he was also without an aluminum water bottle which he took as another signifier of his outsider status. He notes that he felt different, or as he says, “a versus sort of feeling”, he was socially excluded, or at least felt the effects of social exclusion based on his symbolic, or lack of symbolic resources. The symbolic boundary works the other way as well. In my own experience I recall sitting at a friends' mothers' kitchen table where we would often smoke until the air was blue, drink coffee or beer and chat. A friend's girlfriend arrived and complained about the abundance of smoke and complained even after the window was opened. She was labelled a 'bitch' and told that 'she might as well not come back' because of her attitude. In this case the symbolic boundary works to reinforce the habitus of smoking. She became an outsider who threatened our legitimate experience and was ejected and labelled a bitch. To put this in a different context, this would be like entering an academic's home and complaining about the number of books. You might not be labelled a bitch but your outsider status would be certainly noted which would hamper relations as equals. Similarly, smoking can be used as a means of bridging barriers between middle class and working class relations. As one participant points out:

I went to concerts with another guy [Pete]. He didn't really smoke and his wife didn't know he smoked [...] His thing was that he'd buy a pack of smokes, smoke it while we hung out and get rid of it and not smoke until the next concert.

- Jacob

And Pete is “employed by a large corporation working in a cubicle... that's [Pete's] life right” (Jacob). The participant's friend Pete works a white collar job and uses smoking as a bridge through the symbolic boundary of the working class. He hides his smoking from his wife and only smokes on these occasions. From these experiences, one in which the working class participant felt excluded from a middle class milieu, one where the working class milieu excludes, and one in which an individual

from the middle class is able to access the working class social network through smoking, we can begin to see the outlines of a symbolic boundary.

In addition to considering the symbolic boundary in terms of smoking, evidence of physical activity as a symbolic boundary arose. From the perspective of the participants this boundary can be conceived of negatively in what the participants would consider outside the norm of acceptable behaviour. As one might suspect, particular modes of physical activity are acceptable while others are either unthinkable or just not done.

One participant, when talking about what cigarettes prevent him from doing, mentions going “for a run or a hike... [laughing]” (Jacob). In this case, the participant and I are laughing at a sort of inside joke wherein smokers actively mock decreased lung capacity but, more importantly, within the cultural context of the working class experience, running and hiking are activities that are largely outside of the cultural purview. Running to catch a bus or hiking to a campsite are reasonable, as they are purposive, but running or hiking for exercise is generally not done. It would be more proper to play a sport for exercise and while running is acceptable, “the only time I do it, is when, man I haven’t had exercise in so long, I need to do something, there’s no one else around I guess I’ll go for a run” (Nate). So, going for a run is a sort of last ditch effort, but playing a sport would be preferable; however being a ‘jogger’ wearing spandex, or other common jogging/ running apparel is unthinkable:

few of my friends jog but some do I think... not really often, like, I know that they do occasionally but I don’t think they do it too often... the spandex shorts... no, none of my friends have that gear (laugh) ... yeah [I’d be surprised if they did]. I mean like, most of my friends are like, you know, we like to go fishing and like hunting and fucking all that stuff, and I’m 99% sure that none of my friends have spandex shorts

- Nate

He cuts me off in our discussion to emphasize ‘no, none of my friends have that gear’, and then laughs at the absurdity of the question. The working class male’s habitus does not include these symbolic resources and while it may be well and good in a middle class milieu to wear jogging apparel, wearing it in a working class milieu would result in a loss of respect and cultural capital. Here we see symbolic exclusion working to shore up the identity of the working class through a negation of the tastes of the middle class and actively deriding those tastes. We can see social and symbolic exclusion through distinction. As Bourdieu (1984) describes “Tastes (i.e., manifested preferences) are ...asserted purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes. In matters of taste more than anywhere else, all determination is negation...” (p

56). This process is generally seen as a 'downward' process, Bourdieu (1984) describes highbrow distinguishing themselves from middle and low brow, and Lawler (2005) describes the middle class as distinguishing themselves from the working class. In this study, however, we can see that the boundary works two ways in that the symbolic resources are not acceptable within the symbolic economy of the working class; for example, the cultural capital of jogging and jogging apparel have no currency for the working class. Masculinity is also distinguished through the performance of physical activity, or rather, in this case the non-performance. We go on to discuss yoga:

[yoga is] not for me... [because] ... I'm a man. ...well, I've only, I mean, sure you see some 'men' (chuckle) doing yoga (laugh)... quote unquote men doing yoga but you don't see many and mostly you just see chicks doing it and uh, I've like, I've seen chicks doing it and it seems much more a girl exercise than a man exercise... personally I don't feel the need to do the splits in a really hot room, for x amount of time, I don't even see how that gets you in shape, I mean I'm sure it does, but it doesn't make any sense to me...I feel like running, playing basket ball or soccer gets you in more shape and is more fun than yoga would be... no [I haven't tried yoga]... and I never will.

- Nate

Here, not only is the social exclusion of the middle class evident through a rejection of their cultural capital but we can also see a definition, through negation, of masculinity for the working class. I am a man is a simple answer, one that makes sense from the working class perspective. The function of yoga does not translate into the understanding of the working class male; it simply doesn't make sense. It does however resonate and make sense for the middle class (Veenstra, 2010; Vincent and Ball, 2007) which is being rejected here. This speaks to the heteronormativity of working class masculinity that restricts the performance of certain activities; literally a real man does not do yoga nor does he wear spandex. When asked about wearing spandex he replies that he hunts and fishes which is ostensibly unrelated to wearing spandex but when read in context and in connection to yoga, we can see that yoga and spandex are not masculine while hunting and fishing are.

In my own experience the thought of engaging in yoga has always been met with an immediate negative reaction, likewise the thought of bike riding or jogging in specialized gear. The negative reaction to these performances is justified by the masculine habitus of the working class symbolic economy. There is no cultural capital associated with engaging in this and this is borne out by the participant's response. So symbolic boundaries are shown to work not only 'downward', distinguishing the working class from and by the middle and upper classes, but also that symbolic exclusion works among the working class as well.

The process of social/ symbolic exclusion works from within the working class ‘downward’ as well, based on bodily presentation and, from that, an abstraction of worth. The same processes that are used by the upper and middle classes ‘downward’ are used by the participants to distinguish themselves from ‘bums’ and scumbags. These bums and scumbags have an appearance that is “itself held to be disgusting, but also to signify a ‘deeper’, pathological and repellent subjectivity” (Lawler, 2005, p. 432). So for example, one participant, when asked about giving a cigarette to a stranger remarks:

Define stranger? If you’re a bum... I’m sorry I’m not giving you anything, doesn’t matter if it’s cigarettes, money or pity... but if you’re obviously a respectable human being, you’re not a leech, you’re not a leech you’re a respectable human being, and was obviously caught without a smoke, yeah, if I’ve got 5 I’ll give you one, if I’ve got four hmmm, depends on how much I like the way you ask me...

- Patrick

A judgment of character based on how one presents oneself, not only is that person a ‘bum’ but they become a leech which is described as literally the opposite of a ‘respectable human being’. Furthermore, if one is a ‘scumbag’ then one is equally an outsider and also becomes a disgusted subject:

White gangsters, fucking, wearing their sideways hats and their fucking g-unit clothes and they’re, like, fucking skinny as hell because they probably do coke everyday... those types of people are scum bags.

- Nate

These descriptions of ‘downward’ distinction help identify the working class (white male) subject. The participants describe who the working class subject is by defining who he is not. He is a respectable human being; he has a particular style of dress. The most important feature that statements like these provide is that they show the working class (male) as distinguishing himself from those that are perceived as below them. This shows how the very processes of social exclusion used to distinguish the working class from/ by the middle class are employed by the working class themselves.

The culture of the working class, as experienced by the participants, is a semi-closed market where bodies, performance, and values, cultural capital and habitus, are used to create symbolic boundaries that encapsulate that culture. At the same moment, the middle class pushes against the working class through denying the legitimacy of their means of being-in-the-world or their habitus. Because there is extra-class pressure on and internal structures that reinforce it, the working class culture can be seen to be reproduced internally and externally. Interestingly, as Lawler (2005) shows, the middle class is disgusted with the working class just as the working class, seen here, does the same to those perceived of as below. The working class, caught between the middle class and an underclass

attempt to create symbolic space, justifying their habitus and cultural capital by creating symbolic distance ‘up’ and ‘down’ through mechanisms that are familiar (in the sense that they are employed regularly, not in the sense that they are openly acknowledged) to the middle class.

The participants’ narratives above illustrate the ways in which they experienced the working class (male) culture as a symbolic space. These narratives help to illustrate how the symbolic economy that is the working class culture is reproduced by distinguishing and disgusting aspects of the middle class above and the ‘underclass’ below, and demonstrate how tobacco smoking can be seen as a mechanism that can grant or restrict access to symbolic economies.

4.3.1 The “Other” as Non-Smoker

The other as non-smoker is different than the working class non-smoker for a number of reasons. What is important here is that the working class non-smoker has a different relationship to tobacco and the working class smoker than the other as non-smoker does. The other as non-smoker presents themselves as a never smoker while the working class non-smoker will often have a drag, a puff, or smoke a cigarette when they are under the influence of alcohol. Interactions between working class smokers and the other, as non-smoker, results in a number of reactions from both parties. As one participant describes "I have never been ashamed about smoking, [which] means I pretty much smoke anywhere I want, regardless of the company I’m with, even if I’m in the company of a non-smoker I’ll just light up, I won’t conceal myself” (Edward). This implies that there are situations where smokers might feel shame about smoking or interactions where smokers are meant to feel shame. For example, in my own experience I have been accosted by ‘other’ non-smokers when smoking in public places. I feel I am being respectful which means not letting smoke drift into faces, not smoking too near children, but even still I have been accosted through sneers, suspicious coughs, and from subtle questions about how I could do that to myself to outright badgering and criticising. From the subtle physical cues (or what I take to be physical rebuffs) to the outright disgust I have directly felt as the force of social exclusion. Depending on the severity of the interaction I reply cordially or with equal vehemence defending my performance, in a way not dissimilar to an academic having their discipline being ridiculed or attacked. As one participant notes, “I can’t imagine being understood by a non smoker, I think there’s a certain amount of judging by non smokers...” (Simon)

In other circumstances, in my experience, recalling the participant’s experience with the college class, I have been the lone smoker who exits to smoke, to the ridicule of the group. In some cases it is a

well played scene and the ridicule is rehearsed and becomes the custom, softening the ridicule through routine. One participant, working with largely computer system engineers who is the only person on the crew who smokes, recalls:

I get bitched at... 'cause they're like "you're always smoking, you get out of the car you light a smoke, or you get in the car you light a smoke"... so... they're not terribly impressed ... but you know, we're all friends so, they give me a hard time but, you know, it doesn't really, uh... it doesn't affect things too much... it's not like they... report me to the boss "he had too many cigarettes", or anything, you know. Just a jab here, a jab there... "you're smoking so much"...

- Jacob

This is a rehearsed performance where neither the critic nor the subject of criticism is intensely offended or feeling offense. This common form of ridicule allows the smoker to retain his social relations and while the 'jabs' are taken to be light hearted it still creates symbolic distance. As the participant notes:

Does it compel me to quit? A little bit but I think there are other factors that compel me more... do you know what I mean? It's just another reason that you could tack on to the list of positive reasons for quitting, you know?

- Jacob

The participant is describing a form of social exclusion even while it is softened by familiar repetition. In my own experience there have been instances where the group acts together and the sense of social exclusion is palpable. I recall being refused entry into a vehicle because I "reeked of smoke" to the amusement of the group, finally a member took pity on me and allowed me to ride with them. These painful and embarrassing circumstances are similar to those that one of my participants is describing when he notes that he "doesn't feel ashamed of smoking". The interaction between smoker and non-smoker can range from the benign to the aggressive but the underlying theme that can be drawn from such experiences is that of separation and symbolic exclusion. This is highlighted by one participant who noted:

It just wouldn't make sense to me to be like "hey non smokers I'm going to smoke a butt with you 'cause that's cool, you know" ... 'cause I'm different, you know

- Simon

The other as non smoker presents themselves as 'never smokers' while the working class non-smoker, as will be shown in the next section has a much different relationship to both tobacco and the smoker. As the above participant explains with "'cause that's cool you know" that the way the other as non-smoker carries, presents, performs their self is different, or alien to the working class smoker. That there is a palpable difference noted by the participants, results in reinforcement of the symbolic

boundary, not between smoker and non-smoker, but between class cultures. The reinforcing of this symbolic boundary results in, for the working class, social networks of friends, who are, for the majority, all smokers. When asked whether his friends smoke, Patrick responds:

mmm hmm... yes! I think... they're pretty much all smokers

The above narratives illustrate how the other as non-smoker experiences symbolic exclusion, sometimes through disgust, sometimes through a rehearsed complaint but always through the evaluation of cultural capital. Tobacco smoking can be seen as a site of the reproduction and maintenance of symbolic boundaries that separate one class from another. In the same way that the working class participants separated themselves from those they perceived as below them, so too does the 'other' separate themselves from the working class smoker. Examining the working class non-smoker, the relationship between smoker and non-smoker is much different, and this difference highlights the role that class culture plays in the persistence of tobacco smoking.

4.4 The Embeddedness of Tobacco Smoking

Tobacco smoking, for the working class subject, is embedded in the social relationships that are formed and maintained; it is embedded in the social fabric of the working class culture. As shown above, the other as non-smoker acts in ways that reinforce the symbolic boundaries and reinforces class distinction. Within the working class, however, the relationship to tobacco is very different. The extent to which tobacco is embedded in working class culture is highlighted best by the relationship between the working class non-smoker, tobacco and the working class smoker.

The working class non-smoker would be categorized by Health Canada (2009) as a 'non-daily smoker' but because of the pervasiveness of smoking within the working class symbolic economy, one who smokes 'when they drink' is often not considered a smoker. One participant who claimed he was a non-smoker noted:

If I'm out at a bar or something it would not be an uncommon event for me to have a cigarette at the end of the night or something ... because I like it (laughs)... and because I'm drunk
- Richard

So even while he makes the claim that he is a non-smoker he still smokes on a semi regular basis, in fact he was recruited into the project because we had smoked together prior to the interview. The working class non-smoker is not a 'never-smoker', but neither is he considered a real or legitimate smoker by working class standards. They are considered non smokers to the working class but

considered 'ever smokers' by Health Canada (2009) and one participant highlighted the inconsistency when he noted:

Like down here, a lot of the people that move down here are mostly the people I still hang out with, I dunno a lot of them don't smoke... but a lot of them do, maybe 60/40 smoking to non... I also have some friends who don't smoke but do when they're drunk ... and, I guess, if I was going by that logic I'd say it's probably about 80/20 smokers to non...

- Nate

Because they aren't real smokers, they do not smoke consistently nor do they buy their own packs of cigarettes, they are seen as non-smokers. When asked whether any of his friends smoke at all he is forced to concede that a greater majority do smoke. This highlights the inconsistency between the Health Canada definition and the working class definition of smoker and non-smoker, and begins to expose how the other (the middle class other) as non-smoker and the working class as non-smoker have a much different relationship to tobacco smoking. The participant goes further in his description of his friends and their relationship to smoking:

Well I actually have very few friends who don't smoke at all, like not even when they're drunk... like even fucking [Frank] here does not smoke but sometimes, and I do mean sometimes, like fucking, like, once in blue moon, he is drunk and he wants a cigarette...

- Nate

Even, "once in a blue moon", Health Canada would describe 'Frank' as an ever smoker, but to participants in this study Frank is a non-smoker. Another participant who can be considered a part-time smoker, comments on this theme:

No, I wouldn't consider myself a smoker. Generally if I get really stressed or have a really bad day I would go for a cigarette but I don't smoke on a regular basis

- Tyler

The working class non-smoker is one who will smoke under stress, similar to the 'real smoker' who might chain smoke in response to a stressful event. Following this theme the same participant notes, "I like to smoke a lot when I get drunk" (Tyler). Tyler goes on to note:

Yeah, I think I'd end up smoking quite a bit because... People head outside to smoke and then the parties outside so... you know you... want to go be part of the group... same goes for weed, you know, if some ones blazing a joint outside and there's a circle going... if that's where the parties at, you're going to smoke some of it... you know.

The reason a working class non-smoker would smoke are the same reasons a working class smoker would smoke excessively -- they feel stress or they are consuming alcohol. The above narratives illustrate that the relationship to tobacco that a working class non-smoker has is very different to that of the other as non-smoker. Recalling the other as non-smoker and their derogatory

reaction to tobacco smoked in their presence, we can see that the working class non-smoker reacts, again, quite differently. As one participant notes:

No I don't get hassled by [my non-smoking friends], I've sat like right beside both of them, smokin' (laughs).

- Jeremy

This echoes my own experiences. I have an acquaintance who is a non-smoker, who never smokes but has never once complained about tobacco smoking. While driving in his car or in his house we smoke cigarettes with his consent even while he does not smoke with us. This is, admittedly, not the typical reaction, as most working class non-smokers will often, though not always, draw the line at their own car or homes, this does highlight the very different reaction and relationship to tobacco that the working class non-smoker has. Similar to my own experiences another participant describes being in the work truck with a non-smoking co-worker. Responds that he smokes in the truck with his co-worker who is 'cool' with the smoking because, "he has to be... [because] it's just what we do" (Geoff).

The co-worker 'has to be' okay with the smoking because that's what we do, and he is. The non-smoker doesn't question the smoking because, quite simply it is what we do, it is embedded in the social fabric of the working class culture and the statement, it is what we do, drives that point home. Similarly answering the question 'why do we not eat dog,' requires an answer of 'because we do not, it just is not done'. There is no further justification required because it is part of the background knowledge of the life-world, further no justification is possible because there is none and there does not need to be. As Berger and Luckman (1966) describe this type of knowledge and action as "how things are done. A world so regarded attains a firmness in consciousness; it becomes real in an ever more massive way and it can no longer be changed so readily" (p. 59). The life world of the working class accepts smoking as a regular part and regulates the interactions we have with other members of the working class and with those that are apart from the working class.

The above narratives describe who the working class non-smoker is. The working class non-smoker is defined in contradiction to Health Canada definitions because the frames of reference are different; the language of the working class is suitable to the life-world of the working class while the language of Health Canada is suitable to the other. The working class non-smoker has a different relationship to tobacco than the other as non-smoker: they do not smoke consistently, often do not buy their own packs, but will smoke when stressed or when consuming alcohol. The working class non-smoker, because of the embedded nature of tobacco within working class culture does not complain about tobacco smoke in their presence because it is a taken-for-granted activity, it is background.

Tobacco smoking is part of the everyday experience of the working class and while, as Christakis and Fowler (2008) claim, smokers get pushed to the periphery of large social networks, on the periphery of those networks they find other smokers. As one participant notes, “In fact all my friends either smoke once in a while or all the time” (Simon).

4.5 Sharing, Bonds and Solidarity

Sharing is an important aspect to the maintenance of relationships and, as Eaton et al. (2000) have noted to the maintenance of social networks. Knowing who one is willing to share with helps to define a relationship and a social network. Gift giving, according to Komter (2007) “fulfills a stabilizing function in the always unpredictable and in principle insecure interactions with other human beings” (p. 93). The act of sharing is “a communal act that links us to other people. It is not the only way we connect with others, but is a potentially powerful one that creates feelings of solidarity and bonding” (Belk, 2009, p. 717). Examining how the participants shared, with whom they shared and what they shared highlights the importance that cigarette sharing plays in the maintenance of local social networks, and, in turn, helps to further expose the embeddedness of tobacco smoking within working class culture. This is best expressed by one participant when he notes:

If you think about it, a lot of people you're close to and you sort of bond with is generally... you have cigarettes together... I can't really think of someone in particular right now that is a completely non smoker... or who has never smoked before at all and I've ever been like “hey, this guy's my best friend”

- Simon

Sharing cigarettes together, as in sharing in the performance of smoking together, creates bonds and solidarity. This is just as Eaton et al. (2000) surmise that social networks are maintained through the shared consumption of commodities. The above narrative describes the role that shared consumption of cigarettes play in maintaining the participant's social relationships and conversely that he doesn't recall having formed those bonds with individuals who do not participate in the performance.

Examining sharing cigarettes as a form of a gift exchange, we see how local social networks are reinforced through the reciprocal nature of the act. As one participant notes:

Absolutely... if a friend asks for a cigarette they will get a cigarette ... a cigarette is kind of like communal property between us...

- Edward

Similarly, another participant notes:

To a good friend yes ... it's a generally a help yourself rule... I do tend to have a habit of expecting the same in return

- Patrick

Another participant notes:

If it's your friends right you know that well you'd share anything with 'em if they ask for a cigarette you know that they'd give you one... for me it's like, that's a given...

- Simon

The above narratives explain that, within the local social network, for those who are considered friends, "it's a help yourself rule", because "you know that they'd give you one". The local network operates within a reciprocal framework where those who are included in the 'friends' category are easily shared with while, in contrast, those who are outside require qualifications to be given a cigarette. Recall the symbolic distinction of 'bums' and 'scumbags' where there is no chance of them getting a cigarette. The stranger that presents themselves as neither a 'scumbag' nor a 'bum' has a better chance of receiving a cigarette but still:

Like if they said 'just give me a smoke' I'm not going to give them a smoke... but if they come up all friendly like, I don't know I can just read it, if I feel good about them, like if I can read them well, if it seems like they're not just doing it to add to their stash but they need a cigarette but they really don't like asking for it but they kind of have to then I don't mind...

- Geoff

So, for those who are outside the social network, there is a chance of receiving a cigarette as long as the one who asks does so properly. In the above narrative the participant describes the proper way to ask for a cigarette which can be summed up by the expression 'being caught without an umbrella'. If, as one participant notes, "you're not a leech you're a respectable human being, and was obviously caught without a smoke, yeah, if I've got 5 I'll give you one" (Patrick). Provided you ask in with proper supplication. Giving to strangers is only within limits while giving to friends is an open door policy.

The sharing with friends for the participants fits well with Belk's (2009) concept of gift giving. Not only does it help to define and strengthen the bonds of social networks, the gift, the cigarette, is reserved for "those who also give us gifts" (718). So for strangers the working class male will offer a cigarette for pity or for charity, while in his social network he is, in a sense, duty bound to share his cigarettes and often not be "so concerned about it" (Nate). The duty to accommodate one's friends breaks down under special circumstances when reciprocity breaks down.

When an individual within the local social network fails to maintain their reciprocity they cease to become equal members in the exchange, and in these cases they might be charged money for the cigarette rather than be allowed to have ‘free reign’. When the individual betrays the bonds of solidarity by overusing the reciprocal network, they reduce the relationship to an economic one. As one participant puts it, “it’s a generally a help yourself rule... [but] I do tend to have a habit of expecting the same in return” (Patrick). As another participant notes, when asked about the possibility failing to reciprocate:

It’s probably happened a few times ... someone that I’m like, man fuck you, you bum smokes all the time and don’t give me anything in return, I’ll take your 50 cents no problem
- Nate

Buying a cigarette from a stranger for 50 cents is the common practice but buying a cigarette from a friend is uncommon. What the participant’s narrative above indicates is that the friendship relationship requires reciprocity and when that breaks down, because of abuse, the relationship can revert to a commodity exchange. In my own experience I have had encounters with individuals who always asked for and never returned a cigarette. Eventually these interactions put strain on the relationship and I came to regard the individual with suspicion and viewed them as unreliable. Which is why one participant, when asked if he borrows cigarettes from friends notes, “yeah, if I’m out, um, but I like, I always like, if I bum smokes from someone I’m always like, fucking, more than willing to give that person a smoke later...” (Nate). He is more than willing because it is a matter of duty to not only be willing to give that individual a cigarette but that one is able to return the cigarette. Because relationships, as Komter (2007) notes, are largely insecure and the ability to be seen as reliable and actively engaging in the reciprocal relationship of cigarette sharing helps to maintain those relationships. Because cigarettes are embedded within working class culture and are, in large part, taken-for-granted, the inability to engage in reciprocity marks an individual as having less or no cultural capital; non-engagement can be seen as being a known thief in a marketplace, the thief is regarded with suspicion and becomes an unacceptable, unwanted character.

The most insecure relationships, according to Caplow (1982), are intimate relationships and, as expected, we see the highest level of reciprocity here. For the participants who had intimate partners that they lived with they would often either share a single cigarette, often share packs of cigarettes or at the very least smoke together. As one participant notes:

We'll usually smoke at the same time because we'll share one cigarette, everyone else has their own and we'll just share one... and our cigarettes last longer that way, so we smoke as a team

- Patrick

Another participant notes, "we smoke less because we share all our smokes when we're together" (Jeremy). This common theme highlights that with intimate partners sharing a single cigarette is both economical and helps to shore up the potentially insecure relationship. As mentioned before, just smoking together and sharing the performance creates bonds of solidarity, and here we can see that for intimate partners the act of sharing the single cigarette implies a closer bond.

The sharing of a single cigarette is uncommon for the mature smoker. In my own experience I recall becoming a 'real smoker' and in those early days I would share a single cigarette with my friends. As I matured I became, as Nate notes, "a full cigarette man". It is acceptable to 'have a drag' or a 'puff', but sharing a cigarette as a real smoker is not the norm, because while, "I've done the sharing smokes but it's just not as satisfying as having a full cigarette, your own cigarette; at this point I need a full cigarette" (Geoff). Sharing a cigarette is something generally reserved for intimate relations, sharing with a friend is permissible but most commonly involves only the puff or drag, however sharing with a stranger on the street is forbidden, "I wouldn't, share a smoke with a stranger... never in a million years would I ask a stranger for a drag of a cigarette (Patrick). These narratives point to how the rules around sharing a single cigarette imply an intimacy that is largely reserved for specific individuals of specific status, the intimate partner being the most notable. These narratives also show how the use of sharing a single cigarette points to the status of a relationship, and the shoring up of potential insecurities in relationships.

The roommate is another potentially insecure relationship that tends to have the highest reciprocity of all other relationships, save the intimate partner. In some ways the roommate is comparable to the intimate partner due to proximity and mutual reliance which, when we consider the level of reciprocity between roommates, we see a comparable open, unquestioned reciprocity. As one participant notes:

Like in my house, my roommate smokes and I smoke... if he's got smokes and I've got no smokes... I've got smokes and vice versa right... it's like "yeah, I'll split 'em with you till they're gone... just 'cause, I'd expect the same from him.. you know

- Jacob

Another participant explains:

Some of them yeah like my roommate [Paul], fuckin' like we have such a like reciprocating smoke, relationship I guess, like, fuckin' there's like so many times that one of us will run out and we'll like smoke like half the other persons pack but then it always comes back between

the two of us... pretty much like when I have cigarettes and [Paul] needs one he's getting one and the same thing in return ... anytime either one of us have a cigarette the other one has... I've given [Paul] my last cigarette before...

- Nate

From these two narratives we can see how the level of reciprocity between roommates is comparable to that of the intimate partner and that both of these relationships are much more open than simple friend relationships. The level of cigarette sharing increases due to the closeness of the individuals in the social network, possibly, to reinforce against the potential insecurity of human relations (Komter, 2007). That the participant would be willing to give his last cigarette to his roommate also signals the high level of reciprocity among them as giving the last cigarette is, for the working class culture, an honour.

Not all cigarettes are created equal. When I began my smoking career in my teens, I recall numerous rituals around the last cigarette. A cigarette would be chosen and flipped over in the pack producing the 'wish smoke' and it would be smoked last. Regardless of the twist that was put on the last cigarette there was, and continues to be, a symbolic weight to the last cigarette which is universally acknowledged within working class culture. The last cigarette in the pack is an important commodity, so much so that one can tell one's relationship to another member by noting who they would share their last cigarette with. As one participant notes:

No, you ain't getting [my last smoke] (laughs) I don't care who you are (laughs).

- Jeremy

In this case he laughs because he is highlighting the importance of the last cigarette. While the more common response when asked about sharing the last cigarette is:

Okay with strangers, hell no... Depending on, like, if they're a smoker then probably yes, but if they're a drunk smoker then probably no... I'll be getting more later tonight, you can have one then but right now I need this...

- Nate

The last cigarette is only going to be shared with friends who are 'real smokers' and often only when the one who is in possession of the last cigarette is going to get more. Certainly, the last cigarette is not to be shared with strangers. In my experience, I have given and received the 'last smoke' and receiving it requires that one complete a simple but important ritual. When the last cigarette is offered the one who is requesting always refuses initially. This prompts the one who offers to 'insist' that they take it and with a show of reluctance the receiver finally takes the offered cigarette. So, even while the common response is to not give the last cigarette there are rules and formalized actions when the

interaction does take place. The, somewhat, formal rules around the last cigarette illustrate the cultural weight this commodity has in working class culture.

Because of the embedded nature of tobacco smoking, the ubiquity and taken-for-granted nature of cigarettes, sharing and giving cigarettes are used as a means of reinforcing and maintaining social relationships within working class culture. Sharing in the performance of smoking, smoking together, helps to form and maintain bonds of solidarity among the participants. As Eaton et al. (2000) note, this form of activity, sharing in the proper performance of a cultural commodity, helps to reinforce social bonds and creates a sense of community. Who one is willing to share a cigarette with or give a cigarette to relates directly to the closeness of one in relation to another within a social network; intimate partners receive the highest level of sharing and are privy to a single cigarette sharing while most other individuals do not engage in this shared performance. Roommates often receive the special honour of receiving the last cigarette which is an important symbol within the working class symbolic economy, while friends, even though they have the open door policy and cigarettes are often 'communal property' are granted the last cigarette only conditionally. These narratives help to highlight not just the importance of sharing in maintaining social relationships, but also that cigarettes are an important object of that sharing for the working class.

4.6 Leisure and stress

Cigarettes have a special relationship to stress, but they also have a special, taken-for-granted relationship to leisure. As has been mentioned, there are special allowances for excessive smoking which involve two occasions, being intoxicated and being stressed. The most common intoxication is alcohol but marijuana and other drugs are also associated with excessive smoking. Furthermore, an individual who is a working class 'non-smoker' often smokes when they are out drinking or, as one participant notes, they are a "a random after toker" (Patrick). An "after toker" is where one smokes a marijuana cigarette, a joint, and will have a few puffs of a cigarette which "gets you 20% higher" (Patrick). So, for both the non-smoker and the smoker, allowances for stress and intoxication are made which allow for special circumstances for smoking.

Stress was discussed above and it is not necessary to go into great detail again here, it is only important to note that, for the working class male, stress and smoking are inextricably linked. Cigarettes are a "de-stressing tool" (Patrick) and they "calm the nerves" (Jeremy), stress and cigarettes are linked in the mind and actions of participants. In my own experience I know that whenever I go in to an interview or an exam I smoke before and possibly more than one. As a moment of release and

relaxation, after I exit an interview or an exam I will have a smoke as well, almost as a sort of celebration.

When participants smoke there are various accompanied behaviours that go along with the cigarette. From drinking coffee, to driving, sitting on the couch and watching TV to going for a walk a cigarette goes well with any of these behaviours. As one participant explains:

... I mostly sit on the couch... or drive, drive, smoke walk ... something to slow time, I don't, you know,

- Patrick

Another participant notes:

I find that when I'm bored and not engaged in something I will smoke a lot. If a bus is two minutes late, that probably means that another cigarette is going to get lit, you know... Or if I'm sitting at home doing nothing, I'll be smoking a lot... It's good at wasting time... It's something you can do passively but, it can take the focus as well.. like, that's a great cigarette...

- Jacob

That it is a good time waster or that it slows time is a common sort of response to the question of what you do when you smoke. Smoking fills time, like any good hobby it can, as the above participant explained, be done passively or it can become the focus. Above all, though, smoking is ubiquitous, it is everywhere for the working class male, we take it with us and often find it wherever we go. When we take a break at work we smoke: "Coffee in the morning at 10 o'clock, coffee and a cigarette, and lunch... uh I have lunch, in the lunch room, and have a cigarette and then go back to work. And then the same thing at 3, coffee and a cigarette" (Simon). We smoke with our significant others, with our friends and most importantly we smoke when we drink: "I like to smoke a lot when I get drunk ... the way people do, right" (Tyler)

That smoking happens when there are breaks from work, that it happens in the company of friends and that it is associated with drinking indicates that cigarette smoking for the working class male is leisure. When, in my own experience, we talk about going out we talk about what bar or pub we will go to; when we go to celebrate a birthday or special occasion a shot or a beer will be ordered for the one we are lauding. Drinking alcohol is linked to celebration and to leisure. Drinking alcohol, in the context of the working class culture, is leisure. In the same way that alcohol is leisure, cigarette smoking is leisure. As one participant expresses, "right so... beer and cigarettes, peas and carrots right there..." (Simon). Beer and cigarettes are described very much like the proverbial peas and carrots because they are so culturally linked together. As one participant notes: "It's just I'm drunk and I need to smoke" (Jeremy). Another participant likens smoking and drinking behaviours with love for children:

I discovered something about myself, I love beer and cigarettes, together, and apart... I love both of them equally, it's like having two children, you know ... you love them, you love them just as much as the other, they each have their bad and good qualities (laugh)

- Nate

Another participant notes:

it's not something I associate with any particular activity, except drinking which is... pretty much standard right

- Edward

Smoking and drinking are 'pretty standard' because they are embedded in the habitus of the working class culture. The performance of drinking and smoking is a leisure performance. However, while drinking is an activity, smoking remains in the background as a hidden assumption. While the working class male recognizes the connection that the two commodities have when one 'goes out' for an evening, it is not to go out to smoke instead it is to go get wasted, or drink with friends, or to get drunk. Cigarettes are so ubiquitous and omnipresent that it would be ridiculous to say, "I'm going out to have a few drinks and probably smoke an entire pack of cigarettes," and yet that is often what happens. As one participant recounts:

I always, if like, I smoke like just under a pack a day like regularly if I don't drink, if I'm drinking at one of those pubs, I will easily smoke like two packs a day, like 'cause I'll smoke one [pack] while I'm there and then almost another one in just the rest of my day

- Nate

Cigarettes are linked with drinking within the habitus, but are so taken-for-granted that they go unnoticed. Cigarettes are an unquestioned hidden assumption. As one participant explains:

smoking is not an event, for us... it's not like, 'ahh I'm going to sit on the couch and have a smoke!'... [but it's also] not that trivial, it's, don't get me wrong, it's really nice and if I don't have smokes I'll go out and get some but, it's like 'okay let's go have a smoke?'

- Patrick

What he is explaining is precisely that cigarettes are background, they are not meant and do not occupy a foreground position in the habitus of the working class. It is similar to the gendered analysis of language wherein attention is drawn to the word 'woman' or 'human' noting that both, rooted in the word 'man', carry the hidden assumption of male domination. To many men, this critique is often ignored or debased because it casts light on an unquestioned aspect of their habitus. In the same way, smoking, for the working class male, is an unquestioned assumption, a ubiquitous aspect of their habitus that is meant to be in the background, a non-event. As he explains, it is not trivial but it is certainly not central.

The above narratives help to show smoking as an unquestioned activity that is embedded within the habitus of the working class male as leisure, as down time. It is culturally linked with alcohol, recognized as leisure, and the strength of that link is shown through the allowance of ‘non-smokers’ to smoke when drinking and still retain their non-smoking status. Smoking as leisure, embedded in the habitus of the working class as such can also be seen through the myriad ways smoking is paired with activities that involve relaxation or in ways that promote it as de-stressing. That smoking is seen as a non-event highlights the prevalence of the activity and the assumption that smoking is merely part of the background of the life-world of the working class individual.

4.7 Health

Since tobacco is known to be linked to serious health problems, for those who ingest it we need to understand the working class conception of health and whether the participants felt their health was affected by smoking. The best description of health comes from one participant who defined health as:

Vigorous... um, robust, full of energy... you know, uh, when you ...you know when your energy and your body and you can feel it, and, you have that energy... you know your muscles don't hurt, your back's not achy, your heads not groggy, your thinking is sharp, you could (mumble) that quarter mile in how ever many seconds if you had to and still, you know, have your breath, or... get out of bed at 6 o'clock in the morning and work all day and not be dead dog tired when you come home.

- Patrick

In essence he describes a healthy person as one whose body has the ability to react to its mind's commands; that is, when one has the energy to accomplish the tasks that they need to, or as he says, ‘work all day and not be dead dog tired when you come home’. Another participant replied when asked, “I feel healthy as fuck (chuckle)... [Because] I am able to do everything I want to do” (Nate)

In this case the participant expresses that he is healthy because he feels healthy and is able to accomplish what he needs and wants to do; his body responds to him when he needs it to. While he feels healthy the majority of the participants admit that they are not as healthy as they could be. As one participant notes:

For the most part actually, now that I explain it, there are some days that I just don't feel it, you know what I mean, you get out of bed and you feel empty and drained and you're like ugh... but those days are usually well deserved... absolutely [it affects my health], but at this point cigarettes haven't affected my (snap) current ... like my ability to... I was never a good runner; let's get that out there... I find that, yes, I do run out of breath considerably faster than I used to, but I'm not really as active... but at the same... like when I went snowboarding, all I did was go down a mountain, but when I got down my lungs were burning I was so bad out of breath... and it sucked bad... but I still have the ability to push through that and, and ... (exhale)... I don't know how to explain it, it's like ah, maybe it's like kick starting a cold engine... you know...

yeah, I just have to give it a quick jump and give it the (revving engine sound)...and you might be screwed for a bit but you push through that and it evens out ... it's a little harder for me to tap into but it's still there.

-Patrick

The participant, when pressed, notes that his body does not respond as easily and smoothly to his commands as he expects it to or as the idealized conception of his body should. However, even while his body might not respond as smoothly, the general perception is that one can just push through it. Health isn't an external or quantified thing for participants, it is rather a sense that one feels, it is knowing that one is able to do what they want do when they want to do it. As one participant notes, "Health doesn't play too big a role at this point in time because I don't notice the negative effects... they're not apparent" (Jacob). This is echoed by another participant who relates:

I like everything about [smoking], other than the factors that I have not seen yet such as health and money... maybe if one day I see those factors like if I suddenly find myself short of breath after climbing a flight of stairs or peeling an orange (chuckling)... if I found myself hindered by smoking, yeah maybe I would quit, but I do stress maybe...

- Simon

The above participant is relating that he has seen no ill health effects from smoking. He feels healthy and, with respect to smoking, feels that it does not affect him. As another participant notes, "If you feel you're healthy that's the main thing" (Simon). Even when one notices the effects of smoking, as one participant notes:

I can run just as well as I ever have, I can play sports pretty much, well I played soccer last Sunday and I was coughing like a bastard, I mean like, at the same time it never slowed me down, I was still going...

- Nate

The sense is that as long as the individual can 'push through' or not be 'slowed down,' then there is no ill effect. The same contradiction that allows a non-smoker to smoke under certain conditions allows the smoker who is "hacking up brown/ green shit in the toilet" (Simon) to consider themselves healthy. While participants didn't feel the health effects of smoking, some noted that they won't go for a run or a hike'. Some note that they 'cough like a bastard', even while they feel 'as healthy as fuck'; they might "feel like {takes a breath} you just don't have like a huge deep breath [but] I think I am... trying to find a perfect balance between all three [vices]" (Simon). The definition of health is an active definition, it is about what "I can do" not "what I am". This definition also, in a sense, externalizes the body, it creates a sense that the body is something one can control and dominate rather than a gestalt. Because the conception of health is the ability to do what one wants or needs to

do, as long as the individual perceives themselves as strong enough to push through, they will be able to maintain smoking. And, ultimately, as one participant notes:

I don't think it's going to be what kills me... I'm going to fall off a cliff or something, It's just going to be WHACK!

- Patrick

4.8 Control, Self-Reliant Individual and Cessation

Control, when it comes to smoking and performing smoking properly is an important element for cultural capital in the working class habitus. When one is perceived to be without control, as in the case of the chronic chain smoker, one loses cultural capital. If a member of the middle class is potentially able to gain access to the working class through smoking a working class member might be able to control their smoking behaviour to move into the middle class milieu. One participant, when asked if he had been in a situation when he was the only smoker responded:

absolutely, many times... I didn't smoke, I don't smoke until the opportunity presents itself... let's say you're out with ten people who don't smoke, we're all going to the pool and we're going to meet in the parking lot at 8 and we're still waiting for... Frank and Dave... I would stand aside and smoke... if they show up, three puffs in, I'll toss the smoke...

- Patrick

When asked whether his smoking behaviour changes he responds by saying, "like a chameleon." (Patrick)

Early in the chapter there was a discussion of feelings of shame that may be attached to smoking behaviour when individuals smoke around the 'other' as non-smoker. From the narrative above one could construe this change of behaviour as an act of shame, hiding one's 'true colours,' like a chameleon. However, to make that claim would be doing symbolic violence to the participants. In this case, this is an exercise of control, as the participant notes:

If I'm playing hockey if I'm, it's not often, if I'm in the movie theatre watching a good movie I don't need to smoke... I'm enjoying a good conversation I don't need to smoke, [John] has to leave the table every fucking three minutes to go for a cigarette...

- Patrick

The participant here is expressing the ability to control his smoking rather than, as he derisively claims, 'John who needs to smoke every three minutes'. This means that while he is able to control his smoking, John is not. Recalling the discussion on chain smoking, culturally it is inappropriate to be seen as losing control over one's smoking, in a sense, allowing smoking to become a master status. While we are all smokers, smoking, when performed properly is not what defines us even while it is ubiquitous. In a similar way, time is central to all our lives and yet it is always in the background, unless there is a problem. The problem being, one doesn't have enough time. Smoking, likewise, needs to remain in the background, unless one doesn't have enough cigarettes. However, when an

individual allows smoking to become overtly central, their performance of smoking becomes that of one who is dominated by it rather than dominating it.

Control is important to understanding the working class experience of smoking. Recall how health is defined in the active sense: 'I can do everything I want to do'. Control, likewise, is active, it is something that is to be done. Further, the definitions of control and health both involve strength; strength to dominate, to *be* in control. Strength to 'push past' the ill health effects of smoking is integral to the performance of smoking. If the working class individual fails to be able to push past, or fails to dominate smoking, they have failed in the performance of being a working class smoker. They lose cultural capital, as in the case of the chain smoker.

The common factor between control and health is strength - an inner quality that the working class male possesses. It is not merely a strong body that the working class male possesses, but also that they are strong, self-reliant individuals. They are strong enough to push past the potential ill health effects and it is this inner self-reliance that gives them the strength not to notice them, not to be concerned by them, and not to be slowed down by them. The successful performer is strong enough to dominate their smoking behaviour, controlling when and where they smoke. In my own experience, when I began smoking, I recall being warned against smoking because others claimed that I would become addicted. I rejected their claims and smoked anyway because I knew I would be stronger than the addiction.

The notions of the self-reliant individual and control come into focus when we consider cessation strategies and cessation aids. The resounding response from participants when asked about cessation was that one needed strength. Participants note, "You have to be strong you have to be strong to quit, you have to have a strong will" (Geoff). Another participant claims you need a, "strong motivation to quit" (Jacob) and, echoing these statements Edward notes, "the primary catalyst is the desire to quit right, I mean the serious desire... you can't half ass it".

Will power, strong will, motivation, serious desire, all imply an internal strength, an individual strength, a strong self-reliant individual. Quitting smoking is conceptualized in terms of an individual motivation and is summed up best by one participant who notes, "I mean like, I made the decision to start smoking and I need to make the decision to quit smoking" (Edward). Cessation strategies show us that, for the working class male, smoking is tied to strength. It is not that one is weak if they continue to smoke; rather it is that one is strong enough to smoke. This was made clear through the discussion of health and the notion of 'pushing past' any of the ill health effects. In the context of quitting we can

see that if one were to decide to quit, the path to success is through one's inner strength. If one is unable to quit, it is because one lacked the 'desire', motivation or 'will power', one lacked the strength to do so. Smoking for the working class, therefore, is a personal, individual decision and, as the above participant notes, the decision to quit therefore needs to come from the individual.

The individualization of smoking and the strength of the working class male is highlighted when the participants considered cessation aids like 'the patch' or 'Nicorette gum'. For the most part the very idea of these aids is offensive to the working class male as it implies an inherent weakness on his part. When asked about how he feels about cessation aids Patrick responds:

(pffff) ... you can quote me on that... they're garbage...if you're going to quit smoking, quit smoking... don't quit smoking and keep ingesting the drug.

The participants explain the futility of using the cessation aids echoing the above statement considering cessation aids as, "an excuse [or] a crutch" (Simon), as "a placebo" (Tyler), or as "an unnecessary expense" (Jacob). Smoking is conceptualized as an individual choice made by an individual who is strong enough to maintain and control smoking and, further, were they to have the desire to quit, then that action would begin with the individual and be executed by the individual. Quitting smoking, from the participants' narratives is expressed as a lone struggle; the subjectivity is separate and distinct from others, is strong in themselves; to rely on others is to betray that conception of self. They are, therefore, self-reliant individuals who decide to smoke and decide to stop on their own terms. Conceptualizing cessation aids as a 'crutch' exemplifies this individuated habitus. It helps to explain why, in my own experience, when I attempted to quit smoking and, having bought Nicorette gum, I could not bring myself to use it. This also may explain why I felt feelings of shame and failure for considering using these aids.

Cessation aids are seen as a weakening of the self, a shameful act. If one is self-reliant enough to stand on one's own he would not need to lean on a crutch. Likewise a working class male using a cessation aid is seen as equally weak and unable to stand on his own. Cessation aids are incompatible with working class culture because the (male) working class habitus is one of a strong self-reliant individual. By using cessation aids one is literally, in the language of working class culture, admitting that they have lost control, that they are too weak to control their own bodies. This is why one participant, when asked if he would ever try using the patch, responded: "I never had to... I was never desperate enough to quit" (Richard). Because he could control his body, he is strong and not desperate; he is placing his self, his smoking, and the working class culture into context. That context is one of

control, self-reliance and individual domination. This is the nexus of smoking within the working class culture: I am strong enough to smoke, I can control my smoking, I control my body, “I [alone] made the decision to start smoking and I [alone] need to make the decision to quit smoking” (Edward).

4.9 Individuality Versus Sociality

Tobacco smoking, in terms of cessation, is construed as an individual act, as was shown above. It is perceived as a continuously chosen decision that is made by the individual even while it is mediated by cultural capital and is employed to maintain social networks. Smoking then presents a contradiction; on the one hand it is construed within the working class as an individual act and on the other it is embedded in the social fabric of working class culture. The act of smoking is a performance that presupposes an audience, it is played out by individuals but it is always a social act. The act of smoking is social, as has been shown above, so the act of quitting must be social as well even while it is construed as individual. One participant describes this well when he notes:

no one quits at the same time, if everyone quit at the same time it'd be a lot easier to quit smoking... but only one person decides to quit and still hangs out and they start smoking again and a couple months later you decide to quit and then 'cause everyone else doesn't quit and so you start smoking again and that's just kind of how it goes everyone just leapfrogs...

- Geoff

The way the participant describes his social circle quitting (as leapfrogging) is important in understanding the social context of smoking and cessation. As the participant explains:

I know people who are on the fence, who are quitting or who have quit... you can't just denounce their friendship because they've quit because you know they'll come back eventually... ..they still want to talk to you when you're outside having a smoke and they ask for a puff and you're like 'no you quit' and they're like, 'oh come on', I just want one puff and you know what it means and you give them one anyway because you can't deny them... you can't tell someone they can't smoke if you're standing there smoking.

- Geoff

The working class individual's social network consists of smokers, so, if one member quits they are still in contact with individuals who smoke. Moreover they lose the bond that communal smoking brings. As one participant describes his experience of quitting smoking at work:

I've tried to quit before and we hired a new guy who smoked and I was like, "no way", I just went and bought a pack right away. Like I'm not even going to fight this... because if he's going to sit there and enjoy smokes and I'm going to pretend that I don't smoke around him and he's going to know me as a non smoker as opposed to a smoker.

- Simon

The participant is describing the possibility of losing his identity as a smoker, and in losing that identity, losing his connection to other working class individuals, losing the social bonds. In my own experience, I recall a time when I quit and to do so I actively cut people out of my local social network.

There were people I would not see because we smoked together and I knew that if we were to spend time together I would be tempted to smoke. As one participant describing his experiences notes:

for the first period [I stopped hanging out with people] yeah, I mean at work, I just didn't go to the smoke pit, for the first bit because that would be temptation you know... so I would find other ways to occupy my time during my breaks I would go on the computer and research crap or I would just work more [chuckle] wow I'm really productive all of a sudden... [both laugh] It's like a self rehab you develop through yourself... you sort of hide yourself from that... to have to put yourself in the situation where you could choose to smoke in the first place...

-Simon

The participant's narrative echoes mine in the way that he actively had to limit his interactions with other smokers. This highlights the potential for losing one's social network through the act of quitting. The above narratives show that when one maintains one's social network despite having quit smoking he remains immersed within a smoking-embedded network. As one participant notes, "Well, a lot of my friends smoke, so even after you quit, when you have a circle of friends where everyone smokes, you're always around it" (Jacob). Recognizing that quitting may mean limiting one's social interactions may impact one's membership with their social network; that is, they may lose their smoking identity, which would be a necessary outcome of quitting, but there is also the real possibility of losing one's social network. In my case, I did have problems with my social network, when I quit and shut myself off from my friends. Because I had a firm smoking identity and the majority of my friends were smokers, I reduced my social network to myself and my girlfriend at the time. After about a month of being cut off from my social network the strain and tension took its toll on my relationship and, in the words of a participant:

Well I went through a pretty shitty break up... and I was like, well, fuck this...I need a cigarette and I need some beer let's just do that...

- Simon

Having a stressful event take place is itself often a good reason to resume smoking. In this case the stressful situation of a break-up coupled with the social network where smoking is embedded creates the opportunity to begin smoking, or resume smoking. So, just as stress is a reason to chain smoke and grants 'non-smokers' immunity from smoking status, it is also an acceptable reason to resume smoking. As one participant explains:

And then you're drinking, you get drunk, and you're thinking you're okay and you can just have one. You know, you don't smoke for a while and next week comes around and you think, 'oh, you know that wasn't so bad, I had one last time it was okay, maybe I can do it again'. ...That just led down... I'd already cheated a couple times and I had a half a pack of smokes in my possession and just... one thing led to another...

- Jacob

Stressful situations and consuming alcohol are both avenues through which individuals find it easier to resume smoking, but more to the point, these narratives show how it is the sociality of smoking, the smoking-embedded social networks, that enable the opportunity to resume.

The above narratives have shown that smoking and quitting are social acts that are construed as an individual choice. The working class individual is seen to be a self-reliant individual who is capable and in control, as was shown through the narratives of cessation aids. The social networks of working class individuals are smoking-embedded ones and when individuals quit smoking they tend not to quit their social networks. When individuals do not quit their social networks there is pressure to return to their former identities as smokers, both internally (craving/ temptation) and externally through social forces. More than just returning to their former identities, there is pressure on these individuals to return to smoking because of the strain on social bonds that happens when one leaves the reciprocal relationship of smoker. These narratives have shown that smoking is central to the relationships that are formed and maintained within the working class culture, and that to turn ones back on smoking is to turn one's back on the culture and the relationships founded in that sharing of culture.

4.10 Performance of smoking

A real smoker, as defined by working class culture, is one who persistently smokes and not only when he consumes alcohol.. More importantly, however, real smokers are those who are in control of their smoking; they are perceived as dominating it. Smoking has cultural capital when it is performed correctly and the correct performance requires that smoking not be overt. What this means is that one who smokes correctly must not show, or must not be perceived as performing smoking. It must be 'natural', it must be shown as an individual choice, and there must not be signs of smoking like yellowed teeth, yellowed fingers, chain smoking, rolling butt smokes or smoking someone else's cigarette butts. If any or all of these conditions apply one is performing smoking incorrectly. Of course, as mentioned there are circumstances - stress and alcohol consumption - where these conditions may be acceptable and thus are exempted from a loss in cultural capital. When we consider the essence of the experience of being a working class smoker, being able to keep smoking as background is a very important characteristic of this experience.

Tobacco smoking, and in particular cigarette smoking, is a central feature in the life world of the working class. It is a central commodity in the working class symbolic economy. Smoking as intrinsically tied to leisure and stress relief is an important clue to understanding the essence of the experience. When something is tied to leisure, *prima facia*, it signifies a good. Stress relief for the

working class is not running, jogging, yoga or exercise rather it is smoking and going for a beer; perhaps smoking more than one would on average. Smoking functions as a means of maintaining social bonds through reciprocal sharing, giving and in the simple act of smoking together. Smoking can be seen as a sort of club where individuals smoke together and thereby reaffirm their membership to the 'club' and to each other. Sharing a cigarette solidifies bonds between intimate partners and giving the last cigarette maintains the social bonds of close friends and roommates. Tobacco, smoked in leisure or in times of stress, given as a reciprocal gesture or smoked in the company of friends and also the allowance for individuals to retain non-smoking status while indulging in tobacco use, all highlight the central role tobacco plays as a commodity within the working class symbolic economy.

From the clusters of meaning developed in this chapter we can see that within working class culture the smoker is a dominant, in control individual and smoking is kept in the background. However, tobacco smoking is also a ubiquitous, central part of the working class experience. Correct tobacco smoking for the working class is meaningful cultural capital. Like the yoga mats tucked under the middle class arm, smoking indicates one's cultural capital in relation to the other's symbolic economy. To the middle class, the cultural capital of smoking is, in many ways, non-existent, but to the working class, the smoker, when performing correctly, is signified as having cultural capital. Within the working class the smoker has a role, an identity, which is performed within and for a smoking-embedded social network where the majority of friends and acquaintances also perform smoking.

The performance of being a working class male requires the individual to act as though they are a dominant, in control, self-reliant individual even while they act out the performance within smoking-embedded social networks. As working class male we need to be perceived as dominant and in that performance, in that perception, the individual is unable to ask for help, be it in the form of cessation aids or even advice. To do so is to admit weakness, to admit a lack of control and to admit that the performance of dominance is just that, a performance. When the working class male quits smoking and maintains his role within his social networks, his identity and role have been compromised by the new and unfamiliar role of non-smoker. Further, the working class culture allows that a non-smoker be able to occasionally smoke when stressed or when consuming alcohol. The quitting smoker, embedded in this social network where alcohol consumption is leisure, often takes advantage of that allowance. This leads to the slippery slope of returning to the familiar and more comfortable status as smoker.

This return is not done with an air of defeat, rather the reversal or return is done through the convenient fiction of “individual choice” which sustains the performative role of the dominant individual.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

In attempting to understand the role that social context plays in tobacco persistence and by examining tobacco smoking as cultural capital, it became evident that the nature of working class males’ tobacco smoking in this study diverged from previous research findings. When examining tobacco smoking through the lens of multiple symbolic economies, it becomes easier to understand how tobacco smoking can persist in the face of aggressive anti-smoking campaigns. Tobacco smoking appears to play a role in the maintenance of social networks and it seems to be closely associated to stress relief and leisure. The use of cessation aids are generally viewed as a shameful act as the habitus of the working class male appears to be one of self-reliance and control that is embarrassed by these aids. This chapter examines the findings in chapter 4 with regard to the literature in chapter 2. It will examine the above themes and others more closely and conclude with limitations to the study and areas for future research.

5.1 Symbolic Economy

Bourdieu’s (1984) concept of cultural capital and habitus are largely the basis for the concept of symbolic economy but I apply the concepts slightly differently. Lareau (1987) notes that, “his research on cultural capital of elites may be construed as suggesting that the culture of elites is intrinsically more valuable than that of the working class” (P. 83). I suggest instead that the culture of elites is suited to the symbolic economy of elites and is thus valuable to them, while the culture of the working class is more valuable in the working class symbolic economy than the culture of elites. It follows then that cultural capital is valorized in this way as well, such that the cultural capital of the working class is more valuable to the working class than the cultural capital of the upper classes. The financial capital of the upper classes is another issue however. Skeggs (2004) finds, in describing the working class of the past that they defined “themselves through distance and difference from others, in particular the middle class, heaping scorn on those with pretensions to gentility” (p. 40). What Skeggs (2004) means by ‘pretensions to gentility’ is that the working class is scornful of those who adopt the values and behaviours of individuals who are outside of the symbolic economy.

This ‘heaping of scorn’ is evident in my discussion with the participants, for example, in the discussion of yoga and jogging attire. Individuals who wore spandex jogging attire or who participated in yoga (particularly men) were denied cultural capital. The scorn for individuals who engaged in this

was immediate and the inference that one's social network would engage in this was laughable. These performances were unfit for the working class. Spandex jogging attire and especially yoga are, however, pertinent to the middle class experience. As Vincent and Ball (2007) explain, middle class families are training their children to be proficient cultural consumers at younger and younger ages. It is important to remember that this 'training' is not explicit but is rather an implicit accrual of the 'proper' cultural capital. They enroll their children in 'enrichment' classes in an attempt at reproducing the middle class. Vincent and Ball (2007) note, there is an "anxiety and sense of responsibility experienced by middle class parents as they attempt to resist 'fears of falling'" (p. 1062). This results in the reproduction of the middle class symbolic economy as their children acquire the ability to consume "legitimate culture and become inducted into the 'caste' of 'those who understand'" (Vincent and Ball, 2007, p. 1074). Those who understand are those who are able to perceive the legitimate culture or as Lawler (2005) would have it, those who are able to 'claim a monopoly on humanity' (p. 439).

The study participants' experiences and the expression of middle class attempts at reproduction noted by Vincent and Ball (2007) do however have something in common and that is an expression of legitimacy. The expression of legitimacy for one's values and beliefs are an expression of the underlying habitus and the firmness of the symbolic economy. Cultural capital is a means through which one expresses values, accrues status, and how one performs belonging. This exchange takes place within the semiotic space that values some cultural capital over other forms. The distinction of what constitutes legitimate performance highlights the divergence of the working class life-world, the working class symbolic economy from the middle class and vice versa. In order to understand the distinction and divergence of the symbolic economy of the working class and the middle class, we need to understand that it is based in habitus.

Habitus for Bourdieu (cited in Fowler, 1999), is the structuring structure that is 'bred in the bone' (p. 2). It is both the overarching framework within which we learn 'the rules of the game' and the field in which the game is played. It is the reader and the writer of behaviours and values. Following from this, the symbolic economy then is habitus writ large. Because habitus is, according to Webb et al. (2003), the "durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisation" (p. 36), meaning that the relationship between agent and structure is recursive and co-dependent and so too is the symbolic economy. However, a symbolic economy, or one's habitus, does not emerge from a vacuum. And an individual does not exist without being socialized into a given culture, the individual, rather, find's him/herself 'thrown' into his/her surroundings and finds pre-existing, what Schutz's

(1967) calls, the life-world. As Ritzer (1996) notes it is in this life-world where “people both create social reality and are constrained by the pre-existing social and cultural structures created by their predecessors” (P. 75-6).

There is then a pre-existing habitus or symbolic economy to which individuals become habituated, which, as Berger and Luckman (1966) explain, is one that is always in the process of construction (P. 57). Bourdieu (1977) explains that it is from the pre-existing habitus produced under different “conditions of existence which, in imposing different definitions of the impossible, the possible and the probable, cause one group to experience as natural or reasonable practices or aspirations which another group finds unthinkable or scandalous” (p. 78). These ‘conditions of existence’ are, simply, one’s access to material and symbolic resources. Material resources, generally, are one’s access to financial capital while symbolic resources are values, attitudes, tastes and dispositions. It is one’s access to material and symbolic resources that is the limiting factor in the regulation of improvisation for the habitus or within the symbolic economy.

As noted, the habitus is not static, but rather is fluid from one generation to another, like a jazz standard that contains a memorable tune but also contains bars set for improvisation. The next generation of musicians come to know such improvised pieces, take them for the new standard and work on their own improvisations and so on. This analogy helps to explain how improvisation within the habitus is not a *laissez faire* improvisation but a regulated one. Inherent in the habitus are the doxic attitudes that inform how an individual interprets objective conditions and subjective intentions. Bourdieu (1977) notes that these conditions and intentions, in a sense, dictate what practices are “excluded, either totally without examination, as *unthinkable*, or at the cost of *double negation* which inclines agents to make a virtue of necessity” (p. 77, emphasis in original). To elaborate on Bourdieu’s (1977) statement, not eating dog is a good explanation of ‘unthinkable’, and perhaps despising organic foods because of their prohibitive costs could be seen as making a virtue of necessity. The doxic attitudes, expressed as unthinkable or making a virtue of necessity, are inculcated in the individual ‘thrown’ into his or her symbolic economy and are the means through which objects and actions are coded and decoded, giving rise to cultural capital.

The unthinkable is illustrated by a participant’s discussion of yoga and spandex. The thought of yoga is non-reflexive. Performing yoga, for the participants, while not necessarily unthinkable is laughable to the point of absurdity. Similarly the idea of tobacco smoking is taken for granted to the extent that a social smoker who only smokes when drinking or is stressed is considered a non-smoker.

Moreover, that smoking is symbolically linked to stress relief/ leisure and intoxication highlights the way tobacco is embedded within the working class habitus. That the middle class treats tobacco smoking as ‘double negation’ making it unthinkable and scandalous while the working class finds it natural and reasonable points to the different conditions of existence under which both classes exist; indeed, the differential access to material and symbolic resources producing divergent and multiple symbolic economies.

5.2 Symbolic Boundaries

Symbolic boundaries are the semiotic lines drawn between symbolic economies. Symbolic boundaries are maintained through exclusion and selection. Exclusion and selection are, of course, two sides of the same coin for to select is to exclude and vice versa. Those with the same “elective affinities” are included as a member of the elect and those without are excluded. This was discussed above in terms of a symbolic economy wherein one behaviour is legitimate while another is either unthinkable or at best illegitimate. We see this in Lawler’s (2005) disgusted subjects, through Bourdieu’s (1977) discussion of habitus and the conditions of existence, and through Lamont and Lareau’s (1988) discussion of the forms of exclusion.

The participants’ narratives illustrated how symbolic boundaries were maintained from the working class toward those they perceived as ‘below’ them and also from those they perceived as above in the hierarchy, a hierarchy that is implied by the terms middle and upper class. This was expressed through the discussion of yoga, but now I will turn to an examination of tobacco smoking as a means of distinction, as a means of reinforcing the symbolic boundary both ‘up’ toward the middle classes and ‘down’ toward the ‘underclass’. The reinforcing of symbolic boundaries both ‘up’ and ‘down’ revolve around the Bourdieusian concept of distinction and the concept of exclusion.

For the working class, tobacco smoking was not in and of itself a form of cultural capital. To derive cultural capital from smoking one must not only smoke properly, but also one must be smoking the right product. Smoking cigars, little cigars or cigarillos does not make one a smoker, but neither does smoking cigarettes make one a smoker as defined through the participants’ narratives. Smoking cigarettes in particular quantity and within particular guidelines makes one a smoker, but beyond that threshold and with certain exemptions one can remain a non-smoker. It was revealed through the narratives that chain smoking, smoking butts or rolling butts of cigarettes into a ‘butt smoke’ results in a loss of cultural capital, and shows that the individual lacks the ‘strength of character’ to be considered one of the elect or a fellow member of the working class.

The participants described those who were perceived to be below them as individuals who were 'leeches' or 'scumbags'. These disparaging terms distinguish the participants from others and by negation prove that the working class life-world is legitimate. This is strikingly similar to the ways in which Lawler (2005) describes the middle class distinguishing themselves through disgust of the working class, thus legitimating their life-world. In this way the members of the working class symbolic economy act to exclude individuals who evidence behaviours that are incompatible with the working class culture, just as the middle class, as shown by Lawler (2005) do. In some cases it is a breakdown of reciprocity that results in an individual being tagged as one who is outside the working class cultural milieu. As the participants and as the term 'leech' implies, it is individuals who refuse, through whatever means, to engage in the reciprocal nature of cigarette sharing. An individual may buy alcohol in lieu of providing actual cigarettes, for example, but in some way must engage in reciprocal sharing in order for the relationship not be degraded.

When it comes to tobacco smoking a lack of the appropriate cultural capital may mark an individual as an outsider. Chapter 4 illustrates how those who did not properly consume cigarettes were considered aberrant and, again, marked as outsiders. Tobacco smoking is central to the lives of the participants and is embedded in the life-world of the working class individual. The proper means of consuming tobacco is to not be perceived as being consumed by tobacco. Control of one's smoking behaviour, therefore, is essential to the accruing of cultural capital. Apart from the exceptions to these rules, which will be discussed shortly, one must not chain smoke nor must one smoke cigarette butts. One must also avoid yellowed fingers, hair and teeth. Avoiding these expressions creates the perception that one is in control of one's tobacco smoking and is not controlled by it. Those who are unable to maintain this level of control are often pitied but are ultimately disgusted. They are marked, in some cases literally, when it comes to yellowed fingers etc, as outsiders. They are then removed of their status as, in some cases, persons; noting that one was either a leech/ scumbag leads to his/her negation as s/he loses his/her personhood.

This removal of personhood is important in that it highlights the range of acceptable behaviour for who is and is not working class. This can be compared with Lawler's (2005) excerpt from a news broadcast where the middle class broadcaster notes, the "Pauls-grove Woman, I felt, was of an alien race to me. No wonder the BBC employed anthropologists with cut-glass accents to interpret these people for the sake of their bemused viewers. Never had the social divide seemed so wide" (p. 431-432). In this instance the broadcaster all but physically draws a line and puts this woman on one side,

and on the other sits, secure in legitimacy, himself and his viewers. The participants here have drawn a line as well and, through exclusion, define who is a member and who is not and thus define the symbolic boundary 'downward'.

On the other side, as was shown in the discussion of symbolic economies, the working class cultural capital reinforces the symbolic boundary between itself and the middle class. The above excerpt is sufficient to highlight ways in which the middle class works to reinforce the symbolic boundary. I want to turn now to the symbolic boundary from the perspective of the working class through tobacco smoking.

Tobacco smoking is an embedded feature that is a part of the everyday life world of the working class individual. So much so that a member of the working class is able to socially engage in smoking, that is only smoking during social gatherings, especially involving alcohol, without being labeled a smoker. Importantly, there is no stigma to the social smoker, according to the narratives in chapter 4, provided that they in some way engage in the reciprocal relationship developed around smoking. This is in contrast to the interaction with what I've called the 'other as non-smoker'. The other as non-smoker is largely of the middle and upper class and interacts with the working class smoker in either subtle or aggressively negative ways. These interactions represent the ways in which the middle classes maintain the symbolic boundaries toward the working class through using tobacco smoking as a distinguishing marker. Lawler (2005) highlights many more ways through which the middle classes distinguish the working class and thus reinforce the symbolic boundary, but important here, are the ways through which the participants have described their experience interacting with the other as non-smoker.

In chapter 4, participants discussed feeling like outsiders, the sense that they could never fully know a non-smoker or explaining that they were meant to feel a sense of shame attached to their smoking. These feelings arise in situations where they are the only smoker, and particularly when they are interacting with middle class individuals or infiltrating middle class milieu. One participant described his experience attending a college class, where he was the lone smoker and felt ostracized not only for being the only smoker but also for his lack of middle class accoutrement, the ubiquitous aluminum bottle. In this case the participant experienced the symbolic exclusion of being, essentially, a stranger in a strange land, and he 'volunteered' to not continue with post secondary education. This is the 'self selection' form of exclusion noted above (Lamont and Lareau, 1988). Because the participant did not carry the same trappings as the rest of the class he felt himself an outsider, but importantly he

also participated in tobacco smoking which required him to physically leave the class and literally be set apart.

Tobacco smoking sets the working class apart, not only in terms of the by-laws that physically segment these individuals, but in terms of the symbolic boundaries that are reinforced by both ‘sides’. The participants noted that the majority of their friends smoke and those that do not also do not harass them about it. On the other side, the participants noted that they have, to greater and lesser degrees, experienced symbolic exclusion on the basis of their smoking which, again, was not present in their core social network. Christakis and Fowler (2008) note that, in their 30 year study, cessation evidenced a cascade effect where multiple nodes would quit smoking at the same time and that those who continued to smoke were “increasingly marginalized socially” (p. 2249). They assert that because of the observed cascade effects of cessation, “health improvements in one person might spread to others” (p. 2257). These movements over a thirty year span, when taken in the context of this study might instead be read as the allocation of tobacco smoking to the working and lower classes; that is, distinction through tobacco smoking. It was during this period that smoking levels receded, from 1971- 2003, and tobacco smoking became located and persisted within the working and lower classes. So while Christakis and Fowler (2008) may be correct that health remedies that target the group are effective, it would appear that the remedy must also be able to make it across the symbolic boundary.

Symbolic boundaries are the semiotic edges of the symbolic economy that are reinforced through cultural capital. When one has the appropriate cultural capital one is able to participate in the symbolic economy, when one doesn’t, one finds oneself an outsider or worse, an outcast. The boundaries produce real effects as the example of the participant taking a college class illustrates. According to Christakis and Fowler (2008), those who cease smoking and those who continue, I would argue, are separated by class lines, and are case examples of Lamont and Lareau’s (1988) direct selection which is again a product of cultural capital. Symbolic boundaries do not only ‘block’ downward but are reinforced in ‘both’ directions as the native symbolic economy is seen as being legitimate and therefore the other becomes illegitimate.

The reinforcement of symbolic boundaries produce real effects on choices made and not made by individuals who ‘bump up’ against these boundaries. In the academic sphere Kosut (2006) describes what she calls a “class ceiling” where financial and cultural capital costs of higher education make for prohibitive obstacles that the lower SES strata often do not cross. The symbolic boundary, or class ceiling, is not impermeable as shown in Kosut’s (2006) case as she managed to navigate these

barriers, but in the case of one participant, the symbolic economy of the middle class, expressed through a college course and the palpable exclusion that he felt was too much as he ‘volunteered’ not to continue with post secondary education.

5.3 Taste and Social Context

Now that multiple symbolic economies and symbolic boundaries have been canvassed we can begin to see how the social context is organized and how the individual is immersed in it. The social context of smoking for Poland et al. (2006) is the space, the agents and, importantly, the meaning ascribed to smoking. Through an understanding of the social context of smoking, one can understand the persistence of smoking. Viewing social context as the symbolic economy works to expand the understanding of how tobacco smoking is initiated, maintained and what meaning is ascribed to it for the individuals who engage with it. However, the question still remains, because nicotine is an addictive substance, whether or not the persistence of tobacco smoking is just a function of addiction.

The Christakis and Fowlers (2008) study revealed cascade effects where groups of people quit smoking at the same time, an indication that social forces are at work. Further, Pampel (2004) highlighted his ‘diffusion of innovation’ thesis where the middle class seems to be adopting healthy lifestyles in the same way that, decades before, they had adopted tobacco smoking. The working class, according to Pampel (2004), therefore, should adopt healthy lifestyles as well, as they attempt to mimic the behaviours of the upper classes. Even while the main thrust of the thesis commits symbolic violence against the working class, the point that there was a shift from smoking in the middle class to non-smoking again indicates social forces dominating physiological ones.

This is not to imply that physiological forces do not play a role in maintaining addiction, rather, it is to say that social forces play an equally vital role in the adoption and persistence of tobacco smoking. As Crotty (1993) explains in regards to nutrition that there are two separate but interrelated spheres, that of the “post-swallowing world of biology, physiology, biochemistry and pathology and the pre-swallowing world of behaviour, culture, society and experience” (p. 109). Taking the above sentiment and substituting swallowing for smoking highlights the role that social context, the symbolic economy, plays in regard to tobacco smoking. Within the working class symbolic economy, as shown through the narratives, the ‘pre-smoking world’ of experience, sociality and behaviour matter more to the participants than issues of pathology or biochemistry.

Addiction cannot wholly be responsible for the persistence of smoking because, through the narratives of the participants, there arose the concept of authentic or legitimate taste. In chapter 4 the

participants described little cigars and cigarillos, especially plastic tipped or flavoured varieties as being, in the case of the former, a mediated experience and in the latter, fruit flavoured. Both these distinctions separate what is essentially a good smoke from a bad smoke. The taste, and distaste of particular forms of tobacco, which often contain equal or more nicotine than a cigarette, provides evidence against a wholly physiological explanation of the persistence of smoking. The act of smoking, the experience, is not the same and thus the satisfaction is not the same as a cigarette. Taste matters when it comes to the persistence of tobacco smoking and taste is a function of cultural capital. The social forces, embodied in taste, are expressed in cultural capital and mediated through the classed symbolic economy which are at least as important as physiological factors.

Taste in type of tobacco, knowing what experience is satisfying or what tobacco is acceptable, is derived from what the participants described as being a 'real smoker'. The taste in good tobacco is culturally-mediated and is determined by what is, ultimately arbitrarily, deemed good tobacco. Those who understand what are and are not good tobacco products are potential members of the community. To put this in a different context, take the example of Kosut (2006) where she described her experience in the academy. She described an instance where, commenting on a reading, she mispronounced the name of an author and was embarrassingly corrected: "Oh, I see you got the Lyotard readings,' I said. 'It's Lie-o-tar, not leotard,' he said as his eyes widened and rolled" (p. 250). Kosut (2006) goes on to explain that the "discursive skills... are the signature of a legitimate academic" (p. 250) and thus lacking those skills implies that one is illegitimate. Like the legitimate academic, the real smoker, or legitimate smoker, is one who is able to perform as though natural, which means being fluent in the medium. Lacking the natural 'graces' of the medium implies that one is an outsider and having those 'graces' shows one as being a member. This was true for Kosut (2006) as it was for the participants in this study. This results in exclusion through direct selection, creating a community of taste.

For a real smoker, one smokes constantly. That means that they do not include a qualifier to their smoking not that they are literally smoking constantly. They do not merely smoke only when they drink, or only during a celebration - they are real smokers. As was shown through the narratives in chapter 4, the participants often described smoking in terms of food, implying that cigarettes were a form of food; a daily requirement or a daily ritual as the participants described it. Smoking is a meal or explicitly as 'just food'. Bearing this in mind, Belk (2009) notes, "the notion of companionship derived from the Latin *pannis* or bread. Companionship is the consequence of a shared meal . . . between people who trust each other because of shared involvement in a ritualistic community" (p. 717). The

participants consider tobacco as food. Belk (2009) describes the way through which the sharing of an act, a meal, a ritual, produces companionship. Eaton et al. (2000) add to this by noting that it is the shared consumption of commodities that help to maintain social networks. Several participants described the act of smoking as ritual behaviour. Moreover the vast majority of friends and members of their social networks were either smokers or social smokers. That their social networks are composed primarily of smokers and tobacco is perceived as being both a food stuff and a ritual, seems to reflect Belk's (2009) and Eaton et al.'s (2000) claims of social networks forming around and being maintained through the shared consumption of a commodity, in this case tobacco smoking.

The shared consumption of a commodity in a ritualized way produces companionship and maintains social relationships through the 'elective affinity' of direct selection. Within the working class symbolic economy, individuals do not merely smoke cigarettes alone and deal with the 'post-smoking' reality of addiction and pathology. Instead, they smoke in concert with a shared understanding that they are 'real smokers,' that they share a bond with each other, sometimes giving and sometimes receiving a cigarette and often just smoking together. In the working class symbolic economy, tobacco smoking provides a means through which individuals can reaffirm their belonging to one another by sharing the act of smoking together.

To be clear, shared tobacco smoking does not immediately produce a working class identity, nor does it produce feelings of solidarity among individuals merely by the act of smoking together; it is much more complicated than that. Recall that Belk's (2009) definition included the phrase, "between people who trust each other" (p. 717). In the above discussion of the symbolic economy I drew attention to other avenues via which individuals were able to define the working class symbolic economy -- yoga, attire and alcohol consumption. These and other means of solidarity expression in addition to smoking will provide a basis for trust, companionship and social network building than merely smoking alone. However, even while the elective affinities of the working class are more complicated than simply smoking, smoking provides a continuous framework of interaction that allows for identification of fellow members, a means of reaffirming identification with the group, and a means of sharing and reinforcing friendship. The sharing of cigarettes then creates and reinforces existing potential affinities which provides a continuous background, a context, in which other affinities can flourish.

Tobacco smoking is performed within a context that justifies and supports tobacco smoking and appears not to be premised on addiction. While the physiological effects of tobacco smoking, such

as addiction, are important aspects of smoking the smoking itself needs to be placed within the social context; that context is a smoking-embedded social network and the working class symbolic economy. Tobacco smoking within such a social network works to reinforce social bonds through the simple act of sharing a commodity in a ritualized, or at the very least, repetitive act. This act of sharing, while not the sole means through which social networks are maintained, provides a basis for the elective affinity that is characteristic of Lamont and Lareau's (1988) direct selection of symbolic exclusion. Taste in the type of tobacco that is smoked is a key factor in how that elective affinity is determined. It is for these reasons that we can see that rather than addiction being the driver of persistence we can say that the social context, the symbolic economy, has at least an equal if not greater explanatory power for the persistence of tobacco smoking within the working class.

5.4 Smoking Persistence

There are many avenues through which the persistence of tobacco smoking is aided within the working class symbolic economy. This section begins with a discussion of how tobacco smoking is both ubiquitous and occluded within the working class symbolic economy. Next I explore the stigma attached to cessation aids. Finally I conclude with a discussion of the role that tobacco smoking plays in the maintenance of the social networks.

5.4.1 Ubiquity and Occlusion

Tobacco smoking within the working class symbolic economy is everywhere and it is nowhere, it is unseen because it is ubiquitous. Let me explain this by considering the electricity in the walls, when we go to a new room we will look for a light switch because we assume that the room has electricity. Even in a blackout we will occasionally flip the switch because electricity is so ubiquitous we expect it even when we know we shouldn't. We often do not even think about electricity because we assume it to be everywhere and it is nowhere because we do not think of it; we really only notice it when it is no longer there. In a similar way the working class is connected with smoking. Of course smoking a cigarette is different than flicking a switch but the ubiquity, the omnipresence and occlusion is similar; we might go for a cigarette without thinking about it and we might assume that our friends will have cigarettes when we meet them, everywhere and nowhere.

Tobacco smoking is so ubiquitous and occluded that within the working class symbolic economy one can be considered a non-smoker if they only smoke when drinking or at social functions. As expressed through the narratives in chapter 4, the participants would not consider friends to be smokers if they were 'social smokers', that is, they would only smoke occasionally. The 'real smoker'

who borrows a cigarette will repay that cigarette when they acquire a new pack in order to maintain their reciprocal relationship. The social smoker, on the other hand, will engage in some form of in-kind reciprocating behaviour such as buying a drink. If they fail to engage in reciprocity of some sort they put strain on the relationship. The social smoker exception might be compared to a Catholic who only attends mass on high holidays and while perhaps not outwardly religious still holds the faith. Just like this fictive Catholic holding the faith, the social smoker abides and entertains a set of rules as well. They borrow cigarettes from smoking friends and must engage in the reciprocal relationship with some sort of in kind gift; they rarely, especially if the relationship is a close one, give money in recompense for the cigarette because that debases the relationship to a commodity relationship. The social smoker is able to maintain their relationship and non-smoking status by not repaying a cigarette with a cigarette because it is not expected that the social smoker will have cigarettes. Provided the social smoker abides by the rules of the relationship they are able to maintain their status.

This exclusion of smoker status from the social smoker highlights an important way in which tobacco smoking goes unseen within the working class symbolic economy. Within this context one can engage in smoking behaviour, receiving the benefit of participating in the ritual, or sharing the meal, without attaining the status. This allows smoking to permeate the culture essentially unseen.

Noticing tobacco smoking, or bringing it into the foreground of consciousness is an inappropriate means of performing smoking. If one smokes too much, has yellowed teeth, beard or fingers, or the person cannot control their smoking and avoid smoking cigarette butts, they highlight their smoking, show a lack of control, and thus perform smoking incorrectly. As the narratives in chapter 4 point out, to perform smoking improperly is to lose the cultural capital that could be gained by smoking in the first place and can potentially mark one as an outsider or undesirable. Recalling Kosut's (2006) experience with the pronunciation of Lyotard we can see how any culturally circumscribed behaviour when improperly done produces distance, a loss of cultural capital and, potentially, exclusion. It is essential, then, to be able to perform the behaviour well and all performance requires practice to perfect it. However, recalling Bourdieu (1984), the important thing is to know without having learned, or rather, to appear not to have learned. The participants express this by denoting a natural understanding of how to smoke, knowing without having learned. The height of cultural capital is derived from the performance then, by one being able to express that performance as being a natural talent, not merely 'doing it' properly but being so adept that the act goes unnoticed. Imitation is not enough, by simply having a lit cigarette and inhaling the smoke, it does not make one a

smoker within the working class symbolic economy. There are prescribed rules by which smokers and all other culturally regulated behaviours operate.

What Bourdieu (1984) means when he notes that it is best to know without having ever learned is that one cannot know without having learned; all our cultural rules are learned. This is also true for smoking. The working class smoker learns not to chain smoke, not to roll butt cigarettes, to avoid yellowing of fingers and teeth and we learn this as the proper means of smoking. The working class smoker also learns to occlude the centrality of smoking and to, essentially, take smoking for granted. These rules do not spring from a vacuum but are the “pre-existing social and cultural structures created by their predecessors” (Ritzer, 1996, p. 75-6). So, even while we perform smoking as though it were not learned we inherit the rules of the performance from others and reinforce those rules with others. This means that even if one were to smoke alone, on a street corner, at a bus stop, or on a balcony in the middle of the night, they never smoke alone, they are always smoking with an eye toward the social exigencies that structure that smoking. So, in a literal way, a ‘real smoker’, as described by the participants in the study, is always a social smoker because he/she always smokes by a set of socially prescribed rules even when smoking alone.

5.4.2 Cessation Aids

We can see from the above discussion how smoking must be considered a social act but that cessation is considered by the participants to be a solitary act. Cessation was resoundingly described in terms such as will power, desire, and strong motivation, which all speak to an individualising ethos of the working class symbolic economy. This individuality is best described by one of the participants when he noted “I made the decision to start smoking and I need to make the decision to quit smoking”. This individual ethos can be understood as a sort of ‘pull yourself up by the boot strap’ individuality that implies a reliance on the self over a reliance on a group or any other person. The nicotine patch, gum, or any other cessation aid is an excellent point with which to facilitate the discussion of the individual ethos of the working class symbolic economy.

Participants resoundingly denied that using a cessation aid, the patch say, was useful in quitting. Responses ranged from claiming that taking something with nicotine in it was not quitting to considering these aids as crutches. Both conceptions of the patch speak to the same point. On the one hand, to use the patch is not quitting because you keep using the drug, nicotine, and are thus deluding yourself and diluting your will by maintaining the act that you seek to stop. On the other hand, to use the patch is a crutch, which is anathema to enacting your will when that will is meant to be strong or

powerful. Using a crutch denotes weakness of will. Both points emerge from and speak to the untenable nature of using a cessation aid to quit smoking for the working class participants.

The working class subject is a self-reliant individual. The ‘rules’ of smoking, that is, the means through which one performs smoking properly, are rules that occlude smoking as discussed above. This means that the performance of smoking is done in a way that allows the performer to be perceived as dominant and in control of their smoking. This performance is done in such a way as to give the perception of being natural and unlearned. There is, as the participants in chapter 4 described, a concomitant loss of cultural capital when one fails to maintain the role of dominance. Dominance, individual choice and a powerful will conspire to disallow and stigmatize, in a very real sense, the use of cessation aids. The working class individuality is ‘bred in the bone’, that is it is of the habitus, and from the habitus we derive what is good and what is bad, what is acceptable and what is shameful. Asking for help, in the working class context, and being perceived as needing help, is shameful.

As smoking is a social act, regardless of whether one smokes alone or not, cessation is therefore also a social act. This is true because the habitus is social, cultural capital is social and cessation or persistence is entangled in both cultural capital and habitus. From an extra-class perspective it would appear then that there is a contradiction here: while smoking is social, cessation is largely seen as an individual act. This recognition may be what inspired the concept of Quitters Unite, a campaign that describes its mission as “a place where you quit on your terms, but with the support of a community behind you. Quitting is easier when done together” (Quitters Unite, 2012, para 1). The goal, when put in the context of this study, makes sense; if smoking is social but quitting is individual, then if one makes quitting social it may increase its effectiveness. The effect fails to penetrate into the working class simply because it fails to acknowledge that the individual drive is not a marginal externality, but is an integral part of the working class habitus. The participants in the study decried Quitters Unite, taking pictures of themselves holding their cigarettes in front of the logo in mockery of the program. The program fails because it is embarrassing to working class self-reliant habitus because it implies asking for help which, as noted above is a marker of individual weakness. It is not because the logic of the campaign is unsound that it fails, rather it is because it speaks in a language that ignores the language of the individuals that it aims to interact with. That the Quitters Unite campaign is mocked highlights again the “boot strap” individuality that is inherent in the working class habitus. This also highlights the middle class gaze and how health professionals, who commission these projects, fail to understand the life-world of the working class.

5.4.3 The Social Network

When one decides to quit smoking one effectively decides to not engage in the reciprocal relationship previously established within their smoking-embedded social network. In making this decision one must also decide whether to maintain their smoking-embedded social network or to extricate him/herself from that network. If individuals maintain their social network after they have quit they find that their identities and their relationships are troubled because the avenue of smoking that works to strengthen social bonds is cut off. The implication of this is that to quit smoking successfully one must either divorce themselves from their social network and enter a different symbolic economy that does not value tobacco smoking, or one must remain within the network and take on the role of non-smoker and abide by the rule of non complainant about smoking.

Moving across symbolic boundaries is not as simple as quitting smoking, however, as there are various other markers of symbolic distinction that reinforce the boundaries which make a transition to another classed symbolic economy difficult. In order to be middle class, per se, one would need to act as middle class without appearing to perform. In the same way, as described throughout the thesis, performing cultural capital properly involves the appearance of naturalness. As a foreigner to the middle class life-world, a working class individual would need to embody the performance of middle class without acknowledging that it is a performance, embracing the legitimacy 'to the bone'. As Ingram (2008) reminds us, to do this would require an erasure of the working class cultural paradigm achieved through complete immersion into the new paradigm. It is safe to say then, that this is an arduous process that few would be able, much less willing, to commit to. Paradoxically, to commit to a new symbolic economy one would need to acknowledge the erasure and uptake of that new paradigm which would undermine the perception of natural performance, thus destroying the effort before it began.

The safe assumption is that rather than attempting to exit their symbolic economy the individual who attempts to quit smoking, instead, remains related to their social network. As expressed through the participants in chapter 4, when one quits smoking they often do so alone, as they do not quit in concert with others in their network and they do not exit from their social networks much less attempt to erase their working class habitus. One of the participants described this succinctly when he noted "“cause everyone else doesn't quit and so you start smoking again and that's just kind of how it goes everyone just leap frogs..." (Geoff).

Without the metaphysical or existential considerations let us consider for a moment a religious individual who decides one day that they will no longer partake in the sacrament, the bread and water, wafer and wine, but still continue attending church or mass. Immediately we can conceive of the possibility of friction between this individual and the rest of the congregation. Returning to the discussion about sharing, we saw that as a ritual, sharing a commodity reinforces social bonds (Belk, 2009; Eaton et al, 2000). The reverse is also true in that not sharing should reduce social bonds. When reciprocity is taken advantage of, the reciprocal relationship is reduced to a commodity relationship. The loss of the shared ritual, then, produces friction between members of the social network, troubling the relationship that has relied on the shared experiences and the reinforcing nature of reciprocity. While the relationship may be strained, however, the relationship still exists. As one participant, Geoff, reflects, “you can’t just denounce their friendship because they’ve quit because you know they’ll come back eventually”

Quitting smoking, for the working class individual, especially one who has built relationships through smoking, or who has built an identity as a smoker, involves reengineering that identity and those relationships. Because, however, cultural capital is premised on naturalness, as in the performance that is seen as instinct and not learned, and because one no longer has a store of smoking cultural capital to rely on one needs to immediately become, so to speak, this new individual. It would be like a revolution where everyone involved changed the political and economic rules today and then tomorrow assumed that they had always been that way. For the individual who quits it is an ongoing process of becoming a non-smoker that is troubled by the exemption rules for the non-smoker. Recall from chapter 4 that a non-smoker can engage in tobacco smoking when stressed or when consuming alcohol. This, as the participants describe, is one of the more difficult hurdles for working class individuals who attempt to maintain quit status. Further, alcohol is leisure and is closely tied to smoking which compounds the difficulty of maintaining distance from smoking for the working class individual.

Taking the above considerations into account we begin to see that working class culture enables smoking to persist through multiple avenues. First, the ubiquitous but occluded nature of tobacco within working class culture allows for non-smoker status for individuals who engage in social smoking. This also allows for individuals to resume smoking status. Second, the “boot strap” individual ethos of the working class culture shames individuals away from using cessation aids to quit smoking. And, third, smoking is used to maintain relationships and is embedded in social networks.

The simple reciprocity engendered by sharing cigarettes or smoking together strengthens social bonds. Taken together these conditions create a “perfect storm” of means through which tobacco smoking not only persists but thrives.

5.5 The Working Class Gaze

Campaigns aimed at smoking cessation have neglected a key understanding when constructing their message to individuals who continue to smoke: those who persist in smoking may not have the same values as the authors of the message. In chapter 2, I highlighted a number of studies that neglected this sentiment, and while it is not needed to exhaustively list them here I will briefly reengage with that literature. Recall that smoking and cessation are both social acts as they are mediated through the social context, which is governed by cultural capital and embedded in the habitus. This is true for both the working class and the middle class. The middle class symbolic economy provides a different rubric through which to read smoking than does the working class symbolic economy. Therefore it is true that smoking and cessation are both social and individual acts. For the middle class it is not shameful to ask for help and use cessation aids when quitting smoking, while at the same time it is shameful for the working class individual to do so. Because both individuals, the working class and the middle class, read the same event with a different script and both are correct and incorrect in their context, both are true and untrue.

When health research attempts to tackle the problem of smoking persistence then with an eye toward education it is both correct and incorrect. When a health researcher claims that “by means of health education programs...[one can reduce]... the proportion of smokers among the lower socioeconomic strata” (Stronks et al., 1997p. 754), it is correct from the middle class perspective but potentially false from the working class perspective. So, simultaneously, the same act is both correct and incorrect because the same statement is being read from two different class cultural perspectives. Take the Quitters Unite campaign, for example, because smoking and cessation are both social acts it appears logical that developing a social network wherein ex-smokers are able to reinforce non-smoking behaviour would be beneficial to those who want to quit and help to maintain that choice. However, this clashes with the lived experience and the life-world of the working class subject. Cessation is both a social act, in that it is ‘governed’ by cultural capital and a solitary act in that the ethos of the working class is individualizing. The message of the Quitters Unite campaign then does not translate well into the language of the working class.

In chapter 2 I noted that the British Columbian government opted to give away cessation aids free to anyone who requests them. According to the BC Health Minister, Michael De Jong, in a press release, (BC Government, 2012) over 100,000 nicotine replacement therapies have been ordered by BC since the inception of the program which he believes represents some 50,000 British Columbians who have used the program to attempt to quit smoking. According to Quitnow.ca (2012), the number of British Columbians currently smoking is approximately 671,774, which amounts to 17.4% of the population (para, 1). While it is still too early to determine whether or not those who accessed the free cessation aids will be successful in quitting, these appear to be promising figures in attempting to eliminate tobacco smoking. This program, however, according to the participants in the study, is largely doomed to fail. Much like the Quitters Unite campaign, this campaign has a similar problem in not being able to translate its goals into the medium of the working class symbolic economy. In this case the campaign is premised on the role of financial resources in regard to cessation aids, indeed, this addresses an important reason: more individuals did not access these resources because they were prohibitively expensive. However, as reflected in this study, cessation aids are largely seen as either ineffective, at best, or at worst a subtle means of expressing failure. So even while some participants applauded the government for offering the service free of charge, they were as equally nonplussed about ever ‘needing’ to use a cessation aid because, for the working class male, quitting smoking requires self determination and self-reliance, not external help.

The failure of Quitters Unite as a program, and potentially the BC government’s free nicotine replacement therapy program, is the belief that it can reach into the working class. This is best compared to Crotty (1993) discussing nutrition in the US in the 19th century. A take away outlet, called the New England Kitchens, was meant to “provide inexpensive and nutritious meals in a take away form which would demonstrate how to eat well for a small cost. They were based on the assumption that many low income people were not currently doing this because of lack of knowledge and motivation” (p. 113). Crotty (1993) goes on to describe that the kitchens were designed by a man who:

As a technical expert and a ‘post-swallower nutritionist’ he used the power of the technical expert to instruct people different than himself in how to live ‘better’ lives... Regardless of the factual ‘correctness’ of the ‘new nutrition’s’ advice, it was inappropriate for perhaps most of the people for whom it was intended... because it was based on the interests of industrial managers, and an ‘outsiders’ perspective about working class lives. (p. 114-115).

These excerpts from Crotty (1993) describe a completely different situation that happened over a century ago and yet her remarks are reflected in Stronks et al.'s (1997) work and seen in the Quitters Unite campaign. Both appear to apprehend a lack of motivation or education that underlies the persistence of smoking.

It is, rather than a lack on behalf of the working class, potentially an ingrained hubris of the researcher that produces the appearance of lack. As Lawler (2005) notes, this is an example of the hidden “assumption that middle class dispositions [and] tastes... are, by definition, the ‘right’ ones” (Lawler, 2005, p. 443). Also, the campaigns that are developed speak to and from a middle class perspective that holds different actions, behaviours and motivations to be virtues and therefore does not speak to the working class experience and means of being-in-the-world. That is what Crotty (1993) means when she notes that the kitchens were based on an “outsiders perspective about working class lives” (p. 115). This is not to say that these individuals, the researchers, volunteers and campaign organizers are not well meaning or are in some way bad because of this, it is only to note that there are differences: the same event can have a very different meaning to different people who observe it. Crotty (1993) highlights how this program went beyond misrecognition and decries the actions of the working class as illegitimate. We can see this in Pampel's (2004) diffusion of innovation thesis where he denies the working class agency and universalizes the middle class experience as being the only legitimate means of being-in-the-world. The lack of this type of recognition, coupled with the delegitimation of other's values and behaviours is, unfortunately, the definition of symbolic violence.

5.6 Symbolic Violence

Some final notes on symbolic violence need to be addressed before this chapter can be concluded, namely whether the working class can be affected by symbolic violence if they have agency and whether or not this study can be accused of symbolic violence. I will begin by answering the first question.

The simple answer to the first question is yes. Symbolic violence is a question of power relations, as Wacquant (1993) notes, and “is exercised whenever instruments of knowledge and expression of social reality are imposed or inculcated [arbitrarily] but not recognized as such” (p. 131). The ways in which the middle class exerts its expression of social reality over that of the working class has been expressed at length in each chapter of this thesis. I would instead like to examine the agency aspect of the question and return to symbolic violence.

From the concept of agency of the working class comes an obvious question of class consciousness and whether agency is meant to imply a class consciousness. The short answer is no. It is not necessary that the working class culture have a unified class consciousness to have agency. The working class symbolic economy, as discussed above, is a product of similar material and symbolic conditions that produce and reproduce a habitus that is similar enough to produce what could be called class unconsciousness. The material and symbolic conditions produce and reproduce a series of relationships between agent and institution, agent and agent, and agent and resource that are, as Williams (2003) puts it, recursive and co-dependent (p. 144). The habitus, as noted above, is not static and neither are the cultural rules nor the cultural capital. They are influenced by the actions of the agents and while this could produce a class consciousness, it is not necessary that it do so for there to be a working class symbolic economy that has an agency apart from a middle class symbolic economy. To put this in context, recall Pampel's (2004) diffusion of innovation thesis that implies the working class will mimic the moves of the middle and upper classes and adopt healthier lifestyles. This thesis assumes a lack of agency on the part of the working class and is an excellent example of symbolic violence as it attempts to express social reality in an arbitrary way without recognizing the arbitrariness of its assertion.

The working class symbolic economy is distinct from the middle class symbolic economy. Even while the class does not need to work in concert as a class for-itself, it is a class in-itself as related not to the means of production, but instead to the habitus and values that, while not static, are produced and reproduced by the agents within the symbolic economy. Finally, as shown above, even while the working class symbolic economy is distinct from that of the middle class it is still susceptible to symbolic violence because not enough health researchers, for example, who analyse and examine working class individuals do so using a working class lens. And, the working class is not in a position to exercise universalizing expressions of knowledge and social reality, e.g., they are not writing the textbooks.

In answering the second question I posed at the outset, as to whether I can also be accused of symbolic violence against the working class, I can only say that my answer is not particularly satisfactory. I have tried at all times, while writing this, to be mindful of the role I play in attempting to translate the experiences of my participants into this format. I have tried to let the experiences of the participants speak for themselves and present them as faithfully as I can. I have attempted, as Creswell (2007) advised, to remain reflexive and to cultivate a curious attitude and I believe I was successful in

doing so (p.62). However, whether one can be completely successful is, unfortunately, a debate that phenomenology will continue to have with itself for as long as the method exists.

Symbolic violence is, in essence, the arbitrary lifting of one view over another and I have, in attempting to remain both true to the analytical frame and the method, attempted to express the experiences of the participants in as clear and authentic a way as I could. I do not mean to say that the working class experiences here described are in any way superior to those of the middle class experiences to which I have often contrasted them. I do not mean that there is some kind of folksy knowledge that is missing from the middle class perspective. I do not mean that one is better than another and if it has at any time come across in that way, I would like to reassure the reader that this was not what I intended. I merely intended to highlight and explain the experiences of the working class, in the context of the working class symbolic economy as it pertains to smoking. Whether one can completely escape symbolic violence, I am not sure, but I have attempted throughout to avoid any pretensions to its imposition and in recognizing the potential for symbolic violence is at least a step toward its mitigation.

5.7 Summary of Main Findings

This thesis examined working class males' experiences with cigarette smoking and cessation in the Capital Regional District (Victoria BC) and the Greater Vancouver Regional District. The results of the analysis produced some interesting and unique findings. I utilized in-depth interviews as per the phenomenological method, writing my own experiences into the analysis where appropriate and codifying the analysis through a class-based Bourdieusian conceptual framework. This framework was the foundation for the development of the concept of multiple symbolic economies to provide a coherent geography within which to locate the experiences of the participants. This is in contrast to a strict Bourdieusian perspective that view's cultural capital as a continuum where 'high brow' cultural capital is valued regardless of socioeconomic status. From a multiple symbolic economy comes a conception of symbolic boundaries where tobacco smoking, among other culturally-mediated values and performances, becomes the mediating factor of inclusion or exclusion. On the basis of inclusion, through direct selection, emerges a community that not only enables but celebrates tobacco smoking. Through rules of sharing and a semi-ritualized consumption of tobacco, social bonds are strengthened.

Another interesting finding from the study is that we now have a better understanding of other factors that enable the persistence of smoking; that is, the ubiquity and occlusion of tobacco smoking

within the working class symbolic economy, the role tobacco plays within the social networks of the working class, and the perception of cessation aids and the conception of self.

Tobacco smoking is so well accepted that both social smokers and firm non-smokers within the working class do not criticize or seek to inhibit 'real' smokers for smoking. In addition, a social smoker is able to claim to be a non-smoker even while they do in fact smoke; this aspect of the working class culture points to the ways in which smoking is occluded and is taken for granted. There are, however, rules to this, in that a social smoker may only retain non-smoking status if they only smoke during times of stress or when consuming drugs or alcohol. Thus, smoking is so ubiquitous that it is not seen as smoking unless it is done outside the particular exclusions just mentioned. This means that when an individual quits smoking, it is perfectly acceptable to smoke 'socially' which makes it that much easier to resume smoking; indeed, participants have cited this as the reason that they themselves resumed smoking. Participants' social networks, within which the ubiquity and taken-for-granted nature of tobacco exists, is a smoking-embedded social network. Tobacco smoking, on top of other cultural capital invested behaviours and performances, is used to build and maintain social networks. When an individual quits smoking they lose the ability to rely on the social medium of smoking which troubles their relationships. In order to be successful then, one should either divorce oneself from their smoking-embedded social network or one must convince their social network to follow suit, which could explain the cascade effects noted by Christakis and Fowler (2008). To exit the social network is an arduous process that literally means divorcing oneself from one's friends and companions, placing that individual outside of their former relationships.

Finally, the working class individual is a self-reliant individual who makes the decision to start smoking and now must make the decision to quit smoking. Cessation aids, nicotine replacement therapies, and/ or group therapies are embarrassing to the working class ethos of self-reliance. To use these aids is in a very real way to admit that one is a failure, is weak, or is desperate. It is fine for other individuals to use these aids, but the participants themselves would never consider using them.

Overall, my findings indicate that tobacco smoking is in and of itself not a cultural capital, but becomes culturally relevant when it is performed correctly. It is embedded within the symbolic economy of the working class and it is a valued means of maintaining social networks. Tobacco smoking, through sharing in the activity and exchanging cigarettes, is useful in reinforcing reciprocal relationships that strengthen potentially insecure social bonds. Finally, working class males present

themselves as self-reliant individuals that find cessation aids to be an embarrassment. Combined, these factors, in conjunction with physiological ones, work to maintain tobacco smoking persistence.

5.8 Study Limitations

There are a few limitations of this study that should be mentioned. The recruitment technique of chain sampling or snowball sampling potentially confounds the diversity of the sample, however the similarity of participants was consciously chosen to better enable rapport, and, through the use of triangulation, to include my own experiences. The small sample size of my study also makes generalization to the larger population impossible. While I used sweeping terms such as ‘working class culture’, ‘working class symbolic economy’ and the ‘working class experience’, generalization to the larger population and/ or generalization to the working class in general was not my goal.

The theoretical and conceptual framework in the analysis required the use of certain terms. Combining the clusters of meaning that develop into the structural and textual experiences requires a term that conveys the confluence of experiences into an overarching framework of experience. Further, the use of the Bourdieusian conceptual framework with its emphasis on structuring structures requires the use of broad terms within which to place those experiences, especially in connection to cultural capital. I used the terms, presented above, with full knowledge that I was unable to use them in a more general sense and only intended their use as a means of aggregating the experiences of my participants. I recognize the lack of generalizability and instead submit that this framework be used as a starting point to explore the experiences of other individuals in this and other demographic categories. Ideally, I would have wanted to have a larger sample size with which to explore the experiences of working class non-smokers, and/or middle class smokers with whom to compare their experiences with the working class smokers. Despite this, the study does provide an account of my participants’ experiences with tobacco smoking and cessation.

Finally, limitations in terms of demographic characteristics need to be considered. As discussed in chapter 3, I chose male, Canadian born, English speaking individuals with a particular income and education range. I did not discuss issues of ethnic origin or of sexuality and I cannot be sure that the participants were or were not of European descent. I can be sure, on the other hand, of the gender of the participants, and of their income, education and occupation. I deliberately chose to include some characteristics and not focus on others for two reasons: I wanted a certain degree of homogeneity within the sample, as I was writing myself in, to create a reliable basis of experience for

comparison. Second, I chose not to focus on sexuality or ethnic origin to keep the focus more on class rather than on other important markers of inequality.

5.9 Directions for Future Research

This thesis is focused on a small subset of the much larger working class and tobacco smoking population in British Columbia and certainly in Canada. Tobacco smoking and persistence is as present in Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan as it is in British Columbia. It persists in men and women, young and old, gay and straight and in all cultural groups to varying degrees. What unites these disparate categories, however, is socioeconomic status. It persists in the lower socioeconomic strata to a greater degree across these groups than it does in other strata. Further research into tobacco smoking persistence needs to explore the class cultural conditions that work to reinforce smoking persistence as it intersects with other demographic variables such as ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, ability, etc.

This thesis, while useful in helping to better understand the experiences of tobacco smoking and cessation for working class males, indicates that tobacco smoking does not exist individually but appears also to be connected to alcohol and drug use. The full picture of persistence cannot be fully grasped without an understanding of the role of these other culturally-mediated commodities. Further, the thesis focused entirely on a male point of view. Future research should include or centre on a female perspective simply because without this understanding a complete picture of the classed symbolic economy is impossible. Also, an examination of the use of tobacco smoking in regard to the interaction between men and women should guide future research as this interaction may help to uncover a broader understanding of the persistence of tobacco smoking.

Future research should examine the symbolic boundary between the working class and the middle class. This should be done with a firm understanding that the working class is not a parody of the middle class and that imposing an extra-class perspective on the working class is not a productive means of understanding persistence. Through comparing the working class and the middle class, a further exploration of symbolic boundaries will emerge. This may provide a better understanding of the methods that reinforce the separation of these classed symbolic boundaries, and may in turn help to underscore the ways in which tobacco smoking persists in one class while being shunned in the other.

Finally, further research should investigate the intersections of gender, ethnicity, age, sexuality and ability, as seen through the classed symbolic economy conceptual framework. Through an understanding of these modes of being-in-the-world, as read through a class cultural framework, one might uncover new explanations for the persistence of smoking. With an expansion of this project into

these areas of research, explicating the experience of smoking and cessation as seen from future participants' perspectives as members of a classed symbolic economy, a deeper understanding of tobacco persistence and of those for whom the behaviour persists may be possible.

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General Socioeconomic information:

What level of education do you have?

What is a rough estimate of your annual income?

What is your current occupation?

Are you single, in a relationship, married or divorce?

Are you a Canadian citizen?

How long ago did you start smoking?

Do you recall what was happening at the time?

Do you recall your first smoke?

How old were you, who was around, did you enjoy it?

What brand of cigarettes do you smoke?

Why those?

What do you think about butt smokes? (would you smoke them)

- A butt from your ashtray?

- Prime times/ cigarillos?

- Cigars?

How do you feel about the people who do smoke butt smokes cigars, cigarillos, or butts from the ashtray?

How many cigarettes do you smoke in a day?

- chain smoking, how do you feel about it?

What do you do when you smoke? (coffee, alcohol, after sex, the dishes... etc?) What activities do you do while smoking?

How do you feel about Smoking now?

Do you smoke at work?

How often do you smoke in a day?

Does anyone else smoke at work? Do you smoke with them?

Describe what happens on a typical break

Do you smoke at home?

Do you have roommates? Do they smoke?

What do you do when you smoke at home?

Do your friends smoke?

Of your friends how many of them smoke?

Does your significant other smoke? Do you smoke with her/him?

How do you feel about sharing cigarettes?

With someone on the street? A stranger

With your friend?

With your roommate?

With your significant other?

Do they share with you?

Who would you share your last cigarette with?

When you go out on the weekend, where do you go, or what do you do, in your down time/ leisure time?

Do you smoke then? More, less or the same?

Do you change brands or smoke something other than your usual cigarettes?

Would you consider yourself a full time, part time or social smoker?

What do you consider a real smoker?

- How many cigarettes, what regularity, what constitutes a real smoker?

Do you feel healthy?

What does health mean to you?

How do you feel about Yoga/ jogging/ running/ exercise?

Cessation

Have you ever tried to quit before?

What was your experience with quitting like?

- how long did it last, was it cold turkey or did you use a cessation aid, did others quit at the same time, what was the reaction when you explained to others that you quit?

What prompted you to quit smoking?

What factors do you think were responsible for starting again?

What's your take on cessation aids (patch or gum e.g.), how do you feel about them? Why?

What is the most successful method, in your opinion, for quitting smoking?

How do you feel about the information on the cigarette packs? (the warning labels)

What is your experience with government regulation and how do you feel about it (bylaws and enforcement about where one can smoke).

Do you want to quit?



NEWS RELEASE

For Immediate Release
2011PREM0049-000518
May 9, 2011

Office of the Premier
Ministry of Health

Premier Christy Clark announces free support to help smokers

VANCOUVER – Nicotine replacement therapies will be available to all British Columbian smokers at no cost and smoking cessation prescription drugs will be covered under PharmaCare, Premier Christy Clark announced today.

“Every year tobacco-related deaths rob us needlessly of friends, family and loved ones,” said Premier Christy Clark. “Tobacco is the largest single cause of premature death and disease in our province and while a lot of progress has been made, there is still more we can do. This program will provide smokers with a new level of direct support to quit, to live smoke-free, and to improve their own health as well as the health of their families.”

Starting Sept. 30, 2011, British Columbians will have the choice of either nicotine gum or patches to help quit tobacco with a free supply for up to 12 weeks, or obtaining coverage of prescribed smoking cessation drugs through PharmaCare. The program will cost an estimated \$15 million to \$25 million, based on the number of individuals who use the program.

Over the coming months, the Ministry of Health will work with groups such as the B.C. Lung Association, the Heart & Stroke Foundation of BC and Yukon, the Canadian Cancer Society, BC and Yukon Division, BC Pharmacy Association, pharmaceutical manufacturers, health authorities and the BC Medical Association on the best way to implement the program, including how to distribute nicotine gum and patches.

“By reducing the number of people who smoke, not only will we prevent or delay the onset of diseases like heart attacks and cancer, but also avoid the millions of dollars cost on our health-care system,” said Health Minister Michael de Jong.

Each year, more than 6,000 British Columbians die from tobacco use. The cost to the B.C. economy is approximately \$2.3 billion annually, including \$605 million for direct health-care costs.

“Providing coverage for these cessation therapies is a significant step forward in helping even more British Columbians break their dependency on tobacco. For some people wanting to quit, having to pay for these therapies is a barrier in helping them achieve success. Providing this additional support is certain to make a difference,” said Heart & Stroke Foundation of BC and Yukon’s COO Diego Marchese.

“Quitting cold turkey can be tough, and quit smoking aids can help people not only quit but also prevent them having a relapse and starting to smoke again,” said Scott McDonald, CEO of the BC Lung Association.

“Lung cancer accounts for 26 per cent of all cancer deaths in B.C. Providing people with tools to quit smoking will pay off in the long run, as tobacco is the single largest preventable cause of death and disease,” said Cathy Adair, VP cancer control, Canadian Cancer Society BC and Yukon. “We are glad to see the Premier show leadership towards cancer prevention.”

“The BC Medical Association has been advocating for a decade that one of health care’s most cost-effective measures in reducing death, disease and medical costs be a covered expense,” said BC Medical Association president-elect Dr. Nasir Jetha. “We are extremely pleased that clinical tobacco intervention and stop-smoking medications will now be available to all British Columbians with full government support. This is great news for the 70 per cent of B.C. smokers who are wanting to quit.”

BC Pharmacy Association CEO Marnie Mitchell said, “Many community pharmacists already offer support and advice to patients who wish to stop smoking, including smoking cessation clinics. We welcome the chance to be involved in this consultation, as community pharmacists are a trusted, accessible health-care resource.”

As part of the consultation, government will look at ensuring the provision of nicotine replacement therapies and smoking cessation prescription drugs is looked at through a rural lens, making sure products are accessible to all B.C. smokers, regardless of where they live.

While B.C. has the lowest smoking rate in Canada at 14.9 per cent, there are approximately 550,000 British Columbians who smoke. An estimated 70 per cent of smokers in B.C. want to quit.

Currently, QuitNow Services offers British Columbian smokers a confidential helpline (1 877 455-2233) with information available in 130 languages and an online quit community where professional and peer support is available 24/7. As well, quitters can sign up for email quit tips and text messages, join QuitNow’s Twitter and Facebook page and explore interactive quit tools and resources at: www.quitnow.ca

Media Contacts: Shane Mills
 Office of the Premier
 250 661-1015

Ryan Jabs
Media Relations Manager
Ministry of Health Services
250 952-1887 (media line)

Connect with the Province of B.C. at: www.gov.bc.ca/connect

The result of this announcement was the addition of the question below to the interview schedule:

The government of BC has decided that cessation aids are now to be given out free. Knowing this does that change how you feel about them?

- do you feel like you would use them now because they are free
- does the cost of cessation aids prevent you from using them