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Social Stratification and Cultural Consumption:
Music in England

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Abstract

In this paper we use data from a recent survey sponsored by Arts Council England to test three arguments on the relationship between social stratification and cultural consumption: i.e. what we label as the homology, individualisation and omnivore–univore arguments. We note various conceptual and methodological problems in the ways these arguments have been advanced and stress in particular the importance of maintaining the Weberian distinction between class and status. We concentrate on musical consumption and apply latent class models to identify types of musical consumer. We then examine the social character of these types through a regression analysis that includes a range of demographic and stratification variables. As would be anticipated from a Weberian standpoint, type of musical consumption proves to be more closely associated with status, and also with education and income, than with class, although the relationship is sometimes rather complex. In general, our results provide little support for the homology or individualisation arguments. They are more consonant with the omnivore–univore argument, although a number of qualifications to this are also suggested.

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1 Introduction

In the current sociological literature that treats the relationship between social stratification and cultural taste and consumption, it is possible to identify three main—and rival—lines of argument, each, though, with its variant forms. For convenience, we will refer to (i) the homology argument; (ii) the individualisation argument; and (iii) the omnivore–univore argument. In this paper, we begin by briefly outlining these three positions.¹ We then note some conceptual and methodological problems that arise, and indicate how we would ourselves propose to deal with these problems. We go on to report some first results from a research project in which we are engaged on cultural consumption in contemporary British society. While these results are limited to one particular cultural domain, that of music, this focus has, we believe, some strategic advantages in evaluating the current debate.

2 The three arguments

2.1 The homology argument

In its simplest form this argument claims no more than that social stratification and cultural stratification map on to each other very closely. Individuals in higher social strata are those who prefer and predominantly consume ‘high’ or ‘elite’ culture, and individuals in lower social strata are those who prefer and predominantly consume ‘popular’ or ‘mass’ culture—with, usually, various intermediate situations also being recognised. However, more elaborate versions of the homology argument exist, notably that developed by Pierre Bourdieu in his book, *Distinction* (1984), which, for reasons that will later become apparent, is of particular interest to us.

As best we can understand the essentials of Bourdieu’s position, they are as follows.² On Bourdieu’s own account (1984, xii), *Distinction* starts out from ‘an endeavour to rethink Max Weber’s opposition between class and *Stand*’. Bourdieu agrees with Weber (1922/1968, 932) that status position—position within a generally recognised hierarchy of social superiority and

¹We claim no originality in defining the current situation on these lines. See also, for example, Warde, Tomlinson and McMeekin (2000) and Sintas and Álvarez (2002).

²We have to say that we have great difficulty with Bourdieu’s writing (whether in the original French or English translation), in part on account of its obscurity and in part too—where we suppose we understand it—on account of what appear to us as frequent ambivalences or indeed inconsistencies. In what follows, we rely a good deal on the (for us) illuminating exposition of Bourdieu on ‘social class and symbolic violence’ in Weininger (2004).

inferiority—is expressed by ‘above all else a specific *style of life*’. But he then rejects Weber’s view of the class position of individuals or groups as being analytically and empirically separable from their status position in that class position is determined purely by *economic* relations—i.e. relations in labour markets and production units. For Bourdieu, class and status do not represent different forms of social stratification that can be linked, as Weber puts it, ‘in the most varied ways’. Rather, status has to be understood as the symbolic aspect or dimension of the class structure, which is not itself reducible to economic relations alone.

Thus, it is not possible for Bourdieu to accept that the relationship between class and status—and thus lifestyle—is, at least to some degree, a contingent one. A necessary correspondence, or homology, has to be recognised. This homology is crucially mediated, Bourdieu claims, by the *habitus* of different classes. That is, by the socially constituted ‘system of dispositions’ into which the members of a class are socialised and that arises out of specific ‘class conditions’. The class *habitus* produces a ‘semantic’ unity in practices across all domains of consumption, cultural consumption included; and thus, within and integral to the class structure, there are created the internally coherent but sharply contrasting lifestyles that form the status order. In turn, then, rivalry and competition within this order are not to be seen as separate from class divisions and conflict, let alone as serving, perhaps, to inhibit class-based action (cf. Weber, 1922/1968, 930). To the contrary, the status order is the field of symbolic struggle between classes, in which those involved seek to ‘classify’ themselves and others as same or different, included or excluded, and in which members of the dominant class use ‘symbolic violence’ in order to confirm the superiority of their own lifestyle by arrogating to it those cultural forms that are generally recognised as ‘canonical’, ‘legitimate’, or otherwise ‘distinguished’. It is in fact in this last respect, as Weininger (2004) has observed, that ‘the full significance of Bourdieu’s attempt to yoke together “class” and “status” becomes apparent’.³

³The one way in which, so far as we can see, Bourdieu might allow for the possibility of a discrepancy between status and class—of the kind to which Weber frequently refers—is where, within what he deems to be the same class, Bourdieu acknowledges that differences in the relative importance of cultural as opposed to economic capital lead to some ‘class fractions’ having lifestyles of greater ‘distinction’ than others. For example, within the dominant class academics and ‘artistic producers’ appear in this sense to be recognised as having superior status to industrial and commercial employers, with professionals falling somewhere in-between. If we are correct in this interpretation, it would, we believe, represent a much more substantial concession to the Weberian position than Bourdieu is ready to acknowledge.

2.2 The individualisation argument

The individualisation argument may be regarded, if not as a more or less direct contradiction of the homology argument, then at all events as an attempt to restrict the validity of that argument to the past. What essentially is held is that, in the economically advanced societies of the present day, differences in cultural taste and consumption and indeed in lifestyles generally are losing their grounding in social stratification, however this may be understood, and are becoming more a matter of individual ‘self-realisation’.

In weaker versions of the argument the suggestion is that other structural bases, such as age, gender, ethnicity or sexuality, are now at least as important as class or status in conditioning lifestyles, and that individuals are in this way given a much greater range of choice as regards the collectivities, real or imagined, with which they will subjectively align themselves and, in turn, greater possibilities for forming—or recreating—their own identities (e.g. Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992). However, in stronger versions, often developed under post-modernist influences, lifestyles are seen as now lacking any kind of structural grounding or indeed unifying logic. Through their lifestyles, and primarily their patterns of consumption and demonstrations of taste, individuals are increasingly able to ‘construct’ their own selves more or less at will (e.g. Featherstone, 1987; Bauman, 1988). Here, then, the contrast with Bourdieu’s position is striking. The emphasis shifts dramatically, as Warde (1997, 8) has put it, ‘from *habitus* to freedom’. Instead of being permanently marked by their initial class socialisation and restricted to a limited set of predefined lifestyles, individuals not only can but *have* to choose—to ‘pick-and-mix’—from the vast array of possibilities that the highly commercialised ‘consumer societies’ of today make available to them: lifestyle becomes a ‘life project’.

2.3 The omnivore–univore argument

The first point to note about this argument is that it relates more specifically to cultural consumption than to lifestyles in general. In its substance, it can perhaps be traced back to the findings of empirical research as early that of Wilensky (1964) who reported that in the US highly educated persons had rarely any strong aversion to ‘mass’ culture and indeed often enjoyed it at least in some forms. However, in its present-day terms the argument would appear to originate with Peterson and Simkus (1992). The broad hypothesis that is advanced—and that is seen as having received support from empirical research (e.g. Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996)—is that in modern societies the homology argument is outmoded, not because cul-

tural consumption has lost all grounding in social stratification, but because a new relationship is emerging. Rather than cultural stratification mapping onto social stratification, on ‘elite-to-mass’ lines, the cultural consumption of individuals in higher social strata differs from that of individuals in lower strata chiefly in that it is greater *and much wider in its range*—comprising not only more ‘high-brow’ culture but in fact more ‘middle-brow’ and more ‘low-brow’ culture as well. Thus, the crucial contrast is not that of ‘snob versus slob’ but that of cultural omnivore versus cultural univore.

The omnivore–univore argument might then be seen as a ‘middle way’ between the homology and individualisation arguments previously considered (cf. Warde et al., 2000). It is, however, open to at least two interpretations that endow it with clearly differing significance.

On the one hand, omnivores may be seen as essentially tolerant individuals (because, say, of their relatively high levels of education and/or social mobility) who have a general openness to other cultural styles than that into which they were initially socialised and further, perhaps, a desire to experiment with different kinds of cultural consumption. In this case, there is a fairly obvious affinity with the individualisation argument. Omnivore cultural consumption is concerned more with self-realisation than with setting down status markers and creating social distinction (cf. the discussion of ‘the new middle class’ in Wynne and O’Connor, 1998). On the other hand, though, omnivores may be seen as expressing a new aesthetic which, even if more inclusive and ‘cosmopolitan’ than that of earlier cultural elites, is no less directed towards the demonstration of cultural *and* social superiority—that is, when set against the very restricted cultural styles of univores (Sintas and Álvarez, 2002). And, in turn, omnivores may still show discrimination, either in the *uses* that they make of mass or popular culture—e.g. often ‘ironic’ or otherwise condescending uses—or in still rejecting some of its particular forms, such as ones with an especially close association with low status groups (cf. Bryson, 1996). In this case, then, the omnivore–univore argument could be regarded as taking over a good deal from the homology argument. The mapping of cultural onto social stratification is understood in a more sophisticated way but cultural consumption is still seen as playing a central part in creating symbolic boundaries and in status rivalry and competition.

2.4 Conceptual and methodological problems

The three broad positions outlined above have been widely debated and, to an increasing extent, on the basis of empirical research. However, examination of this research reveals certain recurrent problems of conceptualisation and method that call for more attention than they have so far received (though

see Warde et al., 2000). Here we focus for the most part on two problem-areas that relate to the ‘dependent’ and ‘independent’ variables that are central to our own empirical analyses: i.e. cultural consumption and social stratification.

In most previous work, a distinction is in principle accepted between cultural consumption and cultural taste or knowledge. However, in actual research practice the distinction seems often to be elided. Thus, respondents to surveys may be asked about their cultural tastes—i.e. their likes and dislikes—or ‘tested’ on their cultural knowledge; but then at some point in the analysis based on this information, it becomes interpreted, if only implicitly, as if it were in fact information on actual consumption which, clearly, it is not. For some purposes, a concern with cultural taste or knowledge, regardless of whether or not these are reflected in consumption, may indeed be appropriate. But insofar as one is concerned with the part played by cultural style in processes of social stratification, it is consumption *per se*, as a *form of social action*, that chiefly matters. For example, in this perspective, being ‘seen at’ the opera or having Monteverdi or modern jazz playing on the stereo when the guests arrive is more important than whether or not one privately likes opera, Monteverdi or modern jazz or is knowledgeable about them. In our own work, therefore, it is on evidence of cultural consumption that we concentrate.

Turning now to social stratification, we would observe that in this regard conceptualisation is often very loose and that indicators, such as occupation, education or income, tend to be used with no very clear rationale. There are very few examples where a full range of stratification variables is included in the analysis;⁴ and in turn the possibly differing processes through which social ‘gradients’ in cultural consumption are actually generated have remained largely unexplored. For example, an income gradient, if present, might simply reflect ability to pay, while a gradient by educational attainment might in part at least be attributable to the operation of an individual psychological variable—i.e. information processing capacity—as suggested by various proponents of ‘empirical aesthetics’ (cf. Ganzeboom, 1982).⁵ Moreover, if cultural consumption is to be related to the *structure* of inequality in society,

⁴These variables are of course correlated with each other. But the correlation is seldom so high as to preclude their inclusion in the model at the same time.

⁵The argument here is that the higher individuals’ information processing capacity, the greater must be the information content of the cultural forms in which they participate if they are to derive satisfaction from them. Thus, the association between ‘high’ culture and educational attainment is due to the facts (a) that ‘high’ culture has, on average, a higher level of information content than ‘low’ culture and (b) that education is crucially involved in, and is thus a good proxy for, the information processing capacity of individuals.

the question arises of how this structure should itself be envisaged. In this regard, we appreciate Bourdieu's readiness to take seriously the distinction between class and status that was proposed by Weber, but we believe that his attempt to transcend this 'opposition' is not well considered. Especially in addressing issues of cultural and social stratification, it is, in our view, analytically preferable to follow Weber and to see class and status as different forms of social stratification, the connection between which is empirically variable, rather than to follow Bourdieu and to treat the status order as being the 'symbolic' dimension of the class structure more or less by *fiat*. From a Weberian point of view, one would in fact expect that cultural consumption, as an aspect of lifestyle, will be more strongly associated with status than with class—whatever the specific form the relationship may take; and, further, that in so far as systematic discrepancies do exist between the positions of individuals and groups in the status order and in the class structure (the latter being defined by economic relations—i.e. relations within labour markets and production units), these discrepancies will then be reflected in differences in patterns of cultural consumption within classes.⁶

There is, finally, one other methodological point of a quite different kind that we need also to note. The individualisation and omnivore–univore arguments concern change over time. Both aim to replace the homology argument with an understanding of the relationship between cultural and social stratification that is seen as more appropriate to the present day. But in fact few of the empirical studies that have taken up these arguments have an over-time dimension (the main exception being Peterson and Kern, 1996). We are not, unfortunately, in a position to improve matters in this regard. We can only keep in mind that our data and analyses do pertain to just one point in time, and hope that they may serve as baseline for further research so that questions of change can be more adequately addressed.

3 Data and Analytical Strategy

Our data come from an inquiry carried out in England in 2001 by the Social Survey Division of the UK Office of National Statistics on behalf of Arts Council England (ACE). Face-to-face interviews were carried out with a stratified probability sample of individuals aged over 16 and living in private households. Interviews were completed with 6,042 respondents, giving a

⁶At an empirical level, we would thus wish to question whether Bourdieu's notion of class *habitus* as the source of a close correspondence between 'class conditions', on the one hand, and lifestyle, including cultural consumption, on the other, is in fact capable of being seriously upheld. See further below.

response rate of 64 per cent (for details, see Skelton, Bridgwood, Duckworth, Hutton, Fenn, Creaser and Babbidge, 2002).

The inquiry was concerned to assess attendance at cultural events and participation in cultural activities very broadly understood. In later analyses we shall aim to exploit this unusually wide coverage. In the present paper, however, we concentrate on just one cultural domain: that of music. This, we believe, represents an appropriate starting point. Music has often been seen as having special significance in regard to the social stratification of cultural style. Bourdieu (1984, 18), for example, claims that ‘nothing more clearly affirms one’s “class”, nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music’. And analyses of musical taste and consumption have in fact figured prominently in current debates (see e.g. Bryson, 1996; Bryson, 1997; van Eijck, 2001; Coulangeon, 2003) in part because research in this area (Peterson and Simkus, 1992) was closely associated with the development of the omnivore–univore argument.

In the ACE inquiry questions were asked about frequency of attendance at musical events and of listening to music through various media. As already indicated, we believe that, with our present concerns, there are strong grounds for focusing attention on actual—or at least reported—cultural consumption rather than on tastes; and, in the case of music, the distinction made in the inquiry between ‘live’ and ‘media’ consumption would seem especially important.

As regards musical events, respondents were asked whether in the last twelve months they had attended: a classical music concert, an opera or operetta, a jazz concert, a ‘musical’, or any other musical event such as a pop or rock concert or a folk or country and western event. We take as our dependent variables whether (or not) attendance was reported at each of these kinds of event in the last twelve months, but disregarding folk or country and western events since attendance at these was reported by only 3 per cent of respondents.⁷ As regards listening to music, respondents were asked whether in the last four weeks they had listened, through any medium (radio, TV, CDs, records, tapes etc.), to: classical music, opera or operetta, jazz, or pop or rock. However no question was asked about listening to musicals. Again, we take as our dependent variables whether (or not) any listening was reported to each of these kinds of music, whatever the medium.

On this basis, then, we have in total nine different types of musical consumption that respondents might or might not have engaged in over a specific time-period: live consumption of five genres—classical music, opera or op-

⁷Preliminary analyses also suggested that this item was not discriminatory between the latent classes of musical consumption that we shall distinguish.

eretta, musicals, jazz and pop or rock—and media consumption of four of these five.

The ACE inquiry is also well suited to our purposes in that information was collected on a wide range of respondents’ socio-demographic characteristics. Respondents were coded to the National Statistics (NS) Socio-Economic Classification, which is in effect a new instantiation of the Goldthorpe class schema (Rose and Pevalin, 2003); and from the detailed occupational codings that are available, we are also able to allocate respondents to the 31 categories of the social status scale that we have ourselves developed (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2003) on the basis of an analysis of the occupational structure of close friendships (cf. Laumann, 1966). In addition, information was collected on respondents’ income and educational qualifications (coded to the six official levels), and also on a range of attributes that are of potential interest to us as control variables, including age, marital status, family composition and region (see Table 6 below).

As with our previous papers, we have restricted our analysis to respondents aged 20 to 64 ($N = 4249$). After deleting cases with missing values on the key covariates of social status, income and education, the analytical sample size becomes 3844.

4 Results

We begin by showing in Table 1 the overall proportions of respondents to the ACE inquiry who engaged in the nine types of musical consumption that we identified above. It can be seen that, as might be expected, rates of live consumption were lower than rates of media consumption, even over a twelve-month as compared with a four-week period. Further, there is some wide variation across genres. Most obviously, opera and operetta (henceforth ‘opera’) and jazz attract far fewer live consumers (henceforth ‘attenders’) and media consumers (‘listeners’) than does pop or rock (‘pop/rock’).

4.1 Unrestricted latent class models

In order to gain some clearer idea of actual patterns of musical consumption and of types of consumer, we need to move on to some more advanced form of analysis. Our starting point is that the binary responses to the nine questions of musical consumption form a nine-way contingency table with 512 (i.e. 2^9) cells. To this contingency table we fit a series of unrestricted latent class models. Such models can be considered as the categorical counterpart of factor-analytic models for continuous variables. They seek to explain away

Table 1: Percentage of respondents who have attended live music events in the past 12 months, or have listened to various genres of music via media in the past 4 weeks.

	live	media ^a
jazz	6.5	24.8
pop/rock	23.2	88.6
opera/operetta	5.8	16.4
classical	10.3	52.0
musical	25.5	

Note: ^a including radio, CD, mini disc, tape, record, television, DVD or video.

the association between the observed indicators with a small number of discrete latent classes, such that *within these classes*, the observed indicators would be statistically independent of each other (McCutcheon, 1987).⁸ As can be seen from Table 2, we need a model postulating five latent classes before a satisfactory fit with the data can be achieved.

Table 2: Unrestricted latent class models fitted to musical consumption data.

# classes	G^2	df	p	Δ	BIC
1	3208.78	502	0.000	0.300	-934.86
2	1127.26	492	0.000	0.149	-2933.84
3	909.29	482	0.000	0.127	-3076.27
4	658.26	472	0.000	0.097	-3237.75
5	478.97	462	0.283	0.075	-3334.50

The solution of the five-class model, i.e. the estimated relative size of the latent classes and the estimated conditional probability of consuming each of the nine items, given membership in a latent class, is reported in Table 3. On the basis of these results, we can then already make some relevant commentary on the three arguments that we previously outlined,

⁸Thus, if there are three observed categorical variables A , B , C with I , J and K categories respectively, a latent class model with T classes can be expressed as follows:

$$\pi_{ijk}^{ABC} = \sum_{t=1}^T \pi_t^X \pi_{it}^{\bar{A}X} \pi_{jt}^{\bar{B}X} \pi_{kt}^{\bar{C}X},$$

where π_t^X is the probability that a person belongs to latent class t , $\pi_{it}^{\bar{A}X}$ is the probability that this person is found at level i of A given membership in latent class t , and so on.

even before we start to consider the social character of our latent classes.

Most obviously, perhaps, the very fact that we can assort our respondents to five latent classes, each representing a relatively well-defined type of musical consumer, must throw doubt on the individualisation argument, at least in its extreme, ‘post-modernist’ versions: i.e. those that would claim the break-up of all pattern or coherence in consumption itself as well as in its linkages with social stratification. We are evidently far removed from any such situation.⁹

Turning next to the homology argument, it might be suggested that members of our latent classes 1 and 2 are very plausible exemplars of popular or ‘mass’ consumption in the musical domain. Members of latent class 1, the largest of the five (35% of all respondents), are likely to listen to pop/rock via the media ($p = .83$) and, to a much lower degree, classical music ($p = .25$) but that is virtually all that they do—the full extent of their musical consumption. Members of latent class 2, the next largest (33%), are then very similar to members of latent class 1 in their restricted listening patterns, and differ mainly in their higher probability of actually attending pop/rock events ($p = .51$) and also musicals ($p = .34$). However, if we can thus rather readily identify a potential ‘mass’, there is little evidence to be found in Table 3 for the existence of a musical ‘elite’, at least in the sense of a group who, while actively expressing ‘high’ musical taste, at the same time reject more popular musical forms. Members of our latent class 3, the smallest of the five (6.5%), have overall the greatest probabilities of attending classical concerts and opera and of listening to classical music and opera through the media. However, they also have the highest probability of attending musicals ($p = .77$) and a probability of listening to pop/rock which, while the lowest among the five latent classes, still remains high in absolute terms ($p = .78$).

This being so, it might then appear that our results so far chiefly favour the omnivore–univore argument. But even in this case some qualifications are also suggested. On the one hand, while musical consumption in latent classes 1 and 2 is clearly more restricted than in the other three classes, it is not entirely univorous. As noted, there is some non-negligible probability of listening to classical music in addition to popular forms (a Classic FM or ‘crossover’ effect?). And, on the other hand, while members of latent class 3 do have an obvious claim to be regarded as musical omnivores, latent classes 4 and 5, both of which are larger than latent class 3 (8.9% and 19.1%

⁹As we have noted in the text, the binary responses to the nine questions on musical consumption with which we work can be regarded as forming a nine-way contingency table with 512 cells. If our respondents were to have been distributed randomly over the cells of this table, then we would have been able to do no more than identify just one latent class—to which everyone belonged. In other words, model 1 of Table 2 would have sufficed.

respectively), also show omnivorous tendencies, indicating, that is, a need to distinguish various degrees and kinds of omnivore. Thus, latent class 4 comprises individuals who have relatively high probabilities of listening to pop/rock and jazz and especially of attending pop/rock ($p = .44$) and jazz ($p = .41$) events, who are also quite likely to listen to classical music, but whose omnivorousness clearly does not extend to opera. In some contrast, members of latent class 5, while also having a quite high probability of listening to pop/rock, are much less likely to listen to jazz and more likely to listen to opera and also to classical music than are members of latent class 4, and at the same time they differ in that their attendance at musical events of any kind is quite low: i.e. in so far as they are omnivores, they are omnivore listeners. These findings also indicate that omnivorousness may be limited not only by dislike of musical forms that are especially associated with low status groups, as suggested by Bryson (1996), but also by dislike of forms such as opera or jazz that could not be regarded as threatening to status.

However, with these qualifications being kept in mind, it would seem reasonable, and not unduly misleading, if we were to label our latent classes according to the univore–omnivore argument, on the following lines: latent class 1 as univores–1 (U1s), latent class 2 as univores–2 (U2s), latent class 3 as omnivores–1 (O1s), latent class 4 as omnivores–2 (O2s) and latent class 5 as omnivores–3 (O3s).

Table 3: Estimated relative size of the latent classes and the conditional probabilities of consuming each of the nine music items under the five latent class model.

	1 (U1)	2 (U2)	3 (O1)	4 (O2)	5 (O3)
relative size	0.351	0.303	0.065	0.089	0.191
jazz (l)	0.004	0.025	0.289	0.409	0.001
pop/rock (l)	0.000	0.513	0.280	0.440	0.099
opera (l)	0.010	0.014	0.543	0.055	0.053
classical (l)	0.017	0.022	0.761	0.132	0.150
musical (l)	0.052	0.336	0.772	0.322	0.291
jazz (m)	0.075	0.129	0.522	0.952	0.333
pop/rock (m)	0.827	0.998	0.775	0.956	0.821
opera (m)	0.017	0.018	0.676	0.280	0.434
classical (m)	0.254	0.332	0.993	0.831	0.999

Note: (l): attending live concerts, (m): listening to music through media.

4.2 Incorporating covariates into the analysis

We now move on to the question of the social character of our latent classes and in particular to that of how their members are located within the stratification of contemporary English society. In technical terms, therefore, we need to introduce covariates into our latent class analysis of types of musical consumer.

There are two main ways in which we might attempt to do this. The more conventional, ‘two-stage’ approach would be as follows. First, we calculate, on the basis of the estimated latent class solution (cf. Table 3), the conditional probability of respondents’ membership in each of our five latent classes, given their responses to the nine indicators that we have used.¹⁰ Thus, all respondents with a particular response pattern are assigned to the same latent class—that to which they have the highest, or modal, conditional probability of belonging. With our respondents then distributed among the five latent classes, we can go on to investigate the association between latent class membership and other variables of interest, whether through simple tabulation or through more powerful regression models, such as the multinomial logit. This procedure has several effective sociological applications—in, for example, the analysis of intergenerational exchanges (Hogan, Eggebeen and Clogg, 1993) or, specifically in the field of cultural consumption, in a study of patterns of ‘high-brow’ and ‘low-brow’ reading (van Rees, Vermunt and Verboord, 1999). However, an alternative and more sophisticated approach has also been proposed. In this case, the latent class measurement model (cf. section 4.1) is combined directly with a regression model (Yamaguchi, 2000; Bandeen-Roche, Miglioretti, Zeger and Rathouz, 1997; Dayton and Macready, 1988; Formann, 1992), and in this way the probabilistic nature of the former is preserved.

Both approaches can in fact give rise to problems. With the first, assigning individuals to modal latent classes inevitably introduces error into the data, no matter how high the modal probabilities might be, and the relative sizes of the latent classes after modal assignment can differ quite significantly from those estimated from the measurement model. The second approach avoids this problem in accepting in effect that we can never know for certain

¹⁰Thus, suppose there are three observed categorical variables A , B and C , the conditional probability that someone belongs to latent class t given that this person is at level i of A , level j of B and level k of C is given by the following expression:

$$\pi_{ijk}^{ABC\bar{X}} = \frac{\pi_t^X \pi_{it}^{\bar{A}X} \pi_{jt}^{\bar{B}X} \pi_{kt}^{\bar{C}X}}{\sum_{t=1}^T \pi_t^X \pi_{it}^{AX} \pi_{jt}^{BX} \pi_{kt}^{CX}}.$$

that an individual belongs to one latent class rather than another, and is in this regard preferable. However, experience suggests that difficulties may be encountered in that the measurement part of the model becomes unstable once more than a quite limited number of covariates are added.

Given this situation, we proceed pragmatically. It turns out that in our present case modal class assignment misclassifies 26% of the respondents.¹¹ This level of misclassification is not negligible, but since most of the misclassification occur as between the two univore classes rather than between univore and omnivore classes,¹² and also in view of the fact that we wish to introduce a rather large number of covariates, we have opted to rely on the first, more conventional approach so far as analyses reported in the body of the paper are concerned.¹³ However, in Appendix B we report results derived from an attempt to follow the second approach which may serve as a validation exercise.

4.3 The distribution of types of musical consumer by social class and social status

As earlier noted, we start from the position that in investigating the relationship between cultural consumption and social stratification, it is important conceptually to maintain the Weberian distinction between social class and social status; and in turn we have the empirical expectation that cultural consumption, as an aspect of lifestyle, will be the more closely associated with status than with class. It is then of interest to examine, before undertaking more elaborate multivariate analyses, how the types of musical consumer that we have identified are actually distributed by class and status.

In Table 4 we show results by class, following the seven-class version of the new NS schema. It can be seen that within Classes 1 and 2, forming the salariat of primarily professional and managerial employees, there is the smallest representation of U1s, our most limited type of musical consumer, and the largest representation of O1s, O2s and O3s, our various kinds of musical omnivore. The reverse is then generally the case within Classes 5, 6

¹¹The percentage of cases misclassified is calculated as: $100 \times \sum_j (1 - \hat{\pi}_j) * \frac{n_j}{N}$, where n_j is the number of respondents giving response pattern j , $\hat{\pi}_j$ is the estimated modal latent class probability given response pattern j , and N is the total sample size. Note that this is different from the index of dissimilarity that is commonly used in categorical data analysis.

¹²Details are available from the authors. It should also be noted that the latent class probabilities estimated under the second approach also differ significantly from those reported in Table 3. See Table 11 in Appendix B.

¹³Measurement errors tend to attenuate the association between variables. Thus, the statistical association reported in the following analyses are *conservative estimates*.

and 7, making up the working class of lower supervisory and manual wage-earners, while within Classes 3 and 4, those of routine nonmanual workers and of small employers and self-employed workers respectively, an intermediate situation obtains. Thus there seems to be a some rough kind of social class gradient in four of the five latent classes of musical consumers, U2 being the exception. However, it may be noted in Table 4 U1s are the most frequently, and O1s or O2s the least frequently occurring type *within each class alike*.

Table 4: Distribution of latent class membership within social class

class	U1	U2	O1	O2	O3
1	26.6	24.4	12.3	15.2	21.5
2	33.1	26.9	9.8	10.4	19.8
3	48.1	25.3	4.9	4.5	17.3
4	45.5	21.5	5.5	9.8	17.8
5	53.8	23.1	1.4	5.0	16.7
6	58.4	22.7	2.9	2.4	13.6
7	65.2	14.8	1.7	3.1	15.2

Table 5 then reports the corresponding distribution by status—i.e. by the 31 categories of the status scale that we have ourselves constructed;¹⁴ and Figure 1 presents essentially the same information in graphical form, with membership in each of our five latent classes being plotted against status score (though note the differing scales on the vertical axes).¹⁵ We also add a non-parametric regression line to each plot (Cleveland, 1979). Figure 1 shows that the probability of being a U1 is negatively related to status in a fairly linear fashion while the probability of being an O1—a true musical omnivore—is positively related. The probability of being a U2 seems unrelated to status, as it was to class, but that of being an O2 or O3 is again positively related to status, even though the wider dispersion of points around the regression line indicates that in these cases the association is weaker than with O1. From Table 5 it can further be seen that within two of the four highest ranking groups, Higher professionals and Teachers and other professionals in education, omnivores achieve approximately equal representation with univores—i.e. are strongly over-represented in relation to their numbers in our total sample.

Thus, status effects on type of musical consumption would, on this basis,

¹⁴See Appendix A Table 10 for short descriptions of the categories of the scale.

¹⁵It should also be noted that among the outlier categories that are identified in the graphs that labelled OMO—Other managers and officials—tends to recur. In the data we use there are in fact only nine individuals assigned to this category.

appear somewhat clearer than class effects. However, to provide a serious test of our claim that in so far as the extent of the social stratification of musical or other forms of cultural consumption is in question, it is on status rather than class that attention should focus, we need to move on to multivariate analyses.

4.4 The social character of types of musical consumer: Multivariate analysis

Descriptive statistics of the covariates that are included in our multivariate analyses are given in Table 6. These covariates are of two main kinds. First, there are ones of a broadly demographic kind that we introduce primarily as controls. It could be expected that musical consumption will be influenced by demographic factors, operating essentially as constraints. For example, women with young children living in the far North might be thought less likely at least to participate in musical events than single men living in London. For our present purposes, we wish to abstract from effects of this kind on whether individuals are found in one or another of our latent classes. Secondly, there are covariates relating to social stratification on which our attention focuses, and it is then these that serve as our explanatory variables of interest. Here, in addition to the measures of class and status to which we have already referred, we include measures of household income and educational qualifications since these could also be regarded as stratification variables.

We use a multinomial logit model with membership in our five latent classes as the dependent variable, and with U1, that comprising the most restricted musical consumers, as the reference category.¹⁶ Results are reported in Table 7.

It can be seen, to begin with, that the demographic variables that we include in the model are in fact only of rather limited importance. Marital status has a significant effect in one instance only—married people are, compared with the singles, less likely to be O1s rather than U1s. Region has an effect only in that living in the North or Midlands rather than in London

¹⁶The multinomial logit model, fitted with R (cf. R Development Core Team, 2003), can be represented as follows:

$$\log\left(\frac{P_k}{P_{U1}}\right) = \mathbf{x}'\boldsymbol{\beta}, \quad k = U2, O1, O2, O3$$

where P_{U1} is the probability that a respondent belongs to the latent class U1, P_k is the probability that a respondent belongs to the latent class k , \mathbf{x} is a vector of covariates, and $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ is the vector of parameters to be estimated.

Table 5: Distribution of latent class membership within occupational categories.

	status						n
	score	U1	U2	O1	O2	O3	
HP	0.5643	27.3	22.7	19.5	13.3	17.2	128
APB	0.5337	26.7	31.4	9.9	12.8	19.2	172
SM	0.5107	25.5	26.6	12.5	13.0	22.3	184
TPE	0.5017	20.4	18.0	21.6	16.2	24.0	167
GMA	0.4114	29.9	26.0	5.2	13.0	26.0	77
API	0.3116	37.3	25.5	6.4	4.6	26.4	110
SET	0.3115	28.7	22.1	8.8	16.9	23.5	136
FRC	0.2559	46.6	20.7	6.9	10.3	15.5	58
OMO	0.2355	22.2	55.6	11.1	0.0	11.1	9
AOA	0.2274	37.8	25.5	9.2	8.2	19.4	98
NCC	0.2238	45.0	33.3	2.9	4.1	14.6	171
APH	0.2228	38.2	28.3	9.9	5.9	17.8	152
SEC	0.1539	43.3	24.2	5.1	3.2	24.2	157
OCW	0.1443	46.3	26.3	4.2	5.3	17.9	95
BSR	0.1193	32.8	27.6	3.4	19.0	17.2	58
CCW	0.1097	40.0	36.7	3.3	6.7	13.3	90
MPS	-0.0453	39.1	21.8	9.8	10.9	18.4	174
PDM	-0.0625	44.2	18.6	5.8	11.6	19.8	86
SW	-0.1151	54.4	25.5	2.7	3.4	14.1	263
HW	-0.2121	56.4	21.2	5.5	3.0	13.9	165
PSW	-0.2261	47.3	23.7	5.4	4.3	19.4	93
PSP	-0.2288	57.0	19.0	3.8	6.3	13.9	79
RWS	-0.2974	70.0	15.2	0.5	1.9	12.4	210
CW	-0.3261	51.4	15.7	2.9	7.1	22.9	70
SDC	-0.3353	51.9	25.9	0.0	7.4	14.8	27
SMO	-0.4072	57.2	14.5	4.3	2.2	21.7	138
TO	-0.4114	54.1	15.6	1.8	8.3	20.2	109
SMC	-0.5014	58.6	20.7	1.7	6.0	12.9	116
SMM	-0.5121	50.4	23.1	0.8	7.4	18.2	121
PMO	-0.5589	68.1	20.0	0.5	1.9	9.5	210
GL	-0.5979	63.6	23.1	0.8	5.0	7.4	121
overall		45.5	23.3	6.1	7.4	17.6	3844

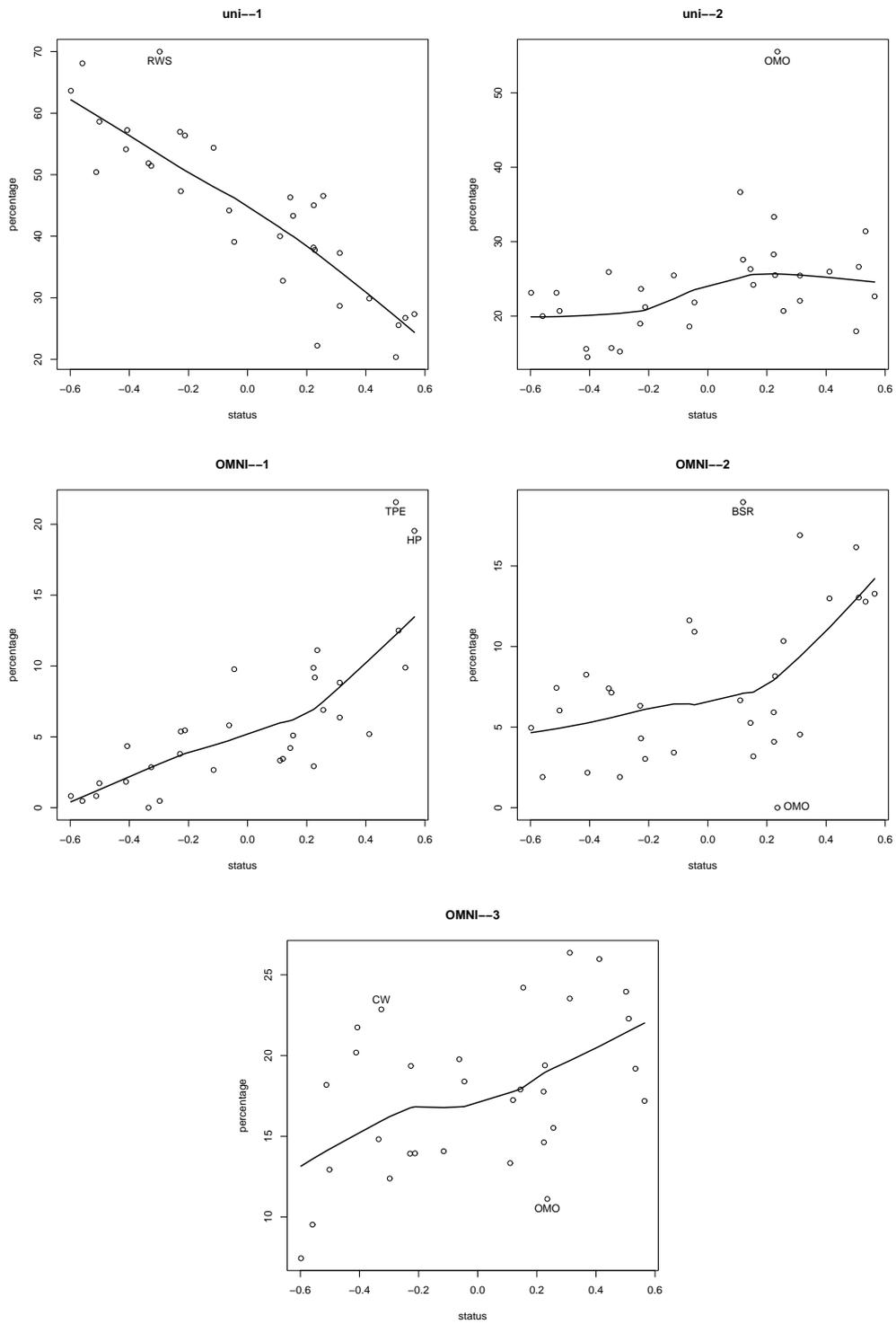


Figure 1: Membership in latent class by social status.

Table 6: Descriptive statistics of covariates.

	<i>N</i>	%		
female ^a	2129	55.4		
Single (reference category)	1016	26.4		
Married or cohabiting	2051	53.4		
Separated, divorced or widowed	777	20.2		
children 0–4 ^b	656	17.1		
children 5–10 ^b	786	20.5		
children 11–15 ^b	629	16.4		
London (reference category)	501	13.0		
The North	1145	29.8		
Midlands and East Anglia	1157	30.1		
South East	619	16.1		
South West	422	11.0		
no qualifications (reference category)	868	22.6		
CSE, etc.	509	13.2		
O-levels	893	23.2		
A-levels	523	13.6		
post-secondary qualifications	350	9.1		
degree	701	18.2		
Class 1—higher managerial & professional occupations (ref.cat.)	488	12.7		
Class 2—lower managerial & professional occupations	1023	26.6		
Class 3—intermediate occupations	574	14.9		
Class 4—small employers and own-account workers	275	7.2		
Class 5—lower supervisory & technical occupations	359	9.3		
Class 6—semi-routine occupations	620	16.1		
Class 7—routine occupations	480	12.5		
Not classified ^c	25	0.7		
	mean	s.d.	min.	max.
age	42.1	11.8	20	64
annual household income ^d	15525	10861	260	37700
status	-0.002	0.364	-0.598	0.564

Note:

^a Male is reference category.

^b Not having children in the respective age ranges are the reference categories.

^c Due to inadequate information on occupation and/or employment status.

^d The income variable in the ACE data set is originally coded in terms of 32 income brackets of *variable width*. In our analysis, we have assigned respondents to the midpoint of the income bracket to which they belong.

reduces the chances of being an O2 or O3 (but not, rather strangely, an O1) rather than a U1.¹⁷ The effects of gender are likewise very patchy: women are more likely than men to be O1s rather than U1s. Age and presence of children, especially of children under age four, appear most consequential, albeit in rather unsurprising ways. Younger people are more likely than older people to be U2s rather than U1s or, in other words, to attend pop/rock events (and musicals) as opposed to just listening to pop/rock; and the presence of young children clearly reduces the chances of individuals being attenders of any kind—i.e. of being U2s, O1s or O2s—rather than U1s, but not of being O3s, omnivore listeners.

Turning next to our main concern with the social stratification of musical consumption, one result is immediately apparent from Table 7. We can confirm our hypothesis that status is in this regard of greater importance than is class. In the context of our multivariate model the effects of class are for the very large part non-significant, while status a significant—positive—effect in all contrasts made. In other words, the higher an individual’s status, the more likely he or she is to be a U2, O1, O2 or O3 rather than a U1,¹⁸ and further, as can be seen, the status effect is particularly strong in increasing an individual’s chances of being an O1 or true musical omnivore.¹⁹

As regards the other stratification variables included, that is, household income and educational qualifications, both show up in Table 7 as also influential but, we would argue, in rather specific ways.

Income has a positive effect on the chances of individuals being U2s, O1s or O2s rather than U1s but not on their chances of being O3s or, that is, omnivore listeners. What is then suggested is that low income operates, much

¹⁷The size of the town in which one lives might have greater sociological relevance than region. Unfortunately, there is no such measure in the ACE data set.

¹⁸In analyses not reported here, we have included quadratic terms for status and age in the model. But these terms turn out to be insignificant. Details are available from the authors on request.

¹⁹By changing our reference category of the dependent variable to O1, we can also show that respondents of higher social status are less likely to be U1s, U2s and O3s, but there is no significant status difference between O1 and O2. (cf. Table 9 in Appendix A). It might be argued, especially by those who favour a one-dimensional understanding of social stratification and reject the utility of the class/status distinction, that all that is being shown here is that our measure of status better captures this one dimension than does our measure of class. However, we can report that in other work we are undertaking we obtain results that would undermine this view and are in fact much as would be expected from a Weberian standpoint. For example, in analyses of party choice in the 1997 UK General Election we find, using the same measures as in the present paper, that class has a clearly stronger influence than does status. And a similar finding would also appear to be emerging from analyses of economic life-chances, such as risks of job loss and unemployment, instability of earnings and long-term earnings prospects.

Table 7: Multinomial logit model: musical consumption latent class regression on covariates.^a

	U2		O1		O2		O3	
	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>
female	0.161	(0.105)	0.463**	(0.177)	-0.202	(0.157)	-0.108	(0.115)
married	-0.026	(0.124)	-0.460*	(0.224)	-0.243	(0.194)	-0.219	(0.146)
separated	0.029	(0.159)	-0.147	(0.270)	0.266	(0.237)	0.010	(0.175)
age	-0.023**	(0.005)	0.068**	(0.008)	0.008	(0.007)	0.048**	(0.005)
child (0–4)	-0.463**	(0.120)	-0.935**	(0.319)	-0.688**	(0.221)	-0.171	(0.152)
child (5–10)	0.119	(0.107)	-0.454†	(0.258)	-0.305	(0.200)	-0.081	(0.138)
child (11–15)	0.058	(0.115)	-0.321	(0.244)	-0.369†	(0.215)	-0.280†	(0.143)
The North	0.171	(0.148)	-0.012	(0.253)	-0.627**	(0.212)	-0.364*	(0.161)
Midlands	0.048	(0.149)	-0.115	(0.251)	-0.496*	(0.204)	-0.170	(0.157)
South East	0.163	(0.167)	0.357	(0.264)	-0.213	(0.224)	0.112	(0.173)
South West	0.226	(0.181)	0.303	(0.301)	-0.217	(0.258)	0.038	(0.194)
income	0.023**	(0.006)	0.023**	(0.009)	0.027**	(0.008)	0.010	(0.006)
CSE/others	0.072	(0.159)	0.739†	(0.423)	0.426	(0.295)	0.643**	(0.169)
O-levels	0.397**	(0.139)	1.437**	(0.331)	0.667*	(0.257)	0.719**	(0.154)
A-levels	0.705**	(0.162)	2.138**	(0.354)	1.082**	(0.280)	0.867**	(0.189)
sub-degree	0.269	(0.192)	2.309**	(0.356)	1.161**	(0.293)	0.924**	(0.204)
degree	0.555**	(0.181)	3.050**	(0.347)	1.355**	(0.283)	1.422**	(0.194)
class 2	0.223	(0.166)	-0.033	(0.225)	-0.081	(0.206)	0.044	(0.177)
class 3	-0.023	(0.199)	-0.340	(0.319)	-0.738*	(0.300)	-0.075	(0.219)
class 4	0.249	(0.249)	0.163	(0.391)	0.191	(0.333)	0.139	(0.268)
class 5	0.243	(0.255)	-0.618	(0.569)	-0.365	(0.390)	0.262	(0.282)
class 6	0.121	(0.234)	0.051	(0.408)	-0.926*	(0.392)	0.055	(0.261)
class 7	-0.266	(0.267)	-0.186	(0.522)	-0.680	(0.418)	0.194	(0.285)
not classified	-0.522	(0.696)	0.947	(0.776)	0.904	(0.643)	0.359	(0.662)
status	0.558**	(0.210)	1.092**	(0.373)	0.629*	(0.315)	0.749**	(0.234)
constant	-0.597†	(0.343)	-6.919**	(0.631)	-2.245**	(0.501)	-3.498**	(0.389)

Note: ^a U1 as reference category; standard errors in parenthesis; † $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

as the presence of young children, as a constraint specifically on attendance at musical events,²⁰ and could be envisaged as operating in this way primarily within status and associated cultural levels: i.e. as making potential U2s more likely to be U1s and potential O1s or O2s more likely to be O3s.

The effects of educational qualifications follow a pattern broadly similar to those of status. The higher an individual's educational level, the more likely he or she is to be an O1, O2 or O3—i.e. a musical omnivore of one kind or another—rather than a U1, although in increasing the chances of being a U2 rather than a U1 the effects of education are monotonic only up to A-levels. The influence of education, like that of status, appears to exert a particularly strong influence on the chances of being an O1 or true omnivore. However, the question arises of whether, once status and other stratification variables are controlled, the effects of education *per se* are best understood in terms of stratification. We would ourselves take the view that they are more plausibly seen as operating through individual psychology according to the information-processing hypothesis to which we have previously referred. That is to say, within all status levels higher educational qualifications, through the mechanisms that this hypothesis invokes, increase the probability of individuals being U2s rather than U1s, omnivores rather than univores, and O1s rather than anything else.

Finally in this section we turn to the issue of the *relative* strengths of the three variables on which the results of Table 7 would lead us to concentrate: i.e. status plus income and education. To this end, we report in Table 8 some predicted probabilities from our multinomial logit model of the latent class membership of a hypothetical person—we take a 40-year old childless woman living in London—whose income, education and status we vary.²¹

The effects of income are illustrated in Panel A of Table 8. If our hypothetical woman has no qualifications and is, say, a routine machinist falling in our status category of Plant and machine operators (lines 1–3), then as her household income rises from £15,000 to £35,000, the probability of her being a U1 drops by about 10 percentage points. Most of the compensating change occurs in the probability of her being a U2 or O2. In contrast, the chances of her being an O1 or an O3 are rather insensitive to changes in income. A similar pattern is also apparent if our hypothetical woman has O-levels and falls into our category of Managers and proprietors of services (lines 4–6) and

²⁰Further support for this interpretation can be found in Table 9 in Appendix A where O1 serves as the reference category of the dependent variable. Here income has no effect on the other two latent classes of attenders, U2 and O2, but has a significant effect on the two latent classes of listeners.

²¹These probabilities are estimated under a model that is very similar to the one reported in Table 7, but with the largely insignificant terms of class and marital status dropped.

again, though less strongly, if she has a degree and is a Higher professional (lines 7–9). Some of these results are shown graphically in Figure 2, in which the slopes of the lines represent the strength of the income effect (and the vertical distance between the lines, the strength of the status effect). It can be seen that the slopes are generally steeper for the plots relating to membership in U1, where the effect of income is negative, and for membership in U2 and O2, where the effect is positive.

The effects of educational qualification are then treated in Panel B of Table 8. The pattern that generally emerges is most clearly brought out in the central lines of the panel (lines 12–14) where we hold household income constant at £25,000 and status constant at the level of Managers and proprietors in services. It can be seen that the probability of our hypothetical woman being a U1 is then very sensitive to the level of her educational qualifications—declining by about 30 percentage points as between ‘none’ and ‘degree’; and, further, that most of the compensating change relates to her chances of being an omnivore of some kind and especially an O1. A range of results on this pattern is shown graphically in the plots of Figure 3 in which the strength of the effects of education is indicated by the distance between the lines. This distance is greatest in the plots for membership in U1 and O1, and in the latter case, especially at the high end of the status order.

Finally, the effects of status are illustrated in Panel C of Table 8. To begin with, it is apparent that in all scenarios the chances of our hypothetical woman being a U1 decline with the status we attribute to her—in fact by about 18 percentage points across virtually the full status range (lines 19–21) when we suppose that she has a household income of £25,000 and O-level qualifications. However, what is of further interest is that the compensating changes vary a good deal, depending on the values we give to these other covariates. Thus, in the case just referred to, the largest compensating changes are in the probabilities of our hypothetical woman being a U2 or an O2 (see again Figure 3). But if she has no educational qualifications and an income of £15,000, it is chiefly her chances of being a U2 that increase as her status rises, and if she has a degree and an income of £35,000, it is chiefly her chances of being an O1.²²

²²From what is said in this and the preceding paragraph, it would therefore appear that interaction effects among status, education and income may occur, even though there are no interaction terms in our multinomial logit model. However, this is explained by the fact that while the model is linear in the logit, it is *not* linear in probability.

Table 8: Examples of predicted probabilities of latent class membership.^a

	income ^b	education	occupation	U1	U2	O1	O2	O3
A: Effects of income, controlling for education and status.								
1	15	None	PMO	0.666	0.178	0.009	0.046	0.101
2	25	None	PMO	0.617	0.210	0.010	0.060	0.103
3	35	None	PMO	0.565	0.244	0.012	0.076	0.103
4	15	O-levels	MPS	0.438	0.245	0.042	0.095	0.180
5	25	O-levels	MPS	0.387	0.274	0.047	0.117	0.175
6	35	O-levels	MPS	0.337	0.303	0.052	0.142	0.167
7	15	Degree	HP	0.202	0.189	0.205	0.160	0.243
8	25	Degree	HP	0.170	0.202	0.218	0.187	0.224
9	35	Degree	HP	0.140	0.212	0.229	0.215	0.203
B: Effects of education, controlling for status and income.								
10	15	None	PMO	0.666	0.178	0.009	0.046	0.101
11	15	O-levels	PMO	0.523	0.215	0.028	0.074	0.160
12	25	None	MPS	0.536	0.248	0.016	0.080	0.120
13	25	O-levels	MPS	0.387	0.274	0.047	0.117	0.175
14	25	Degree	MPS	0.247	0.204	0.157	0.163	0.229
15	35	O-levels	HP	0.249	0.323	0.077	0.175	0.176
16	35	Degree	HP	0.140	0.212	0.229	0.215	0.203
C: Effects of status, controlling for education and income.								
17	15	None	PMO	0.666	0.178	0.009	0.046	0.101
18	15	None	MPS	0.588	0.214	0.014	0.063	0.121
19	25	O-levels	PMO	0.472	0.246	0.031	0.093	0.158
20	25	O-levels	MPS	0.387	0.274	0.047	0.117	0.175
21	25	O-levels	HP	0.293	0.299	0.072	0.148	0.188
22	35	Degree	MPS	0.209	0.219	0.168	0.192	0.212
23	35	Degree	HP	0.140	0.212	0.229	0.215	0.203

Note:

^a Other covariates fixed as follows: Forty years old female Londoner with no children.

^b Annual household income (in thousand of pounds).

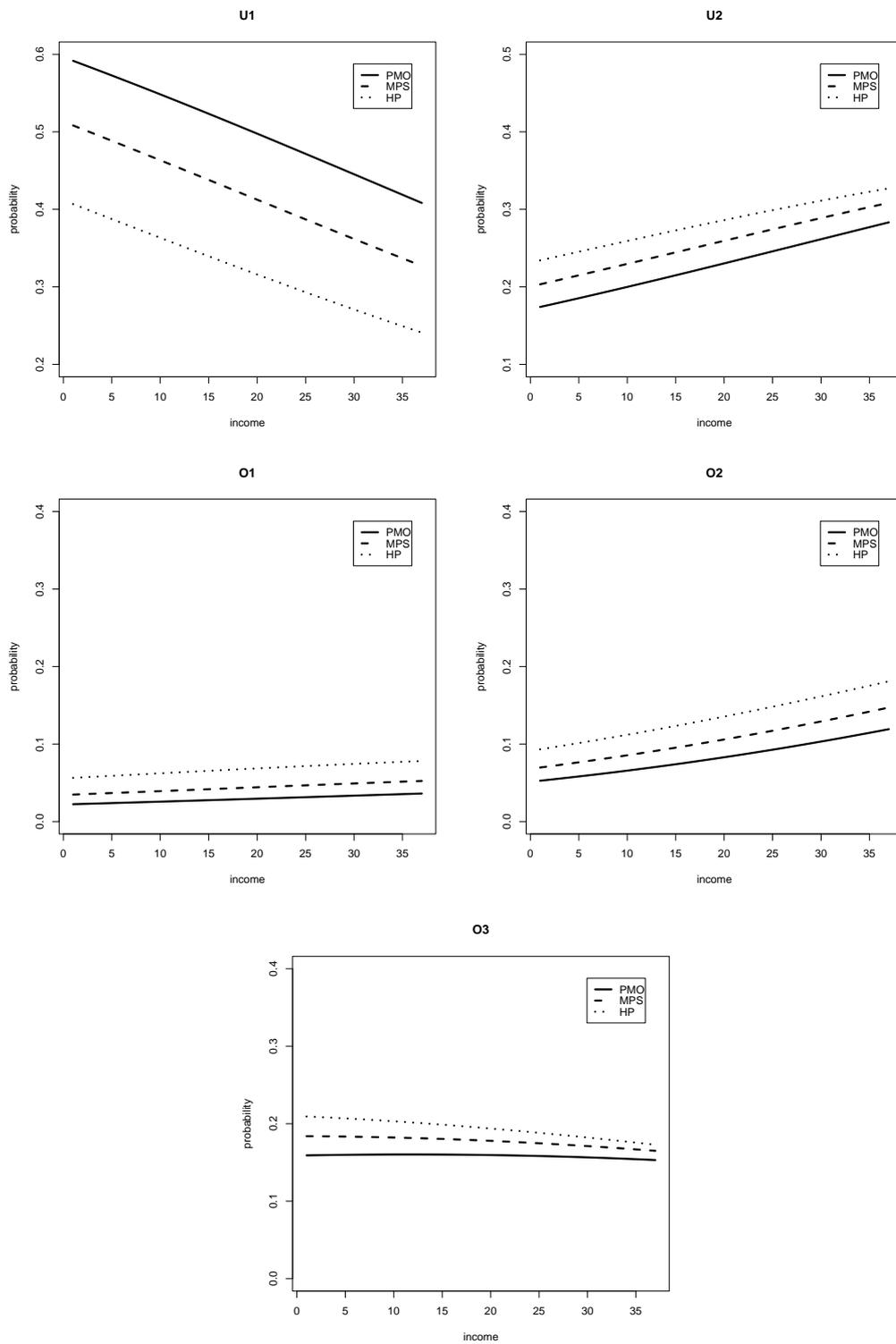


Figure 2: Association between latent class membership, social status and income.

Note: Other covariates fixed as follows: Forty years old female Londoner, with O-levels, no children.

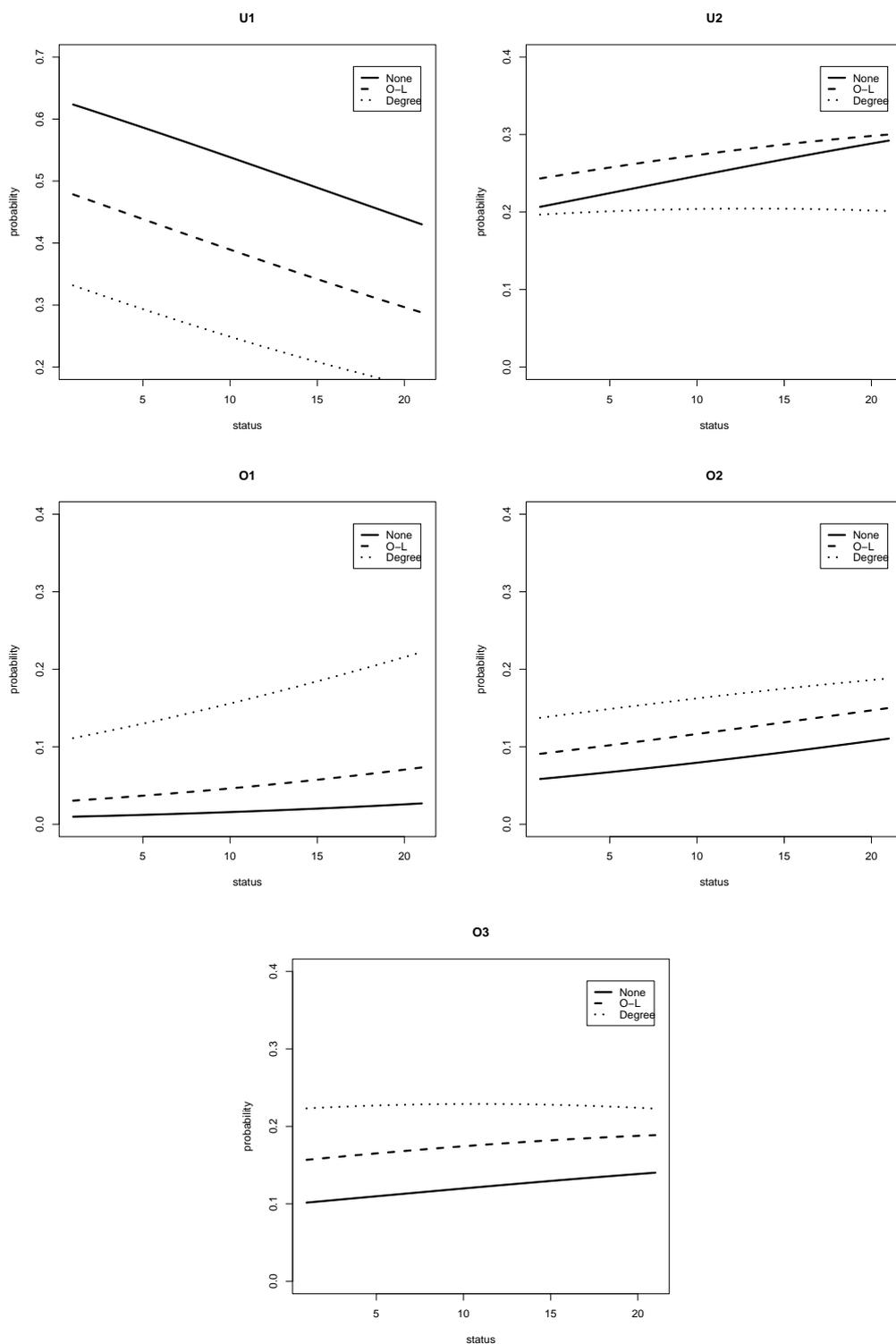


Figure 3: Association between latent class membership, education and social status.

Note: Other covariates fixed as follows: Forty years old female Londoner, with household income of £25,000 and no children.

5 Conclusion

We have already noted some of the immediate implications of our latent class analysis for the three arguments on social stratification and cultural taste and consumption from which we started. We now consider what further can be said in the light of our attempts to bring out the social character of the different types of musical consumer that we have distinguished.

As regards the homology argument, we previously observed that this appears to be undermined by the fact that although we can identify a potential ‘mass’ of musical consumers, that is, our U1s and U2s, our latent class analysis does not reveal a musical ‘elite’ who clearly reject more popular musical forms. Our subsequent analyses then show that, as the homology argument would require, U1s and U2s do indeed predominate at the lower levels of the stratification of contemporary English society, in whatever way this may be conceptualised. Thus, as can be seen from Tables 4 and 5, U1s and U2s constitute a substantial majority—around 80 per cent—of the broadly defined working class (NS Classes 5, 6 and 7) and likewise of the categories in the lower half of our status scale. However, what has then further to be recognised is that U1s and U2s are by no means minoritarian at *higher* levels of stratification. They still in fact represent a majority of the professional and managerial salariat (NS Classes 1 and 2) and of five of the highest-ranking seven categories in the status scale. In other words, the homology argument breaks down not only in that we fail to find a musical elite that confines its consumption to ‘higher’ musical forms, but further in that these forms appear to have little appeal for many in higher class and status positions, who in fact follow the most frequent pattern in the population at large in restricting their consumption largely to popular music.

These same findings would also appear highly damaging to Bourdieu’s elaboration of the homology argument. Since we cannot identify a musical elite, then neither *a fortiori* can we identify anything recognisable as Bourdieu’s ‘dominant class’ that seeks both to define and appropriate high culture—and even when we focus on music, Bourdieu’s ‘infallible classifier’.²³ Moreover, the results we report sustain the view we previously expressed

²³Although Bourdieu plays somewhat fast and loose with quantities, a dominant class of the kind he describes would surely be large enough, if it existed, to be picked up in our latent class analysis—i.e. would amount to at least a few percent of the total population. We might add here that an attempt to ‘save’ the homology argument in some form could perhaps be made by postulating a musical or more general cultural elite that is much smaller than this and in fact too small to figure in any survey-based analysis. But it would need to be explained how the argument then applied to the rest—i.e. virtually the whole—of the population.

that there is little to be said for Bourdieu's attempt to go beyond Weber and to 'yoke together' class and status: i.e. by treating status and associated lifestyles as the symbolic aspect of the class structure and as reflecting the distinctive forms of *habitus* created by different 'class conditions'. We have shown elsewhere (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2003) that in contemporary British society the class structure and the status order, at least as we would conceptualise them, do not map all that closely onto each other; and we have here been able to show that, when class and status are entered into the analysis together, class turns out to have rather little connection with musical consumption while status remains an important explanatory variable. Thus, for example, in so far as we can identify musical elites at all, not in the sense of the homology argument but rather as omnivores who consume higher musical forms along with more popular ones, status—and education—do far more to account for membership in these groupings than does class. At the same time, though, it should be clear from what has already been said that the effects of status (and likewise of other variables) on type of musical consumption is not overwhelmingly strong. And thus the idea of such consumption being more or less compulsively determined by the *habitus* of the individual's status group—or class—would appear, at all events in the case we have considered, to be quite inappropriate.²⁴

As regards the individualisation argument, we have already remarked that the outcome of our latent class analysis—i.e. the fact that we can identify a limited number of fairly well defined types of musical consumer—at once raises serious questions, at least if the argument goes so far as to imply that all patterns of consumption, cultural and otherwise, are tending to dissolve into an infinity of individual styles. And, further to this, we can now say on the basis of our regression analysis that the probabilities of individuals approximating one rather than another type of musical consumption are indeed associated in fairly clear, even if not always straightforwardly 'homologous' ways with their position in the status order and with other stratification variables. On the one hand, the probability of being a U1 declines steadily as level of status and also of education and income increase, while the probability of being a U2, involving more frequent attendance at popular musical events, has a weaker and more complex relation to status and education but a clearly positive relation to income. On the other hand, the probability

²⁴In fact, much the same conclusion has recently been reached in a study of musical tastes in contemporary France of a generally far higher technical quality than that of Bourdieu: 'Si l'analyse sur les données françaises confirme la robustesse du lien entre les caractéristiques sociales et l'orientation des préférences musicales des individus, celui-ci apparaît sensiblement moins consistant que ne le suggère la théorie de l'*habitus*.' (Coulangeon, 2003, 28–9).

of being an O1, a true musical omnivore, or an O2 is positively related to status, education and income, with income being clearly more important in the latter case than the former, while the probability of being an O3, an omnivore listener, is most strongly related to level of education.

Although, then, musical consumption will no doubt in some degree reflect purely individual taste and possibly, too, conscious lifestyle choice, there can be no question that it does still remain in various ways socially stratified.²⁵ Whether this stratification is less or more marked than at some earlier period, we are unable to say. But, so far as the present is concerned, our findings would indicate that for analysts of cultural consumption simply to change their emphasis ‘from *habitus* to freedom’ is in fact to move from one empirically untenable extreme to the other.

Finally, as regards the omnivore–univore argument, we earlier suggested that it is this that would appear most consonant with the results of our latent class analysis—sufficiently so, at least, to justify labelling our five types of musical consumer in omnivore–univore terms. To this we can now add that the social characterisations of these types deriving from our regression analysis is also broadly in line with omnivore–univore expectations. As described above, omnivores are, in general, of higher status and also have higher levels of education and income than univores. At the same time, though, certain qualifications to the omnivore–univore argument that we previously put forward are also underlined. In particular, it is evident that the omnivore–univore distinction should be taken as relating not to a hard-and-fast dichotomy but rather to differing tendencies. Not only do we find it necessary to distinguish two types of univore and three types of omnivore, but it would further seem likely that individuals will move to-and-fro between being this or that kind of univore or omnivore as their life-stages and circumstances change—for example, as they are more or less constrained by their family responsibilities or levels of income.

We also noted at the outset that the omnivore–univore argument, while apparently representing a ‘middle way’ between the homology and individualisation arguments, can in differing versions have more affinity with the one or the other: that is, depending on whether omnivorousness is taken to express a new aesthetic—perhaps less inclusive than it may at first appear—that is itself exploited in status competition or simply an attempt at self-realisation that is little constrained by conventional ideas of cultural levels. We would not at this stage, before having extended our analyses to other cultural do-

²⁵To link the individualisation argument with that of the decay or ‘death’ of class, as some authors have done, would then seem rather beside the point: status is the form of stratification that the argument needs chiefly to address to make good the claim that lifestyles have broken free of all structural grounding.

mains than that of music, wish to take up any very strong position on which slant has most to commend it empirically.²⁶ But, so far as our present findings go, they incline us to favour the ‘self-realisation’ rather than the ‘status competition’ view. Our data are not sufficiently detailed to allow us to say whether our musical omnivores do in fact ‘draw a line’ at certain kinds of popular music, but we do find that omnivorousness can be qualified by a dislike of kinds of music, such as opera or jazz, that do not have low status associations.

More generally, in fact, we would believe that a rather radical rethinking may now be required of the nature of status relations in modern societies and likewise of the part played by differences in cultural consumption in these relations. We would ally ourselves with proponents of the omnivore–univore argument who claim that, whatever validity the ideas of symbolic ‘struggle’ and ‘violence’, as advanced by Bourdieu and his followers, may have for the earlier history of modern societies, they appear out of place in contemporary analyses. However, new ideas are then needed. We have sought to show elsewhere (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2003), in the case of present-day British society, that although a status order can still be discerned, it would appear to be less sharply demarcated than previously, and there is other evidence to indicate that status differences are now less openly asserted from above or deferentially acknowledged from below. In turn, therefore, it may have to be recognised that while both collective attempts at the hierarchical differentiation of lifestyles and individual striving for ranking within them may still be pervasive, status enhancement may now be pursued through less direct and overt means than in an earlier period and may even, perhaps, no longer imply an essentially ‘zero-sum’ game in which exclusion is always as important as acceptance or in which, in Gore Vidal’s memorable phrase, ‘it is not enough to succeed; others must fail’.

²⁶As we earlier remarked, the omnivore–univore argument has in general been developed largely on the basis of studies of musical taste and consumption, and the musical domain may in fact be one that is especially favourable to it because of the wide variety of genres that it comprises and the differing uses to which they may be put. It is far from clear that the argument will fare as well in application to other cultural domains such as, say, that of the visual arts.

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A Further tables

Table 9: Multinomial logit model of musical consumption latent class.^a

	U1		U2		O2		O3	
	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>
female	-0.433*	(0.171)	-0.282	(0.177)	-0.697**	(0.204)	-0.551**	(0.177)
age	-0.063**	(0.008)	-0.085**	(0.008)	-0.055**	(0.009)	-0.017*	(0.008)
child (0–4)	1.049**	(0.312)	0.582†	(0.317)	0.277	(0.357)	0.819*	(0.325)
child (5–10)	0.531*	(0.254)	0.629*	(0.256)	0.158	(0.300)	0.425	(0.267)
child (11–15)	0.386	(0.240)	0.441†	(0.245)	-0.020	(0.296)	0.078	(0.254)
North ^c	0.078	(0.251)	0.250	(0.259)	-0.582*	(0.291)	-0.315	(0.261)
Midlands	0.185	(0.249)	0.228	(0.258)	-0.339	(0.284)	-0.022	(0.256)
South East	-0.296	(0.262)	-0.135	(0.271)	-0.550†	(0.300)	-0.224	(0.268)
South West	-0.234	(0.298)	-0.022	(0.309)	-0.470	(0.347)	-0.236	(0.307)
income	-0.024**	(0.008)	0.000	(0.008)	0.009	(0.009)	-0.014†	(0.008)
CSE/others ^d	-0.700†	(0.419)	-0.595	(0.434)	-0.264	(0.495)	-0.076	(0.432)
O-levels	-1.404**	(0.326)	-0.976**	(0.338)	-0.697†	(0.396)	-0.706*	(0.338)
A-levels	-2.092**	(0.346)	-1.352**	(0.357)	-0.952*	(0.416)	-1.262**	(0.362)
sub-degree	-2.291**	(0.346)	-1.966**	(0.364)	-1.024*	(0.418)	-1.385**	(0.360)
degree	-3.067**	(0.339)	-2.484**	(0.352)	-1.580**	(0.406)	-1.649**	(0.348)
status	-1.155**	(0.283)	-0.558†	(0.294)	-0.314	(0.335)	-0.577*	(0.295)
constant	7.005**	(0.564)	6.406**	(0.578)	4.250**	(0.648)	3.588**	(0.587)

Note: ^a O1 as reference category; standard errors in parenthesis; † $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$,

** $p < 0.01$.

Table 10: The 31 occupational categories ranked in descending order of status score, their relative size, and representative occupations within each category.

Rank	Title	Code	Representative occupations ^a	%
1	Higher professionals	HP	chartered accountants, clergy, medical practitioners, probation officers, solicitors	2.76
2	Associate professionals in business	APB	journalists, investment analysts, insurance brokers, designers	2.61
3	Specialist managers	SM	company treasurers, financial managers, computer systems managers, personnel managers	1.93
4	Teachers and other professionals in education	TPE	college lecturers, education officers and inspectors, school teachers	3.95
5	General managers and administrators	GMA	bank and building society managers, general managers in industry, national and local government officers	1.96
6	Associate professionals in industry and business	API	computer analysts and programmers, quantity surveyors, vocational and industrial trainers	3.38
7	Scientists, engineers and technologists	SET	civil and structural engineers, clinical biochemists, industrial chemists, planning engineers, software engineers	1.95
8	Filing and record clerks	FRC	conveyancing clerks, computer clerks, library assistants	1.69
9	Managers and officials, nec	OMO	security managers, cleaning managers	1.42
10	Administrative officers and assistants	AOA	clerical officers in national and local government	1.86
11	Numerical clerks and cashiers	NCC	accounts assistants, bank clerks	5.16
12	Associate professionals in health and welfare	APH	community workers, nurses, occupational therapists, youth workers	3.92
13	Secretaries and receptionists	SEC	personal assistants, receptionists, secretaries, word processor operators	4.53
14	Other clerical workers	OCW	general assistants, commercial and clerical assistants	2.73

15	Buyers and sales representatives	BSR	buyers and purchasing officers, technical sales representatives, whole-sale representatives	1.90
16	Childcare workers	CCW	educational assistants, nursery nurses	2.16
17	Managers and proprietors in services	MPS	catering managers, hoteliers, publicans, shopkeepers and managers	4.50
18	Plant, depot and site managers	PDM	clerks of works, farm managers, maintenance managers, transport managers, works managers	2.05
19	Sales workers	SW	cash desk and check-out operators, sales and shop assistants, window dressers	5.68
20	Health workers	HW	ambulance staff, dental nurses, nursing auxiliaries	2.11
21	Personal service workers	PSW	caretakers and housekeepers, hairdressers and beauticians, travel attendants, undertakers	2.11
22	Protective service personnel	PSP	fire service and police officers, security guards	1.81
23	Routine workers in services	RWS	car park attendants, cleaners, counter-hands, couriers and messengers, hotel porters, postal workers	6.58
24	Catering workers	CW	bar staff, chefs, cooks, waiters and waitresses	2.37
25	Store and despatch clerks	SDC	despatch and production control clerks, storekeepers	2.64
26	Skilled and related manual workers n.e.c.	SMO	gardeners and groundsmen, printers, textile workers, woodworkers	5.19
27	Transport operatives	TO	bus and coach drivers, lorry and van drivers, taxi drivers	3.61
28	Skilled and related manual workers in construction and maintenance	SMC	bricklayers, electricians, painters and decorators, plasterers, roofers, telephone repairmen	3.77
29	Skilled and related manual workers in metal trades	SMM	fitters, setters, setter-operators, sheet metal workers, turners, welders	4.45
30	Plant and machine operatives	PMO	assemblers, canners, fillers and packers, food processors, moulders and extruders, routine inspectors and testers	6.69
31	General labourers	GL	agricultural workers, factory labourers, goods porters, refuse collectors	2.51

^a That is, occupations that account for relatively large numbers of individuals within each category and at the same time give some idea of its range.

B Latent class models with covariates

When fitting multinomial logit latent class regression models (Yamaguchi, 2000) to our data using ℓ_{EM} (Vermunt, 1997), we have encountered two main problems. The first problem is that the measurement part of the model could be unstable, and that the relative size of the latent classes could differ quite significantly from the estimates reported in Table 11. Secondly, estimation problems quickly multiply as we try to include more than two or three covariates. We have therefore dropped three sets of covariates that are relatively unimportant (cf. Table 7), namely marital status, region and social class. To simplify the analysis further, we have collapsed the six categories of educational attainment into three, and discretised the remaining continuous covariates. Thus, we transform age into a binary variable, contrasting those who are younger than forty with the rest of the sample. Income is banded into three brackets of roughly equal size: less than £8,320 as ‘low income’, £8,320–£18,720 as ‘mid income’, and more than £18,720 as ‘high income’. Finally, as regards status, we collapse our 31 occupational categories into four major divisions that we have previously identified (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2003): with HP–SET forming the highest division, FRC–PDM the second, SW–SDC the third, and SMO–GL at the bottom.

Table 11: Estimated relative size of latent classes.

model	U1	U2	O1	O2	O3
A	0.351	0.303	0.065	0.089	0.191
B	0.455	0.233	0.061	0.074	0.176
1	0.245	0.353	0.073	0.142	0.188
2	0.190	0.405	0.056	0.145	0.204
3	0.205	0.373	0.059	0.140	0.223

Note: A refers to the unrestricted latent class model without covariates (cf. top line of Table 3); B refers to the relative size of the latent classes after modal probability assignment (cf. bottom line of Table 5); Models 1 to 3 refer to the three models reported in Table 12.

But even with such simplifications, the model would still fail to converge if we include status, education and income simultaneously. Thus, we report three models in Table 12 where we show the effect of status (model 1), income (model 2) and education (model 3) separately while controlling for gender, age and having children under the age of four. As can be seen, the results of these models are broadly consistent with those reported in the main text. Thus, people of higher status are more likely to be found in all the other

latent classes rather than in U1. The same is true for education and income. Such effects are especially strong for the contrast between O1s (i.e. the true music omnivores) and U1s (the most restricted musical consumers).

We also see that having young children would reduce the likelihood of our respondents being found in the three ‘attenders’ classes (U2, O1 and O2), but it has no effect on the latent class of ‘listeners’, O3. This pattern is again consistent with the results of Table 7. The effect of age is likewise broadly similar to the results reported earlier. The main discrepancy between the two approaches has to do with gender, where its effect appears to be more significant, but quite unstable across models, in Table 12.

Table 12: Latent class models of musical consumption with covariates.^a

	U2		O1		O2		O3	
model 1								
female	-0.249	0.171	0.064	0.226	-1.002**	0.193	-0.327†	0.196
age 40+	-1.072**	0.185	0.760**	0.283	-0.232	0.231	1.486**	0.324
child (0–4)	-0.635**	0.193	-1.658**	0.498	-0.750**	0.247	-0.313	0.278
HP–SET ^b	2.253**	0.363	5.080**	0.547	3.179**	0.393	2.754**	0.375
FRC–PDM	1.323**	0.225	2.748**	0.497	1.689**	0.271	1.552**	0.255
SW–SDC	0.232	0.199	1.116*	0.538	0.352	0.272	0.610*	0.241
model 2								
female	0.583**	0.182	1.332**	0.247	0.365†	0.210	0.147	0.175
age 40+	-1.694**	0.260	1.228*	0.628	-1.230**	0.313	0.724*	0.283
child (0–4)	-0.710**	0.260	-2.307*	1.006	-1.099**	0.292	-0.344	0.266
mid-income ^c	1.145**	0.204	1.135**	0.283	1.479**	0.311	0.405*	0.194
high-income	2.584**	0.336	3.194**	0.400	3.865**	0.427	1.481**	0.332
model 3								
female	-0.129	0.166	0.332	0.231	-0.743**	0.187	-0.155	0.159
age 40+	-1.024**	0.238	1.824**	0.617	-0.218	0.268	1.222**	0.282
child (0–4)	-0.567*	0.245	-2.079*	0.817	-0.948**	0.284	-0.263	0.264
O-L or A-L ^d	1.618**	0.212	2.787**	0.421	1.907**	0.309	0.992**	0.211
higher educ	1.734**	0.312	4.704**	0.500	3.466**	0.396	1.993**	0.293

Note:

^a U1 as reference category; standard errors in parenthesis; † $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, **

$p < 0.01$;

^b SMO–GL as reference category;

^c low-income as reference category;

^d CSE or no qualifications as reference category.