

# **CONSUMING THE NATION**

**Domestic cultural consumption:  
its stratification and relation with nationalist attitudes**

**Roza Meuleman**

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# CONSUMING THE NATION

## Domestic cultural consumption: its stratification and relation with nationalist attitudes

Nationale culturele consumptie:  
haar stratificatie en relatie met nationalistische houdingen  
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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**CHAPTER**

**1**

**Introduction**

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## 1.1 Research problem

In many countries, a large share of the cultural goods people consume finds their origin in foreign cultures. Films, music and books can be produced anywhere in the world, and in this globalised world be consumed anywhere else. Indeed, in many countries the share of foreign cultural goods is substantial (UNESCO, 2009). This global diffusion of cultural goods has captured the attention of scholars in the social sciences and humanities, where many have expressed their concerns that national cultural goods will be overpowered by dominant nations, blurring or even breaking down national cultures (e.g. Bennet *et al.*, 2009; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). Not seldom, in particular for western countries, this is termed '*Americanisation*', since the U.S. in particular is a dominant player in the cultural market.

In the Netherlands, the main focus of this dissertation, a large share of cultural goods is foreign as well. The country's relatively small population makes local production expensive. Moreover, cultural goods, particularly books, television programmes and films, in the Dutch language are difficult to export unless translated or subtitled (Kuipers, 2011). The world report on culture by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2009) shows that, in the Netherlands, 74% of the physical (non-digital) music sales was foreign and that more than 90% of the top movies viewed in theatres in 2006 was foreign.

Paradoxically, in contrast with increasing economic interdependencies and growing flows of foreign imports, providing alternatives to domestically produced goods and culture, there is an upward trend in the popularity of domestic music artists since the late 1980s in many Western countries, including the Netherlands (Achterberg, Heilbron, Houtman and Aupers, 2011; Frith, 2004; Wolther, 2008). Dutch music has become increasingly popular between 1990 and 2005 and has even replaced Anglo-American (pop) music to some extent (Hitters and Van de Kamp, 2010). Dutch music is even more frequently sung in the native tongue (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011). The rising popularity of Dutch music is not in accordance with ideas that national culture is blurred or broken down due to the overpowering of dominant nations. Rather, it relates to ideas of nationalist cultural resistance against cultural globalisation.

This trend in the popularity of domestic music exists next to a wider surge of cultural protectionist measures, often proposed by (far) right-wing parties in Europe (Kriesi *et al.*, 2008; Norris, 2005). Various countries around the world have established quotas for national broadcasting industries, e.g. Australia, Canada, France, the Netherlands, Portugal and South Africa (Homan, 2012). In France, 40% of all music broadcasted on the radio and on music channels on television has to be in the French language (Wolther, 2008). Also in the Netherlands, in 2011, the House of Representatives voted in favour of a 35% quota for Dutch-language music on public radio broadcaster (June 30, 2011, voting results House of Representatives), an initiative from the Dutch far right Party for Freedom (PVV).

Though research has examined the popularity of domestic culture at a macro level, it is largely unknown to what extent the distinction between domestic and foreign culture is also relevant in the cultural consumption of individuals and which groups are more likely to consume domestic culture at the micro level and why.<sup>1</sup> Previous research on the origin of cultural goods on the micro level is mostly qualitative and has mainly focused on theorizing about the openness to foreign cultural experiences and the extent to which local cultural products have become increasingly affected by international styles (Regev, 2007, 2011; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). The extent to which individuals consume domestic (versus foreign) cultural goods and the extent to which this might be linked to a preference for (cultural experiences from) the own nation has not yet been examined empirically. So, despite the growing theoretical attention to the global-national dialectic and the upward trend in the popularity of domestically produced music, it remains unknown for which (groups of) people the origin of cultural goods is of importance in their consumption choices and why.

This dissertation examines to what extent individuals consume domestic versus foreign cultural goods. Building on previous research, it will be examined a) to what extent domestic versus foreign cultural consumption is a separate dimension of cultural consumption, compared to other dimensions of cultural consumption, b) which groups are more likely to consume domestic versus foreign cultural goods and c) whether nationalist attitudes play a role in the choice for domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. Four dependent variables are studied: domestic versus foreign cultural consumption preferences, listening to domestic versus foreign music artists, reading books from national versus foreign authors and watching domestically versus foreign produced films.

According to previous research, cultural resources (such as behaviours, tastes, and attitudes) (i.e. *cultural capital*) are used for social and cultural exclusion, inducing inequality between groups (Farkas, 1996; Lareau and Horvat, 1999; Lamont and Lareau, 1988; Swidler, 1986). In addition to marking social positions, domestic cultural goods are thought to be able to symbolically mark national boundaries, since they are inherently related to the nation. Unlike most consumer goods (such as cars and televisions), domestically produced cultural goods may carry important social and cultural connotations. They can reflect and communicate “identity, values and meaning” (UNESCO, 2009, p. 403) and can be used to symbolically express national identity through cultural consumption (Edensor, 2002; Verlegh, 2007). “Consumers don’t simply buy national commodities; they constitute national sensibilities, embody national pride, [and] negotiate national meanings” (Fox and Miller-Idriss, 2008, p. 551). Hence, cultural goods could be used to strengthen (national) in-group boundaries and to express visible distinctions from (foreign) out-groups. Accordingly, the consumption of domestic cultural goods may have positive functions for the cohesion and solidarity in society but might also create distinctions between nations by marking national boundaries.

Domestic cultural goods can reflect national culture without necessarily conveying nationalist attitudes or ideas of national superiority. Accordingly, people who consume domestic cultural goods

are not necessarily nationalists. As cultural goods with nationalist content seem self-evidently related to nationalist attitudes, this dissertation uses a stricter test to examine domestic cultural goods as symbolic markers of national boundaries by examining all domestically produced cultural goods, regardless whether their content conveys nationalist attitudes or not.

The present study distinguishes between domestic and foreign cultural goods. This distinction is assessed mainly by using questions in which the origin of the cultural good was predetermined. Respondents were asked about their consumption of 'music from Dutch artists' for instance. In addition, this study distinguishes between domestic and foreign cultural goods based on the current residence of the artist when the origin of the cultural goods was not predefined in the question (i.e. when respondents were asked about their favourite music artists to listen to). Of course, cultural goods can be produced by multiple artists from various countries, by artists who (or whose parents) were not born in the Netherlands, or by artists born in the Netherlands but no longer residing in the country. However, these issues concern only a very small group of artists and the conclusions of the chapters where the origin was not predefined did hardly seem to be influenced by taking into account these alternative categorisations of origin. Consequently, the present study focuses predominantly on the extent to which individuals consume cultural goods from domestic versus foreign origin. It is studied a) to what extent this distinction is a separate dimension of cultural consumption, b) which groups are likely to consume domestic versus foreign cultural goods and c) to what extent nationalist attitudes are related to domestic versus foreign cultural consumption.

## 1.2 Previous research

This dissertation is based on two lines of research. Firstly, it uses theories from cultural consumption research to examine to what extent domestic versus foreign consumption is a *separate dimension* of cultural consumption and to examine *which groups* are more likely to consume domestic versus foreign cultural goods. Secondly, the domestic versus foreign distinction in cultural goods implies a national versus non-national comparison and suggests a relation with national identification and national(ist) attitudes. Therefore, this dissertation combines the insights from cultural consumption research with theories from research on social identity to examine to what extent *nationalist attitudes* are related to domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. In the paragraphs below, the relation between both lines of research and the topic of this study will be briefly discussed.

### Cultural consumption research and stratification

Previous research on cultural consumption has differentiated a variety of lifestyle dimensions and patterns of preferences, such as the amount of time people spend on cultural activities, preferences for high- and lowbrow genres, and omnivorous and univorous tastes (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Chan and

Goldthorpe, 2007; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2007; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Katz-Gerro, 1999, 2002; Kraaykamp, Van Eijck, Ultee, and Van Rees, 2007; Peterson and Simkus, 1992). Two main distinctions found in previous research are between culturally engaged versus culturally disengaged people and between people with highbrow versus lowbrow tastes (e.g. Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984; Katz-Gerro, Raz and Yaish, 2009; Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2011). The divide between domestic versus foreign cultural consumption could form an additional *separate dimension* of cultural consumption. Yet, up until now, it is empirically unknown to what extent the domestic versus foreign divide in cultural goods is relevant for people's cultural consumption. Before examining which groups are likely to consume domestic versus foreign cultural goods and the association with nationalist attitudes, the present study will examine the existence of a domestic versus foreign divide as a separate dimension of cultural consumption next to previously researched patterns in cultural consumption.

Secondly, related to the question *which groups* are more likely to consume domestic cultural goods, this dissertation focuses on research on the social stratification of cultural consumption, which has been central in cultural consumption research. Following Bourdieu (1984), it is argued that cultural taste is not simply a reflection of people's own personal preference, but is often used to express social positions and mark group boundaries. Social strata, such as different educational groups and social classes, distinguish themselves from each other by their cultural consumption (Bourdieu, 1984). It is argued that, higher social strata, in order to maintain and express their social position, prefer highbrow or elite cultural consumption, whereas the lower social strata prefer popular or mass culture, which can be labelled lowbrow (e.g. DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; Ganzeboom 1989; Katz-Gerro, 2002; Kirchberg, 1996; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011). Previous research has shown that people's socio-economic characteristics, such as educational level and social class, are important factors in explaining cultural participation and taste (Breen and Rottman, 1995; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Ganzeboom, 1984; Katz-Gerro, 1999, 2002; Kirchberg, 1996; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Building on this research, this study focuses on the social stratification of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption, which has not been empirically examined, thus far. In addition, previous research on cultural consumption has demonstrated that, next to individuals' own socio-economic position, parents' socio-economic position and cultural socialisation are key in explaining people's cultural consumption as parents transmit valuable cultural resources to their children (e.g. Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Ter Bogt, Delsing, Van Zalk, Christenson and Meeus, 2011; Van Eijck, 1997, 2001). This dissertation will therefore also examine the influence of parents' socio-economic status and (domestic) cultural consumption on individuals' domestic cultural consumption.

Similar to the distinction in high- versus lowbrow consumption, previous theoretical contributions have suggested that social strata might also differentiate in domestic versus foreign

cultural consumption to express their social position. These studies mainly follow Bourdieu, suggesting that elites can distinguish themselves with their openness to cultural experiences from other nations as a new form of cultural/symbolic capital (Hannerz, 2005; Prieur, Rosenlund and Skjøtt-Larsen, 2008). Hence, by consuming foreign cultural goods, which might convey a global cultural orientation and display competence with regard to foreign cultures, higher social strata could differentiate themselves from lower social strata. In addition, in countries where foreign culture is widespread (and might be considered less prestigious), it can be expected that higher social strata distinguish themselves by refraining from domestic cultural consumption to mark their social position. Bryson (1996) demonstrated that higher educated people are more musically tolerant (in the sense that they are less likely to dislike music genres), but not indiscriminately so. The genres most disliked by the higher educated are the genres that are liked by the least educated. Bryson argues that musical tolerance and familiarity with a wide range of styles might serve as multicultural capital as they are unevenly distributed across educational levels. Building on these insights, higher social strata might refrain from domestic cultural consumption to distinguish themselves from lower social strata.

Both arguments focus mainly on why higher social strata are more likely to consume foreign cultural goods and/or less likely to consume domestic cultural goods, and less on why people would consume domestic cultural goods. The latter question is more explicitly addressed in the second line of research this dissertation builds on: national identity and nationalist attitudes. Before turning to this line of research, the relation between highbrow and foreign cultural goods and lowbrow and domestic cultural goods will be addressed.

In some studies, country-specific genres, such as the German '*schlager*' or the Dutch '*levenslied*', are regarded as lowbrow (e.g. Larkey, 2003; Roose and Vander Stichele, 2010; Tillekens, 1993). The question then arises to what extent foreign cultural consumption might actually be similar to highbrow cultural consumption and to what extent domestic cultural consumption could be considered lowbrow. The relation between the (high- and lowbrow) genres and geographical origin of cultural goods is not clear from previous research. This dissertation builds on the idea that, although there are examples of specific genres linked to domestic or foreign origin (such as the '*levenslied*' or Hollywood films to lowbrow genres), the choice for foreign over domestic cultural goods within a certain genre could still reflect social positions, independent of genre. The assertion in this dissertation is that within (high- and lowbrow) genres, an international cultural orientation is a form of cultural capital. Higher social strata are expected to prefer a foreign pop artist over a domestic pop artist performing in the same genre, whereas lower social strata are expected to prefer a domestic pop artist over a foreign pop artist performing in the same genre. The examples of overlap between genre and origin of cultural goods indicate that it might be relevant to distinguish domestic versus foreign consumption as a separate dimension of cultural consumption and to control for high- and lowbrow consumption in the analysis of this 'new' dimension.

## Social identity and nationalist attitudes

Secondly, this dissertation focuses on theories regarding (national) group identification and attitudes to examine to what extent *nationalist attitudes* are related to the consumption of domestic versus foreign cultural goods. Theories on national in-group favouritism, behavioural manifestations of nationalist attitudes and different dimensions of nationalist attitudes will be taken into account.

According to social identity theory, individuals strive for a positive social identity, derived from the groups to which they consider themselves to belong to (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Taylor and Moghaddam, 1994). The relative status and value of one's own group is based on comparisons with other groups, and a positive social identity is thus largely established through favourable comparisons between one's own group and other relevant groups. Consequently, individuals selectively perceive mainly positive characteristics among members of their own group, inducing a positive attitude towards their own group.

Nationality is one of the group memberships contributing to people's identity (Mummendey, Klink and Brown, 2001). Those identifying more strongly with their nation are more inclined to strive for a positive evaluation of their country in comparison to other nations and are more inclined to positively discriminate towards the nation, inducing nationalist attitudes (Coenders, Gijsberts and Scheepers, 2004; Druckman, 1994; Verkuyten, 2005).

It is argued that group members are not only likely to favour their own group compared to other groups, but that they are also likely to favour its products over products from other groups. Moreover, it is suggested that people will discriminate between groups and their products in their behaviour as well (Brown, 2000).<sup>2</sup> Several studies have suggested that individuals seek to strengthen and/or express their national identity through consumption (Edensor, 2002; Verlegh, 2007). Unlike mere consumer goods (such as cars and televisions), domestically produced cultural goods can reflect and communicate national meanings (Edensor, 2002; UNESCO, 2009; Verlegh, 2007). Consequently, individuals might use the consumption of national cultural goods to symbolically express their nationalist attitudes and mark their national identity.

Research from a business or marketing perspective has shown that nationalist attitudes are related to 'consumer ethnocentrism': preferences for domestic consumer goods and negative attitudes towards foreign consumer goods (Balabanis, Diamantopoulos, Mueller and Melewar, 2001; Sharma, Shimp and Shin, 1995). Nevertheless, most previous studies do not examine the cross-national equivalence of the relation with nationalist attitudes, do not consider the consumption of cultural goods, and focus on preferences rather than on actual behaviour. This dissertation will try to address this gap in knowledge.

Particularly overlooked in research on domestic cultural consumption is the distinction between two dimensions of nationalist attitudes: chauvinism and patriotism (Coenders *et al.*, 2004). The former represents the view of national superiority compared to other countries, combined with a

rather blind and uncritical attachment to the nation (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford, 1950; Blank and Schmidt, 2003; Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989). Dekker, Malová and Hoogendoorn (2003) refer to this as national superiority. The latter refers to love for and pride of one's nation, but based on a more critical assessment (Adorno *et al.*, 1950; Blank and Schmidt, 2003). Dekker *et al.* (2003) refer to this as national pride. Chauvinism is a more harsh form of nationalist attitudes and includes national comparisons. Research has shown that chauvinism is more strongly related to various exclusionist attitudes and behaviours (e.g. ethnic exclusionism, negative stereotypes about out-group members, and social distance from out-group members) (Coenders and Scheepers, 2004; Hagendoorn and Poppe, 2004; Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989). The distinction between chauvinism and patriotism has not yet been examined in relation to domestic cultural consumption *behaviour*. This study will therefore examine to what extent these dimensions of nationalist attitudes are (differently) related to domestic versus foreign cultural consumption.

In accordance with social identity theory, people from lower social classes and the lower educated could have a stronger need for positively distinguishing the national group from other nations because their need for a positive self-identity will be less likely met by their relative lower socio-economic standing. To ensure a positive self-identity, lower social strata are more inclined to positively discriminate towards the nation, inducing chauvinistic and patriotic attitudes (Coenders *et al.*, 2004). Consequently, the association between nationalist attitudes and education and social class will also be taken into account in this study to explain the consumption of domestic versus foreign cultural goods. Finally, as previous research on cultural consumption has demonstrated that parents' socialisation is key in explaining individuals' cultural consumption (e.g. Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Ter Bogt *et al.*, 2011; Van Eijck, 1997), this dissertation will also examine the influence of parents' national socialisation (i.e. nationalist exemplary behaviour).

### **1.3 Research questions, aims and contributions of the dissertation**

Previous research on cultural consumption has examined various aspects of cultural preferences and consumption behaviours, such as preferences for high- and lowbrow genres and omnivorous and univorous tastes (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Peterson and Simkus, 1992). A 'new' aspect of cultural consumption, relevant in today's strongly globalised world, could be the divide between the consumption of domestically produced goods and foreign produced cultural goods. Research has theoretically discussed the relationship between globalisation and domestic versus foreign consumption by focusing on aesthetic/cultural cosmopolitanism (e.g. Regev, 2007; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). Yet, individuals' actual domestic versus foreign cultural consumption has hardly been examined empirically. Consequently, it is unknown to what extent the domestic versus foreign divide in cultural goods is relevant to people and to what extent this translates to their domestic versus

foreign consumption (preferences). This study aims to examine whether the distinction between domestic versus foreign cultural goods is a separate dimension of cultural consumption, next to people's general cultural (dis-)engagement and high- and lowbrow consumption. The first research question is:

*1) To what extent is domestic versus foreign cultural consumption a separate dimension of cultural consumption, compared to people's general cultural (dis-)engagement and high- and lowbrow consumption?*

This dissertation compares three types of cultural goods (i.e. music, books and films) to answer this and the following questions.

Research has argued that higher social strata use cultural consumption to express their social position and mark group boundaries (Bourdieu, 1984). Studies have shown that socio-economic characteristics, such as educational level and social class, are related to cultural consumption (preferences) (Breen and Rottman, 1995; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Ganzeboom, 1984; Katz-Gerro, 1999, 2002; Kirchberg, 1996; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Building on this research, the present study focuses on the social stratification of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption, which has not been empirically examined thus far. The aim is to provide more insights in the extent to which domestic cultural consumption is used to express social positions. Next to individuals' own socio-economic position, this dissertation also examines the influence of parents' socio-economic status on individuals' domestic cultural consumption. The second research question is:

*2) To what extent are (parental) education and social class related to domestic cultural consumption?*

Theories from cultural consumption research are combined with theories regarding (national) group identification and attitudes, as domestic versus foreign cultural consumption entails a national versus non-national distinction. The aim is to examine to what extent nationalist attitudes are related to domestic cultural consumption, providing more insights in behavioural manifestations of nationalist attitudes in everyday life. Building on previous research on consumer ethnocentrism, the present study will focus on cultural goods rather than consumer goods. The second contribution is that it is examined to what extent the relation between nationalist attitudes and domestic consumption is based on national superiority (chauvinism) and/or national pride (patriotism). The distinction between these dimensions of nationalist attitudes is often overlooked in previous research. Thirdly, studies on consumer ethnocentrism have mainly focused on a relatively small sample of countries. One of the chapters of this dissertation examines the relationship between nationalist attitudes and domestic cultural consumption preferences across 32 countries to indicate the robustness of the relation on a cross-national scale. Fourthly, this dissertation will develop previous research by focusing on

(self-reported) actual behaviour rather than preferences. This enables us to examine to what extent nationalist attitudes are manifested in actual consumption behaviour. As data including information on nationalist attitudes next to (domestic) cultural consumption are rare, the focus will only be on the Netherlands when examining behaviour. It is studied to what extent people listen to domestic music artists, read books from national authors and watch domestically produced films. Related to the idea that domestic cultural consumption can be seen as an expression of nationalist attitudes in everyday life, it will be compared with more formal, routinized forms of national engagement (i.e. participation in national celebrations and commemorations and far right voting). Finally, as previous research on cultural consumption has demonstrated that parents' socialisation is key in explaining individuals' cultural consumption (e.g. Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Ter Bogt *et al.*, 2011; Van Eijck, 1997), this dissertation will also examine the influence of parents' national socialisation (i.e. nationalist exemplary behaviour). By building on previous research in multiple ways, this study aims to provide more insights in the relation between nationalist attitudes and domestic consumption and in the extent to which domestic cultural consumption might be used to symbolically mark (national) in-group boundaries and express visible distinctions from (foreign) out-groups (Edensor, 2002, Verlegh, 2007). The third research question is:

*3) To what extent are (different dimensions of) nationalist attitudes related to domestic cultural consumption?*

## **1.4 Research questions per chapter**

The first two empirical chapters of this dissertation, Chapters 2 and 3, are primarily based on insights from cultural consumption research. In line with the first research question, it will be studied to what extent domestic versus foreign cultural consumption is a separate dimension of cultural consumption in Chapter 2. Following the second research question, the extent to which (father's) education and social class are related to domestic cultural consumption is examined in Chapter 3. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 attend to the third research question by studying the relation between domestic versus foreign cultural consumption (preferences) and nationalist attitudes, and its association with chauvinism and patriotism. Chapter 4 builds on previous research on consumer ethnocentric tendencies by focusing on cultural goods specifically and by examining the cross-national comparability of the relationship of education, social class and nationalist attitudes with domestic cultural consumption preferences. Chapter 5 and 6 focus on consumption behaviour rather than preferences. The relationship with nationalist attitudes is examined more closely by looking at the influence of parents in Chapter 5 and by comparing domestic music listening with other manifestations of nationalist attitudes in Chapter 6.

## **Chapter 2: Domestic versus foreign origin as a structuring dimension in cultural consumption**

The first empirical chapter of this dissertation examines to what extent domestic versus foreign cultural consumption is a separate dimension of cultural consumption, using data from the Netherlands (LISS, 2011). It studies the consumption of three types of cultural goods (i.e. music, films and books) from various geographical areas (i.e. The Netherlands, Europe (other than the Netherlands), the United States of America and other parts of the world). The main research question is:

*1) To what extent is domestic versus foreign cultural consumption a separate dimension of cultural consumption, compared to people's general cultural (dis-)engagement and high- and lowbrow consumption?*

This chapter provides a basis for Chapters 3 to 6, where the distinction between domestic and foreign music is studied as a separate aspect of cultural consumption by which social positions and group membership might be expressed.

## **Chapter 3: The social distinction in domestic versus foreign favourite music artists**

This chapter studies the consumption of music. More specific, the likelihood of having domestic versus foreign favourite music artists is examined. Based on research that has shown that cultural consumption is used to express social positions, this chapter examines to what extent the likelihood of having domestic versus foreign favourite music artists is stratified by education and social class, using data from the Netherlands (SOCON, 2007). Next to individuals' own socio-economic position, parents' socio-economic position is considered key in explaining people's cultural consumption as parents transmit valuable cultural resources to their children. This chapter therefore also examines the relation between father's education and social class and respondents' domestic music consumption.<sup>3</sup> The first research question is:

*1) To what extent are people (whose fathers) with privileged social positions less likely to have domestic versus foreign favourite music artists than respondents (whose fathers) with less privileged social positions?*

Secondly, building on Chapter 2, this chapter examines to what extent domestic versus foreign music consumption can be disentangled from high-, middle- and lowbrow preferences. Unlike in Chapter 2, where domestic consumption was distinguished from participation in general high- and lowbrow activities (such as visiting a museum, art gallery, pop concert, or cinema), this chapter examines the likelihood of having domestic versus foreign favourite music artists within different genres in which the artists perform (high-, middle- and lowbrow). This enables us to study to what extent the relationship between father's and respondent's education and class and having domestic

versus foreign favourite music artists is independent of their association with high-, middle- and lowbrow preferences. Moreover, the language used by artists is considered as it might also influence the effects of (father's) education and social class. First of all, because cultural expressions in foreign languages may be more complex compared to those in Dutch and secondly, because the distinction between domestic and foreign music is more explicit when origin and language coincide. The second research question is:

*2) To what extent do the differences between social positions in having domestic versus foreign favourite music artists persist when taking into account the genre and language used by the artist?*

#### **Chapter 4: Own culture first? Nationalism and the preference for domestic cultural goods**

Chapter 4 examines to what extent nationalist attitudes are related to (preferences for) domestic cultural consumption. Previous research on consumer ethnocentrism has shown that nationalist attitudes and preferences for domestic consumer goods (such as televisions and cars) are positively related (Balabanis *et al.*, 2001; Sharma *et al.*, 1995). Building on this research, Chapter 4 will also examine the relation with nationalist attitudes and domestic consumption preferences. Yet, it improves on previous studies by focusing on *cultural* goods rather than consumer goods as the former can carry important social and cultural connotations and can represent (national) identity. To be more precise, the preference for domestic films and television programs and the perceived damage to national culture by exposure to foreign films, music, and books are examined. A second contribution is that this chapter examines the extent to which the relation between nationalist attitudes and domestic consumption preferences is based on national superiority (chauvinism) and/or national pride (patriotism). Many previous studies have failed to include this distinction between dimensions of nationalist attitudes. By combining theoretical insights from research on the stratification of cultural consumption with research on nationalism, the following research questions will be answered:

*1) To what extent do privileged social groups differ from less privileged social groups regarding their preferences for domestic cultural goods?; 2a) To what extent are various dimensions of nationalist attitudes differently linked to preferences for domestic cultural goods and 2b) to what extent can differences in preferences for domestic cultural goods between privileged and underprivileged social groups be explained by nationalist attitudes?*

Previous studies on preferences for domestic goods have mostly focused on a relatively small sample of countries. This chapter examines to what extent the relationships between education, the dimensions of nationalist attitudes and preferences for domestic cultural goods are comparable across 32 countries by analysing ISSP data (2003). The third research question in this chapter is:

3) *To what extent are the relationships between education, social class, and nationalist attitudes and the preferences for domestic cultural goods comparable across countries?*

### **Chapter 5: The consumption of domestic versus foreign films, books and music: The role of parents and nationalist attitudes**

This chapter builds on Chapters 3 and 4, by examining the influence of parents and nationalist attitudes in more detail. Building on Chapter 4, it investigates the relationship between nationalist attitudes and (self-reported) consumption behaviour rather than preferences. The focus is on the domestic versus foreign consumption of films, books and music. This enables us to examine the extent to which nationalist attitudes can manifest in everyday behaviour that can mark group boundaries. Again, two dimensions of nationalist attitudes (i.e. chauvinism and patriotism) are distinguished. As data including both consumption behaviour and nationalist attitudes are rare, the focus is only on the Netherlands in this chapter (LISS, 2011). Next to respondents' nationalist attitudes, this chapter examined to what extent (perceived) parental national behaviour (such as celebrating national holidays) influences people's domestic cultural consumption partly via socialising their children with nationalist attitudes. Building on Chapter 3, this chapter includes information on mothers' educational level and social class next to fathers', and (perceived) parental domestic consumption as exemplary behaviour. In addition, this chapter shifts from focusing solely on music to focusing on the consumption of music, films and books. Relating to Chapters 2 and 3, both respondents' and parents' high and lowbrow cultural consumption are considered as well. The research questions are:

*1) To what extent are parents' domestic cultural consumption, parents' nationalist behaviour and individuals' nationalist attitudes related to individuals' domestic versus foreign consumption of films, books and music? and 2) To what extent is the relationship between parents' nationalist behaviour and individuals' domestic versus foreign consumption of films, books and music mediated by individuals' nationalist attitudes?*

### **Chapter 6: Manifestations of nationalist attitudes: domestic music listening, participation in national celebrations, and far right voting**

The final empirical chapter examines to what extent explanations of domestic cultural consumption are comparable to explanations of other manifestations of nationalism. It studies the relationship between nationalist attitudes and domestic music listening, participation in national celebrations and commemorations and voting for far right parties in the Netherlands (SOCON, 2007).<sup>4</sup> Again, a distinction is made between chauvinism and patriotism. Although all three behaviours are expected to be related to nationalism, previous research has shown that far right voting is mainly an expression of perceived ethnic minority or immigrant threat. Research has shown that perceptions of ethnic

threat are related to negative reactions to ethnic out-groups and to marking in-group boundaries. Yet, there is little empirical research on behavioural manifestations of nationalism (far right voting aside), which includes measurements of perceived ethnic threat, especially next to nationalist attitudes. This chapter establishes to what extent the manifestations under study are indeed affected by nationalism rather than by perceived ethnic threat. The research question is as follows:

*1) To what extent are nationalist attitudes and perceived ethnic threat related to listening to domestic music, participation in national celebrations and commemorations, and voting for far right parties?*

## 1.5 Data

### **SOCON: Sociaal Culturele Ontwikkelingen in Nederland [Social and Cultural Developments in The Netherlands]**

Chapters 3 and 6 of this dissertation are based on data from the Social and Cultural Developments in The Netherlands surveys (SOCON, for more information see [www.dans.knaw.nl](http://www.dans.knaw.nl)). These surveys cover a wide range of social issues, such as views about work, education, marriage and family, ethnocentrism, and health. They have been collected since 1980 every 5 years from a representative cross-section of the Dutch population.

An exception is the 2007 survey ( $N = 1,299$ ). This survey is collected via a self-completion format by mail among respondents who participated earlier (in 1990, 2000, or 2005) in a representative SOCON survey. Chapters 3 and 6 make use of these unique data which include both measures of cultural consumption (respondents' music listening behaviour) and nationalist attitudes, two concepts that are rarely included simultaneously in one questionnaire.

To examine respondents' music listening behaviour, six open questions are used, asking respondents which three artists they most liked to listen to in 2007 and which three in their teenage years. Hence, the names of six favourite artists maximally and one favourite artist minimally per respondent were studied. Online databases were used to assign the country of residence of the artist (domestic versus foreign), together with the genre and language they predominantly perform in. For Dutch artists, the musical encyclopaedia by the Musical Centre of the Netherlands ([www.muziekencyclopedie.nl](http://www.muziekencyclopedie.nl)) was used. For foreign artists, the artists' official websites and [www.last.fm](http://www.last.fm) were used for the coding.

The analyses are based on the 2007 survey wave only, as the questions about cultural consumption were not included in 1990, 2000 and 2005 and thus cannot be matched with previous waves. Table 1.1 shows the sampling and response of the 2007 survey. Because the data are a follow-up of the three previous waves and participants have aged since their first participation, the

**Table 1.1** Sampling and response of SOCON 2007, based on SOCON 1990, 2000 and 2005

	1990-2007		2000-2007		2005-2007	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Original survey	2,384/1,786 <sup>a</sup>		1,008		1,375/1,212 <sup>b</sup>	
Refused follow-up in original survey	422		79		74	
Addresses not located	390		187		- <sup>c</sup>	
Deceased, moved, illness, demented, other reasons for refusal	59		35		59	
Sample approached for follow-up	915		707		1,079	
Questionnaire was returned	457 <sup>d</sup>		376 <sup>d</sup>		505 <sup>d</sup>	
No response	458		331		574	
Response rate of sample	49.9		53.2		46.8	
Response rate of original sample	19.2		37.3		36.7	

<sup>a</sup> Of the 2,384 respondents in the original 1990 survey, only the respondents with partners were asked if they were willing to participate in a follow-up study ( $N = 1,786$ ).

<sup>b</sup> 163 Respondents were not asked if they were willing to participate in a follow-up study.

<sup>c</sup> It was assumed that people did not move in two years' time.

<sup>d</sup> For SOCON 2007, the total  $N = 1,299$  as 39 people were excluded from the final dataset because their sex and birth year were dissimilar for the two sampling years, indicating that another member of the household responded instead.

youngest age category is missing from the dataset. This is a sampling issue rather than an issue of underrepresentation (no new participants of the youngest age category were added to the follow-up).

### LISS: Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social sciences

The SOCON 2007 survey does not include the youngest age categories due to sampling issues, only provides information on music listening behaviour (disregarding the consumption of other cultural goods), and has little information on parents. Therefore, we decided to collect more detailed, representative data via the Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social sciences panel (LISS, for more information see [www.liissdata.nl](http://www.liissdata.nl)). This is a nationally representative online panel of 5,000 Dutch households (comprising 8,000 individuals) administered by CentERdata at the University of Tilburg in the Netherlands. The panel is based on a true probability sample of households drawn from the population register by Statistics Netherlands. Households that could not otherwise participate are provided with a computer and Internet connection. Panel members complete online questionnaires every month of about 15 to 30 minutes in total. They are paid for each completed questionnaire.

Next to the LISS Core Study (which is a yearly repeated longitudinal study on topics such as family, household, work and schooling), researchers get the opportunity to collect their own data via online questionnaires to the panel members. In the fall of 2011, we added a questionnaire on the consumption of domestic and foreign cultural goods. The data were collected amongst household

members who were at least sixteen years old ( $N = 6,717$ ). The response rate was 71.2% ( $N = 4,785$ ). The LISS dataset is used in Chapter 2 and 5 of this dissertation.

As an improvement on the SOCON data, this is a representative dataset with information on films and books next to the consumption of music. Respondents were asked how often they consume films (on television, DVD or in the theatre) from a) the Netherlands, b) Europe (other than the Netherlands), c) the United States of America and d) from other parts of the world (4 items). Similarly, respondents were asked how often they consumed books from these geographical areas (4 items). The questions about music were distinguished by geographical area and language. Respondents were asked how often they consume music from the Netherlands (singing in Dutch and foreign languages, 2 items) and from foreign artists (singing in German, French, English and other languages, 4 items). Thus, in total, 4 items on (Dutch) domestic consumption and 10 on foreign consumption are examined. A second improvement on the SOCON data is that the LISS data contain more detailed questions on respondents' nationalist attitudes. Furthermore, the role of the parents can be examined more thoroughly with this dataset, as it includes information on mothers' education and social class (next to fathers'), along with parents' domestic, highbrow and lowbrow consumption, and parents' nationalist behaviour.

### **ISSP: International Social Survey Programme**

Chapter 4 of this dissertation used data from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP, [www.issp.org](http://www.issp.org)). The ISSP is a continuing annual program of cross-national collaboration on surveys covering topics important for social science research. Chapter 4 uses the 'National identity module' from 2003 which was conducted in 34 countries and covers questions on national consciousness and national identity.

Sampling procedures for the individual countries differed between partly simple and partly multi-stage stratified random samples. For the majority of the samples only respondents of 18 years and older were included. The questionnaires were administered as face-to-face interviews or in a self-completion format. Overall, the data collection covered a period from February 2003 to January 2005.

On the basis of the small number of (valid) cases with regard to the central variables, we excluded South Africa, New Zealand, and the Arab sample from Israel from the analyses. Data from the remaining 32 countries were used in the final analyses. These countries are: Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Chili, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Israel (Jews), Japan, Latvia, The Netherlands, Norway, The Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Hence, in total 22 European, 4 Asian, 3 South-American, 2 North-American countries and Australia are compared. The dependent variable is measured with two items concerning the preference for domestic cultural goods: "[Country's] television should give

preference to [Country's] films and programs" and "Increased exposure to foreign films, music, and books is damaging the national and local cultures".

## 1.6 Outline of the dissertation

Chapters 2 to 6 are empirical chapters, which were written for publication in peer-reviewed journals. The chapters may be read as stand-alone research articles. Overlap between the chapters is therefore unavoidable. Across the empirical chapters, terminology may differ slightly in order to tie in with terms used in the respective fields and journals in which the chapters have been published or are submitted to.

The first two empirical chapters are primarily based on insights from cultural consumption research and will focus on domestic versus foreign cultural consumption in relation to education and social class and its differentiation from high- and lowbrow consumption (research question 1 and 2; Chapter 2 and 3). The following three empirical chapters examine to what extent (different dimensions of) nationalist attitudes are related to domestic cultural consumption (research question 3; Chapter 4, 5 and 6). Table 1.2 provides an outline of the research questions, aims, data and variables of the empirical chapters.

The seventh and final chapter of this dissertation summarises the main findings of the five empirical studies, reflects on the theoretical and empirical contributions, and provides suggestions for future research.

## 1.7 Notes

- 1 For two exceptions see Bennett *et al.* (2009) and Savage, Wright and Gayo-Cal (2010).
- 2 Previous research has conceptually distinguished between attachment to the in-group and cultural practices as two separate concepts. In research on ethnic identity, Phinney and Ong (2007) stress that one item in the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure that explicitly refers to participation in cultural practices should be viewed as distinct from identity measures. Consequently, behaviours and preferences can be affected by other aspects than the in-group assessment. It is therefore relevant to study the association between different dimensions of nationalism and the preference for domestic cultural consumption as two distinct concepts.
- 3 This study focuses on the father's socio-economic status, as the data did not provide sufficient information on the mother's socio-economic status. This focus does not imply that the father's social position alone affects respondents' cultural consumption.
- 4 Although based on the same measurement, the terminology of the dependent variables in Chapter 3 and 6 differs slightly in order to tie in with terms used in the respective fields and journals in which the chapters have been published.

**Table 1.2** Outline of the empirical chapters

Chapter	Research question	Aim	Data	Dependent variable	Independent variables				
					Education	Class	Nationalist attitudes		Highbrow
							Chau- vinism	Soc pat	Cult pat
2	<i>To what extent is domestic versus foreign cultural consumption a separate dimension of cultural consumption, compared to people's general cultural (dis-)engagement and high- and lowbrow consumption?</i>	Showing that the consumption of domestic versus foreign music, books and films can be distinguished from a general cultural (dis)interest and the consumption of high- versus lowbrow cultural goods	LISS 2011	Consumption of domestic versus foreign music, books and films	X	X			X
3	<i>To what extent are people (whose fathers) with privileged social positions less likely to have domestic versus foreign favourite music artists than respondents (whose fathers) with less privileged social positions? To what extent do the differences between social positions in having domestic versus foreign favourite music artists persist when taking into account the genre and language used by the artist?</i>	Showing the social stratification of domestic cultural consumption and the role of socialisation (i.e. fathers' socio-economic position), controlled for genre and language of the artist	SOCON 2007	Having domestic favourite music artists <sup>a</sup>	X <sup>b</sup>	X <sup>b</sup>			X

4	<p>To what extent do privileged social groups differ from less privileged social groups regarding their preferences for domestic cultural goods?</p> <p>To what extent are various dimensions of nationalist attitudes differently linked to preferences for domestic cultural goods?</p> <p>To what extent can differences in preferences for domestic cultural goods between privileged and underprivileged social groups be explained by nationalist attitudes?</p> <p>To what extent are the relationships between education, social class, and nationalist attitudes and the preferences for domestic cultural goods comparable across countries?</p>	<p>Showing the social stratification of domestic cultural consumption preferences, its relation with different dimensions of nationalist attitudes and its cross-national comparability</p>	ISSP 2003	<p>Preferences for domestic cultural goods</p>	X	X	X	X	X
5	<p>To what extent are parents' domestic cultural consumption, parents' nationalist behaviour and respondents' nationalist attitudes related to respondents' domestic versus foreign consumption of films, books and music?</p> <p>To what extent is the relationship between parents' nationalist behaviour and respondents' domestic versus foreign consumption of films, books and music mediated by respondents' nationalist attitudes?</p>	<p>Showing the relation between nationalist attitudes and the consumption of domestic versus foreign music, books and films, and the role of parental socialisation (i.e. parents' nationalist behaviour and domestic cultural consumption)</p>	LISS 2011	<p>Consumption of domestic versus foreign music, books and films</p>	X <sup>c</sup>	X <sup>c</sup>	X <sup>d</sup>	X <sup>d</sup>	X <sup>c</sup>
6	<p>To what extent are nationalist attitudes and perceived ethnic threat related to listening to domestic music, participation in national celebrations and commemorations, and voting for far right parties?</p>	<p>Showing to what extent domestic cultural consumption is comparable to other manifestations of nationalist attitudes</p>	SOCON 2007	<p>Listening to domestic versus foreign music artists, participating in national celebrations, far right voting<sup>a</sup></p>	X	X	X	X <sup>e</sup>	

<sup>a</sup> Having/Listening to domestic versus foreign (favourite) music artists based on same measurement, but the terminology differs slightly in order to tie in with terms used in the respective fields and journals.

<sup>b</sup> Fathers' education and social class included.

<sup>c</sup> Information on parents included.

<sup>d</sup> Information on parents' (general) nationalist behaviour included.

<sup>e</sup> One general dimension of patriotism included.



# CHAPTER 2

## **Domestic versus foreign origin as a structuring dimension in cultural consumption: Lessons from the Netherlands\***

\* An adapted version of this chapter has been published as:  
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taste: Lessons from the Netherlands. *Cultural Sociology*, 7(2), 230-256.  
doi: 10.1177/1749975512473991

## Abstract

This chapter examines to what extent the geographical origin of cultural goods is a structuring dimension in people's cultural consumption. By performing multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), three structuring dimensions were found. First, we found a structuring dimension differentiating between Dutch and foreign cultural consumption. More detailed geographical correlates show little distinction between specific geographical areas (i.e. European, American, other) as long as tastes are not combined with Dutch culture. Similar to previous studies in other European countries (e.g. Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Roose *et al.*, 2012), the second axis differentiates between culturally engaged people and culturally disengaged people and the third axis differentiates between the consumption of more established highbrow cultural goods and the consumption of lowbrow or 'emerging' cultural goods.

## 2.1 Introduction

In the field of cultural consumption research, scholars have paid attention to cultural (or aesthetic) cosmopolitanism (e.g. Regev, 2007), which can be defined as a “cultural disposition involving an intellectual and aesthetic stance of ‘openness’ towards peoples, places and experiences from different cultures, especially those from different nations” (Szerszinski and Urry, 2002, p. 468). Following Bourdieu, some have argued that cosmopolitan tastes and knowledge might serve as a new form of cultural capital by which groups might distinguish themselves (Hannerz, 2005; Prieur *et al.*, 2008). What does this imply for the structuring of the contemporary cultural field? Might it be that the traditional opposition between highbrow and lowbrow cultural consumption is supplemented or possibly even replaced by that between cosmopolitan, transnational cultural consumption and national or ethnic cultural consumption?

Most empirical studies on cultural consumption still focus on nationally-based fields, and do not specifically focus on national versus transnational cultural consumption (for a partial exception see Bennett *et al.*, 2009; and Savage *et al.*, 2010). Hence, it remains largely unknown to what extent the distinction between national (i.e. domestic) versus transnational (i.e. foreign) cultural goods is relevant to people and to what extent this translates to their cultural consumption (preferences). In addition, it is unknown to what extent domestic versus foreign cultural consumption can be distinguished from traditional oppositions between cultural engagement and disengagement or highbrow and lowbrow cultural consumption and how these patterns might be related to each other. This chapter seeks to address these gaps by asking the following research questions:

*1) To what extent is people's domestic versus foreign cultural consumption a separate dimension of cultural consumption, compared to people's general cultural (dis-)engagement and high- and lowbrow consumption; and 2) To what extent is people's consumption of Dutch, European and American cultural goods associated with their general cultural (dis-)engagement and high- versus lowbrow consumption?*

We draw on an innovative large-scale survey of the extent to which Dutch people are active in various highbrow or lowbrow cultural activities combined with information on the extent to which people consume films, books and music from various geographical locations (The Netherlands, Europe, the United States of America and other parts of the world). No other national survey has such detailed information about the geography of cultural consumption, and we are therefore uniquely well positioned to link questions of cosmopolitanism to the structure of cultural consumption.

## 2.2 Previous research

Previous research has distinguished various patterns in people's cultural consumption. Two main distinctions are between culturally engaged and culturally disengaged people and between people with highbrow and lowbrow tastes (e.g. Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984; Gayo-Cal, Savage and Warde, 2006; Katz-Gerro, Raz and Yaish, 2007; Katz-Gerro *et al.*, 2009; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011). Until recently, previous cultural consumption research has not engaged extensively with debates about the consumption of cultural goods from various geographical origins (or even the domestic versus foreign origin of cultural goods). This is a considerable limitation given that in this period of intense globalisation, increasing flows of foreign cultural goods provide alternatives for domestic cultural goods (Netemeyer, Durvasula and Lichtenstein, 1991). Existing models of cultural consumption, notably those influenced by Bourdieu, however, have not broadened their study to include transnational cultural consumption.

Bourdieu's analysis of cultural capital seems implicitly premised on a Eurocentric, indeed more precisely Franco-centric, model of cultural hierarchy. He contrasts the educated middle-class and upper classes, who are predisposed to canonical cultural forms, which he implicitly associates with the Franco-European tradition. It is noteworthy that his famous study in *Distinction* inquires about 15 painters: seven French (Braque, Buffet, Renoir, Rousseau, Utrillo, Vlaminck, Watteau), two Italian (Leonardo, Raphael), three Spanish (Dali, Goya, Picasso), two Dutch/Flemish (Brueghel, Van Gogh), and one Russian (Kandinsky). The picture is a little different in music: he inquires about 16 musical works: two Italian (*The Four Seasons* by Vivaldi, *La Traviata* by Verdi), one Armenian (*Sabre Dance* by Khachaturian), one American (*Rhapsody in Blue* by Gershwin), one Hungarian (*Hungarian Rhapsody* by Liszt), three German (*Well-Tempered Clavier* and *Art of Fugue* both by Bach, *Twilight of the Gods* by Wagner), two Austrian (*Eine kleine Nachtmusik* by Mozart, *Blue Danube* by Strauss Jr.), two Russian (*Scheherazade* by Rimsky-Korsakov and *Firebird Suite* by Stravinsky) and four French (*L'Arlésienne* by Bizet, *Le marteau sans maître* by Boulez, *Concerto for the left hand* and *L'enfant et les Sortilèges* both by Ravel). The dominance of French cultural references is most apparent in the questions asked about singers, which are nearly entirely French, with the exception of the Spaniard Luis Mariano and Petula Clark (who was more famous in France than in her native England).

These cultural reference points look remarkably 'provincial' in 2013. They focus on French icons, with the addition of some elements of other European nations, though the UK, Scandinavia, and most of Eastern and Southern Europe are absent. Not a single English cultural figure (with the partial exception of Clark) is mentioned. It is perhaps the lack of American cultural forms (apart from Gershwin) which is striking, though the complete absence of figures from South America, Africa, Asia and Australasia is noteworthy as well.<sup>1</sup>

Bourdieu's work therefore seems complicit in a specifically French view of cultural distinction which might seem seriously outdated in the 21st century. One important issue here is that of

Americanisation, which has a long history: even at the time Bourdieu was writing, Anglophone cultural referents, especially American versions, were widespread in France, and they have become more so since then. By the early 2000s, “American movies and television are everywhere. ... American music and books dominate less but are also present in all societies” (Fligstein, 2008, p. 250). The world culture report by UNESCO (2009) shows that a large share of cultural goods consumed in most EU countries is of American origin. This is clearly the case for the Dutch cultural field, where, for instance, Dutch commercial television channels have a Hollywood-dominated orientation (Kuipers, 2011). With respect to music, Schmutz (2009) shows that in the US, France, the Netherlands and Germany, newspapers reduced radically the amount of attention they give to (predominantly European) classical music and increased substantially their interest in popular music, which is more likely to be influenced by American models (see also Regev, 1997).

As well as the increasing role of American cultural referents, European culture is being reconfigured and challenged by the enlargement of the European Union (EU).<sup>2</sup> After the enactment of the *Treaty of Maastricht* (1992), cultural co-operation and preservation among EU member states became a recognised aim of the EU. These new kinds of cultural possibilities could blur or even breakdown national boundaries and reform national identities (e.g. Bennet *et al.*, 2009; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002).

Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to assume a straightforward globalisation of cultural consumption. There is evidence in some European nations that specifically national forms of cultural appreciation are becoming more and more important. Since the late 1980s, domestic music artists have become increasingly popular in many Western countries, regardless of increasing economic interdependencies and growing flows of foreign imports, which provide alternatives to domestically produced goods and culture (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011; Frith, 2004).

In the Netherlands, Dutch music has become increasingly popular between 1990 and 2005 and has even replaced Anglo-American (pop) music to some extent (Hitters and Van de Kamp, 2010). The Dutch House of Representatives voted in favour of a 35 per cent quota for Dutch-language music on public radio broadcaster (30 June 2011, voting results House of Representatives), an initiative from the Dutch far right wing Party for Freedom (PVV). Additionally, Dutch music is increasingly sung in the native tongue (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011). Based on these trends and the discussion on the geographical origin of cultural goods, we expect that the difference between domestic and foreign cultural goods might be a structuring dimension in people’s cultural consumption which differentiates next to general cultural (dis-)engagement and highbrow versus lowbrow consumption. The straightforward hypothesis this chapter tests is that the dimension of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption can be distinguished from traditional oppositions between cultural engagement and disengagement or highbrow and lowbrow cultural consumption.

Next to a focus on merely domestic and foreign cultural consumption, this chapter will explore geographical origins of cultural goods in more detail by examining people’s consumption of Dutch,

European and American cultural goods. Previous research has indicated that American culture often is associated with 'mass culture' whereas European culture traditionally is associated with 'highbrow culture' (e.g. Bennet *et al.*, 2009). Moreover, in some studies the country-specific genres of for example German '*schlager*' or Dutch '*levenslied*' are regarded as lowbrow (e.g. Larkey, 2003; Roose and Vander Stichele, 2010; Tillekens, 1993). The exact relationship between the geographical origin of cultural goods and other patterns in people's cultural consumption is unclear up until now. This chapter will therefore also explore to what extent people's consumption of Dutch, European and American cultural goods is associated with their general cultural (dis-)engagement and high- versus lowbrow consumption.

## 2.3 Data and methods

The data were collected in the LISS panel (Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences). This is a nationally representative online panel of 5,000 Dutch households (comprising 8,000 individuals) administered by *CentERdata* at the University of Tilburg in the Netherlands. Next to the LISS Core Study (which is a yearly repeated longitudinal study on topics such as health, politics and values, religion and ethnicity, social integration and leisure, family and household and work and schooling), researchers can collect their own data via online questionnaires to the panel members (for more information, please see [www.lissdata.nl](http://www.lissdata.nl)). We added a module of questions on the consumption of domestic and foreign cultural goods. This questionnaire was conducted in fall 2011, amongst household members who were at least 16 years old ( $N = 4,785$ ).

To examine the structuring of cultural consumption in the Netherlands, we performed Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA, using the Windows-driven package SPAD). MCA is a data analysis technique which allows us to construct a geometric representation (also referred to as space or map) of patterns in the data. On the basis of similarities and differences in responses to questions on cultural consumption, items are mapped along axes and their clustering indicates affinities between them. This allows us to assess the extent to which specific cultural consumption behaviours are located close to, or apart from, others, so that we can inductively explore patterns in people's cultural consumption (for more detailed information on MCA see Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004). In sociology, this method was popularised as a means of unravelling the composition of cultural fields by Bourdieu (1984), and has been more recently popularised in the UK by Bennett *et al.* (2009), in Scandinavia by Prieur *et al.* (2008) and in Flanders by Roose, Van Eijck and Lievens (2012). This chapter is one of the few recent studies to examine cultural participation in the Netherlands using MCA, making the results interesting to compare with previous studies conducted in the UK, France, Scandinavia and Flanders.

Given the aims of this study, we decided to examine cultural patterns in the Netherlands involving questions on the extent of consumption of films, books, music and arts, and on the extent

of domestic and foreign cultural consumption. We performed our analysis on 15 questions of three types, comprising 36 modalities (i.e. response categories). Firstly, we chose three questions which specified the amount of time spent on leisure activities (watching TV, watching DVDs and listening to the radio). We recoded the variables, distinguishing between people who spend less than the weekly average amount of minutes on these activities (0) and those who spend more than the average amount of minutes per week (1).<sup>3</sup>

Secondly, we used nine questions about the consumption of various arts, drawn from the 13 which were asked about on the survey. Given the skew of the questions towards highbrow culture, we left out some variables which focused on highbrow culture (e.g. attending the opera and going to a ballet) in order to achieve the best balance between various leisure activities. We recoded the variables, distinguishing between respondents who never engaged in these activities (0) and those who engaged seldom to often (1) in the last 12 months.

Thirdly, and most importantly given our aims, we added three questions regarding the consumption of domestic and foreign films, books and music. Respondents were asked how often they consumed films, books and music from the Netherlands, Europe, the United States of America or from other parts of the world. We distinguished between those who only consumed Dutch films, books or music, those who only consumed foreign goods, those who consumed both Dutch and foreign goods, and finally those who seldom or never consumed Dutch films, books or music (four modalities per cultural form).<sup>4</sup> After excluding 9 per cent of the respondents because of missing values on variables central to our analyses, the total number of respondents used in our analyses is 4,332. Table 2.1 shows the distribution of the previously defined variables and modalities. We see that the frequencies of all but two modalities are higher than 4 per cent (except watching only Dutch films (3.8%) and listening to Dutch music exclusively (2.4%)), so these may be more likely to be positioned in extreme locations of the MCA.

## 2.4 Results

Before looking at patterns in people's cultural consumption, Table 2.2 shows the number of axes to be interpreted. The eigenvalues show the variances of the axes and indicate that there are four axes which can be interpreted. For our purposes here, we focus on the first three, as the fourth is extremely weak. The first axis is by far the most important (explaining 75% of the variance). The second and third axes account for 16 per cent and 7 per cent of the variance respectively. Given the relatively small number of modalities used to construct the cultural patterns, the dominance of the first axis is not surprising. The total cumulative modified weight of the first three axes using Benzécri's correction is 98 per cent.<sup>5</sup>

## Axis 1: Culturally engaged versus disengaged people

Figure 2.1 displays the cloud of active modalities, which are distinguished between triangles, indicating the consumption of domestic versus foreign films, books and music; diamonds for minutes

**Table 2.1** Distribution of active variables

Questions	Modalities	Label	%
Time spend watching television	Less than average	0tvmin	53.8
	More than average	1tvmin	46.2
Time spend watching DVDs	Less than average	0dvdmin	66.4
	More than average	1dvdmin	33.6
Time spend listening to the radio	Less than average	0radiomin	62.8
	More than average	1radiomin	37.2
Theatre	Never in last 12 months	0theatre	74.7
	Seldom to often in last 12 months	1theatre	25.3
Cabaret	Never in last 12 months	0cabaret	80.0
	Seldom to often in last 12 months	1cabaret	20.0
Classical concert	Never in last 12 months	0concertclassic	83.7
	Seldom to often in last 12 months	1concertclassic	16.3
Dance event, houseparty	Never in last 12 months	0dancehouse	92.3
	Seldom to often in last 12 months	1dancehouse	7.7
Cinema	Never in last 12 months	0cinema	47.9
	Seldom to often in last 12 months	1cinema	52.1
Artgallery	Never in last 12 months	0artgallery	78.0
	Seldom to often in last 12 months	1artgallery	22.0
Museum	Never in last 12 months	0museum	54.6
	Seldom to often in last 12 months	1museum	45.4
Popconcert	Never in last 12 months	0concertpop	70.6
	Seldom to often in last 12 months	1concertpop	29.4
Musical	Never in last 12 months	0musical	74.7
	Seldom to often in last 12 months	1musical	25.3
Films	Only Dutch films	FILM_NL	3.8
	Only foreign films	FILM_Foreign	19.0
	Dutch and foreign films	FILM_NL and Foreign	58.1
	Seldom to never films	FILM_Seldom/Never	19.2
Books	Only Dutch books	BOOK_NL	9.9
	Only foreign books	BOOK_Foreign	8.5
	Dutch and foreign books	BOOK_NL and Foreign	49.3
	Seldom to never books	BOOK_Seldom/Never	32.3
Music	Only Dutch music	MUSIC_NL	2.4
	Only foreign music	MUSIC_Foreign	9.8
	Dutch and foreign music	MUSIC_NL and Foreign	82.5
	Seldom to never music	MUSIC_Seldom/Never	5.4

Source: Liss 2011, N = 4,332.

**Table 2.2** (Modified) Eigenvalues and modified cumulated rates

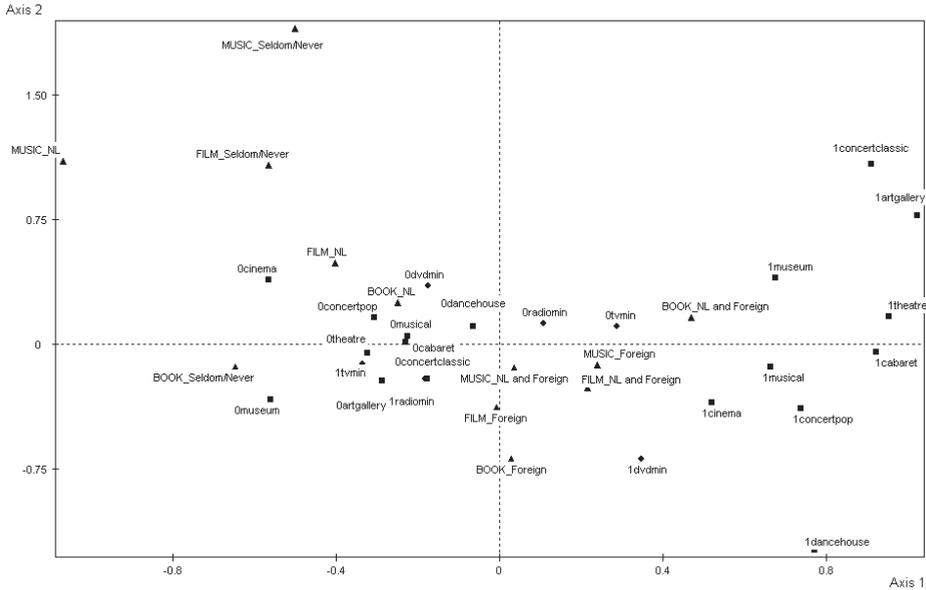
	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3	Axis 4
Eigenvalues	0.1763	0.1175	0.0993	0.0812
Modified Eigenvalues	0.0138	0.0030	0.0012	0.0002
Modified cumulated rates	75.50	91.77	98.46	99.78

Note: for more information on the modified Eigenvalues and cumulated rates, see Benzécri (1992).  
Source: Liss 2011,  $N = 4,332$ .

listening to radio and watching TV and DVDs, and squares for the consumption of various arts. We see that on the extreme left are the modalities for seldom or never watching films, reading books, or listening to music. Also on the left are people who did not visit the cinema, a museum, a pop concert, the theatre, a musical or a cabaret show in the past year. The modalities on the right side of Figure 2.1 show the opposite. On the extreme right are the positive leisure activities: including attending art galleries, museums, classical concerts, theatre, cabaret, pop concerts, musicals, dance and house events and the cinema. Hence, the first axis seems to separate out by volume, with the right-hand side predominantly showing positive activity in most of the cultural areas (cultural engagement), and the left-hand side revealing the reverse (cultural disengagement).<sup>6</sup> This is in line with previous studies by Bennett *et al.* (2009) and Roose *et al.* (2012) who find a distinction between culturally engaged people with “an active, outward oriented lifestyle with relatively high participation levels also in the public sphere” and disengaged people with “a more passive, [homebound] leisure pattern” (Roose *et al.*, 2012, p. 502).

### Axis 2: Highbrow versus lowbrow cultural consumption

Next, we will examine the second (y) axis. On the top of axis 2 is a predisposition for established or highbrow culture: going to classical concerts, art galleries and museums, along with spending considerable time reading books rather than watching films or listening to music.<sup>7</sup> By contrast, on the bottom of axis 2, we see attending dance and house events, pop concerts, listening to music and the radio, and watching films and DVDs. These are characteristic of what might be termed ‘popular’ or ‘lowbrow’ culture. Moreover, in line with Prieur and Savage (2011), this might also be labelled ‘emerging’ culture which is characteristic of younger well educated groups, and which valorises physical activity and intense interests in contemporary cultural forms (see also Appendix 2B). Hence, in line with previous studies (e.g. Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Prieur *et al.*, 2008; Roose *et al.*, 2012) the second axis seems to distinguish between highbrow, legitimate culture on the top and lowbrow or emerging culture on the bottom. In conclusion, Figure 2.1 (axis 1 and 2) indicates that fundamental patterns



**Figure 2.1** Cloud of active modalities: axis 1-2.

regarding cultural consumption in the Netherlands are largely similar to those from many other European nations (e.g. Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Prieur *et al.*, 2008; Roose *et al.*, 2012).

### Axis 3: Dutch versus foreign consumption

We now turn to the third axis, which demonstrates a striking pattern (Figure 2.2). At the top of axis 3 we see the consumption of foreign films, books and music standing out. This is clearly different from the consumption of a combination of foreign and Dutch films, books and music (which is towards the centre of this third axis) and the exclusive consumption of Dutch films and books (which is at the bottom of the third axis). Keeping in mind that we have to be cautious with our interpretations as this modality has a small frequency, listening exclusively to Dutch music is less clearly differentiated by axis 3, as it is more towards the centre and is also strongly associated with cultural disengagement. Our results indicate that the disposition towards domestic versus foreign cultural products is linked specifically to this third axis and can be distinguished over and above those we have unravelled on the first and second axes. Here, the fundamental divisions appear to pull apart those who do not consume Dutch cultural goods altogether and those who do consume Dutch culture, located at the bottom of the third axis.



**Table 2.3** Distribution of supplementary variables for geographically specific goods

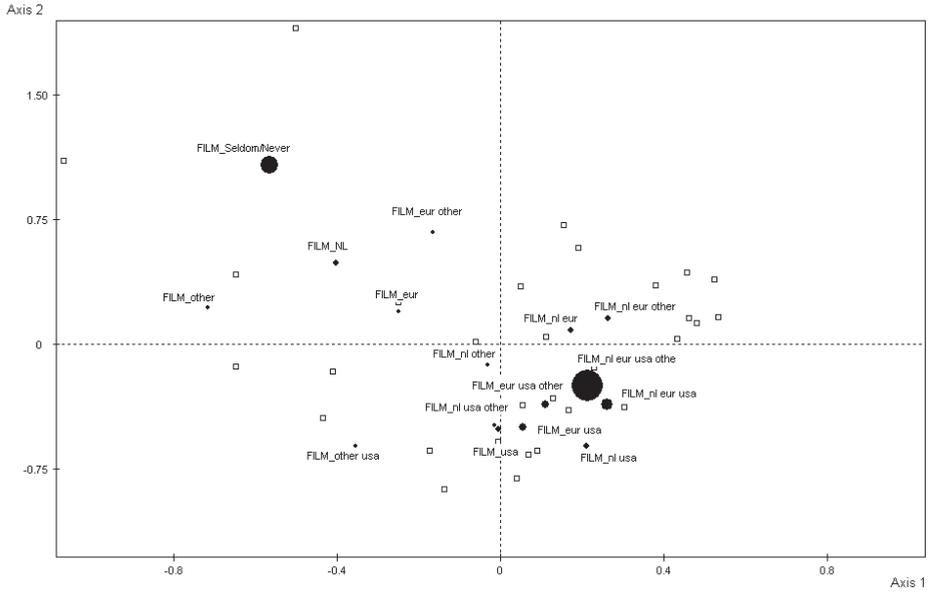
Modalities	Films %	Books %	Music %
Dutch	3.8	9.9	2.4
European	1.1	1.2	0.6
American	3.8	1.1	3.9
Other	0.5	0.3	0.5
Dutch and European	2.9	8.1	1.9
Dutch and American	3.3	1.7	29.6
Dutch and other	0.7	0.3	0.2
Dutch, European and American	11.4	12.0	18.5
Dutch, European and other	2.6	2.4	0.2
Dutch, American and other	1.1	0.3	7.8
European and American	6.3	2.9	1.2
European and other	0.5	0.3	0.2
American and other	1.1	0.4	1.7
European, American and other	5.7	2.2	1.7
Dutch, European, American and other	36.0	24.5	24.2
Seldom or never	19.2	32.3	5.4

Source: Liss 2011,  $N = 4,332$ .

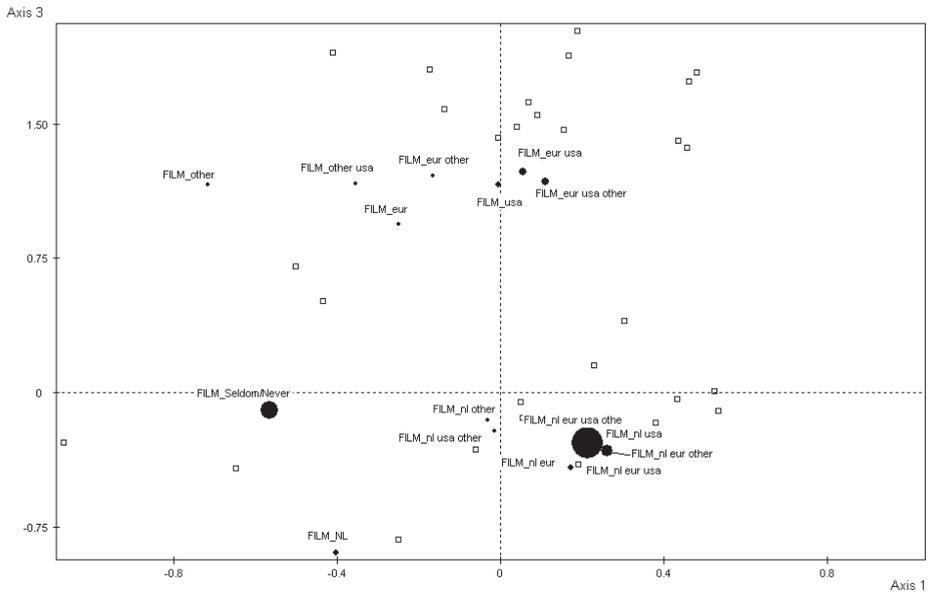
between people who – often, regularly, and sometimes – consume: Dutch cultural goods exclusively, European goods exclusively, American goods exclusively, goods from other areas exclusively, goods from a combination of geographical areas (for all the combinations, see Table 2.3), and those who seldom to never consume cultural goods. The questions about music were distinguished by language (Dutch, German, French, English, other) rather than by geographical origin. In this case, we grouped German and French as European and labelled English as Anglo-American. This leaves us with three questions (one for each cultural type) composed of 16 modalities. The distribution of these variables can be found in Table 2.3.

### *Films*

Figure 2.3 shows the consumption of films, distinguishing between (a combination of) Dutch, European, American, and films from other areas. We have linked the size of the symbol to the size of the relevant groups, which assists in our interpretation. We can see on the right of the figure, for instance, that most respondents in the sample are omnivores who like Dutch, European, American, and films from other parts of the world ('FILM\_nl eur usa other'). The range of film consumption is oriented on the first axis, with those who never watch any films on the left-hand side and those who watch films from several geographical areas placed furthest on the right. We can also distinguish a very clear geographical divide on the second axis. Those drawn specifically to American films (in



**Figure 2.3** Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of film consumption: axis 1-2.



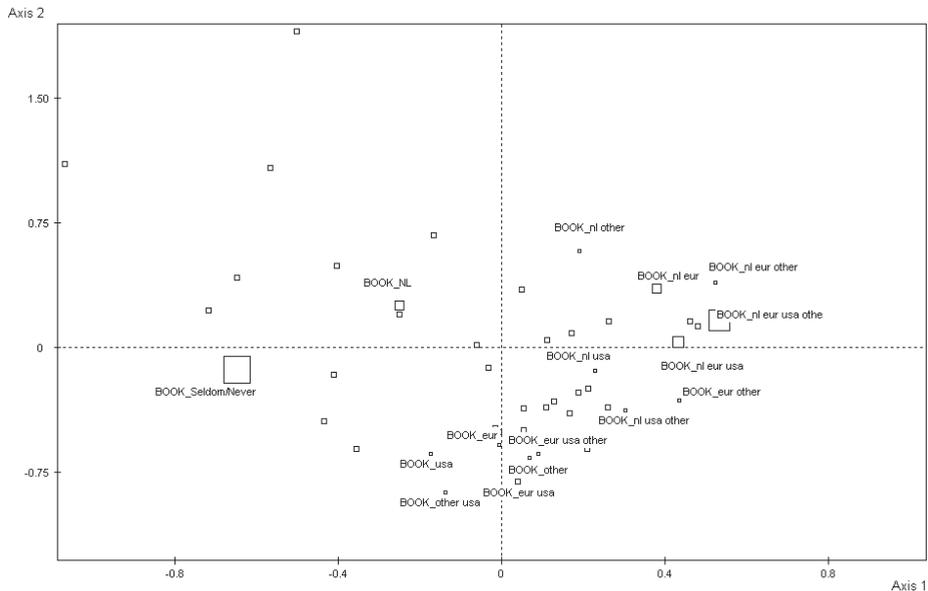
**Figure 2.4** Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of film consumption, axis 1-3.

various combinations) are on the bottom of axis 2. By contrast, those who are drawn specifically to European or Dutch films or films from other parts of the world (or both of these together) are at the top. This is evidence that the consumption of American films, associated with younger people,

might be a marker of lowbrow or ‘emerging’ cultural consumption (see also Appendix 2B). Figure 2.4 shows that the third axis is entirely stratified in terms of whether respondents consume Dutch films in various combinations (at the bottom of axis 3) and various combinations of foreign films (at the top). Here, at the top of axis 3, there is little differentiation between those who watch European, American, or films from other parts of the world: this clearly demonstrates a cleavage between Dutch and foreign consumption.

### Books

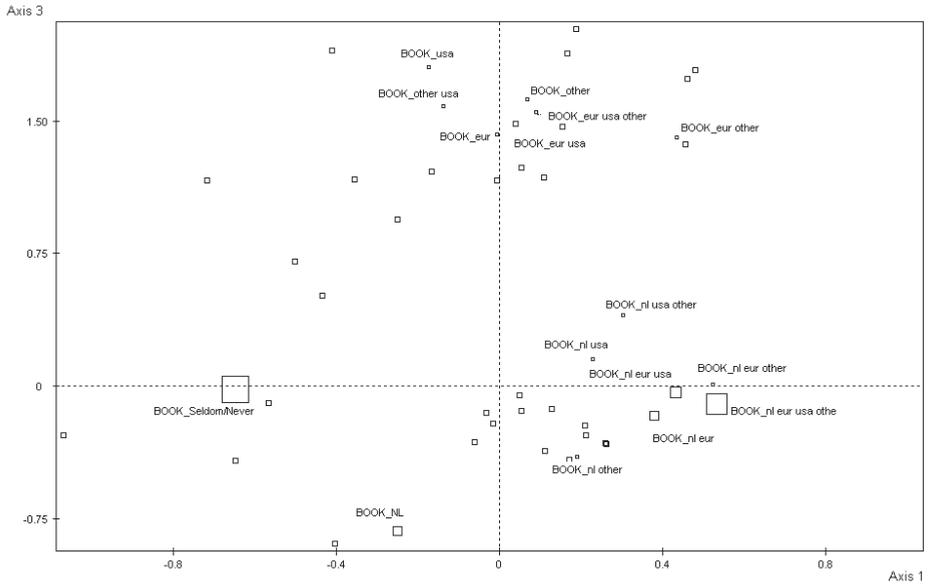
Figure 2.5 reveals the findings for book readership, which is a relatively highbrow activity (as revealed by the large square for never or seldom reading). Here again, we see on the first axis a differentiation between those who never read (on the left) compared to the culturally engaged who read Dutch, European and American books (on the right). The most highbrow readers consume Dutch and European, or Dutch, European (and American) and books from other parts of the world. Just as with film, those who exhibit lowbrow or ‘emerging’ cultural consumption at the bottom of axis 2 tend towards American reading (in combinations with other areas). Figure 2.6 distinguishes between those who read only Dutch books (at the bottom), omnivores who read Dutch along with European and American books and books from other parts of the world (in the middle) and those who read various foreign combinations (at the top).



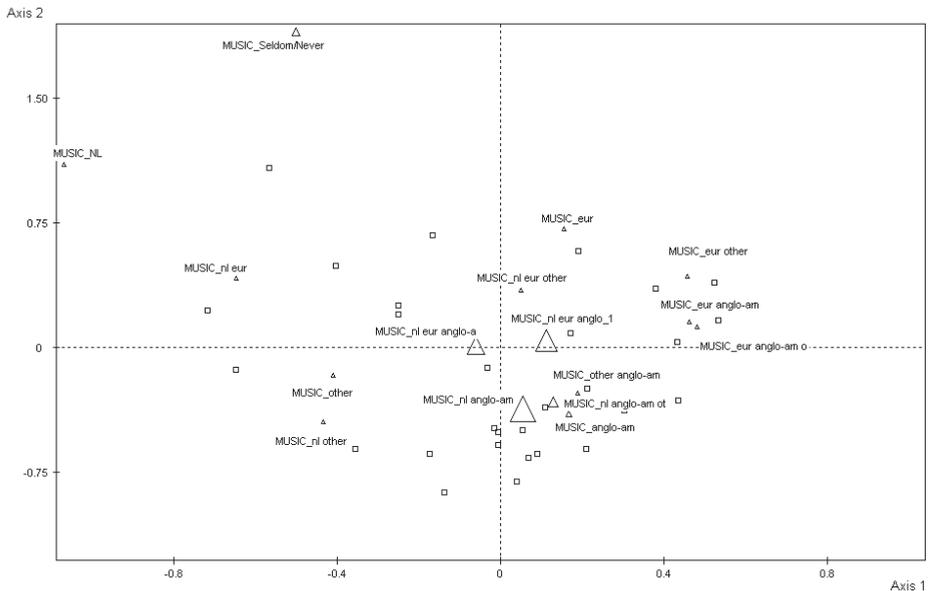
**Figure 2.5** Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of book consumption; axis 1-2.

## Music

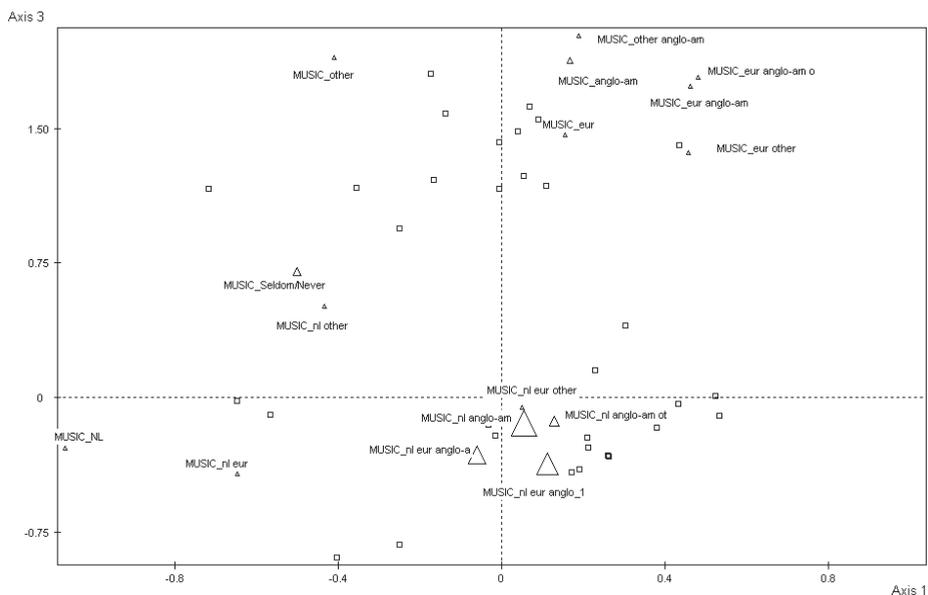
Figure 2.7 looks at the consumption of music, distinguishing between Dutch, European, Anglo-American and other music. The consumption of Dutch music alone or in association with European



**Figure 2.6** Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of book consumption, axis 1-3.



**Figure 2.7** Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of music consumption, axis 1-2.



**Figure 2.8** Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of music consumption: axis 1-3.

music is strongly linked to disengagement, as they are positioned on the extreme left of axis 1, whereas the consumption of music from several foreign areas is more closely associated with being active on the right of axis 1. An (exclusive) liking for European music is at the top of axis 2 and is associated with highbrow consumption. By contrast, the consumption of Anglo-American (sometimes combined with Dutch and European) music is linked to more popular tastes at the bottom of axis 2. Finally, Figure 2.8 reveals a similar patterning on the third axis to those found for film and reading, with those who listen to Dutch music in various combinations with other areas being on the bottom, and those who like various combinations of music, so long as it is not Dutch, being at the top. There is little differentiation between those who listen to Anglo-American and European music.

## 2.5 Conclusions

Most previous research on cultural consumption has overlooked the geographical origin of the cultural goods. This chapter examined the structuring of cultural consumption in the Netherlands and taking advantage of detailed questions on Dutch respondents' consumption of music, films and books from various geographical areas. By performing multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), three structuring dimensions were found. Table 2.4 summarises the main findings.

**Table 2.4** Summary of MCA findings

	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3
Major cultural divisions	Engaged vs disengaged	Highbrow vs lowbrow, emerging	Dutch vs foreign
Geographical correlates	All parts of the world vs Dutch	European oriented vs American oriented	Dutch (and combinations) vs foreign (and combinations)

The main aim of this study was to examine to what extent cultural consumption patterns are structured, not only by previously defined dimensions such as (dis-)engagement or high- and lowbrow consumption, but also by the geographical origin of cultural goods. Although scholars in the field of cultural consumption research have addressed cultural cosmopolitanism, this was mainly qualitative research which theorised about the openness to cultural experiences from other nations and the extent to which local cultural products have become increasingly affected by international styles (Regev, 2007, 2011; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). We built on previous studies and found a structuring dimension differentiating between Dutch and foreign cultural consumption. Moreover, more detailed geographical correlates show little distinction between the specific geographical areas (i.e. European, American, other) as long as tastes are not combined with Dutch culture. Hence, the geographical origin of cultural goods plays a role in people's cultural consumption behaviour and people mainly distinguish domestic from foreign origins. This seems to indicate that the idea of cultural cosmopolitanism structures contemporary cultural consumption behaviour, next to traditional oppositions in cultural consumption. Following Hannerz (2005) and Prieur *et al.* (2008) this might suggest that cosmopolitan tastes and knowledge could be playing a role as a (new) form of cultural capital. For future research, it would be interesting to examine the geographical dimension of cultural consumption more elaborately and to examine to what extent it is socially stratified.

We have to take into account that The Netherlands is a relatively 'open' country with a long tradition of foreign trade and (cultural) import (Kuipers, 2011). The UNESCO world report on culture (2009) shows that, in the Netherlands, almost three quarters of the music sales were foreign and for top movies viewed in theatres (in 2006) more than 90% was foreign. Hence, cosmopolitan orientations might be more widespread and foreign cultural goods might be viewed less prestigious in the Netherlands than in countries where foreign culture is less widespread. Building on Hannerz (2005) and Prieur *et al.* (2008) who argue that groups might distinguish themselves with cosmopolitan cultural capital, it could be that in countries where foreign culture is widespread, these groups mainly distinguish themselves by refraining from the (exclusive) consumption of domestic cultural goods. This could be an interpretation for the finding that in particular the exclusive consumption

of Dutch cultural goods is associated with cultural disengagement (and a lower social position). For future studies it would be interesting to examine to what extent the structuring of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption is conditional on the national share of domestic and foreign cultural goods.

Similar to previous studies in other European countries (e.g. Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Roose *et al.*, 2012), we distinguished two other axes as well. The first axis distinguishes between culturally engaged people and culturally disengaged people. Cultural engagement is associated with the consumption from a broad range of geographical areas (both domestic and foreign), whereas cultural disengagement is associated with the exclusive consumption of Dutch cultural goods (and lower social strata). We might interpret this in line of Fligstein's (2008) views that national populations are differentiated between well-educated middle-classes who are able to participate in 'international' culture and those with less cultural capital who are focused on domestic culture.

The second axis differentiates between the consumption of more established highbrow cultural goods and the consumption of lowbrow or 'emerging' cultural goods. This axis bears a resemblance to those discerned by Bennett *et al.* (2009) and Roose *et al.* (2012) who refer to 'legitimate versus contemporary or popular culture' and 'contemplation versus action' dimensions respectively. The consumption of highbrow culture is related to a more European-oriented cultural taste, whereas the consumption of lowbrow or emerging cultural goods is associated with an American-oriented cultural taste (among younger age groups). This implies that the appeal of American culture to younger generations is not residing simply in its popular qualities but is also appealing to the well-educated. It appears that the kind of canonical European high culture that was the focus of Bourdieu's work does appear to be the domain of the older age groups who might be disappearing. In this respect, the emerging European cultural field is one which is also strongly affected by American cultural forces. Future studies could examine these associations between emerging culture and detailed geographical origins more elaborately, although we must note that concerning the geographical dimension of cultural consumption and cultural cosmopolitanism the main distinction seems to be between domestic and foreign origins.

In conclusion, we have shown that the geographical origin of cultural goods is a structuring dimension in people's cultural consumption, next to their general cultural (dis-)engagement and highbrow versus lowbrow cultural consumption. There is little differentiation amongst more detailed foreign geographical origins and people mainly seem to distinguish domestic cultural goods from foreign cultural goods. In particular, the exclusive consumption of Dutch cultural goods (or refraining from Dutch cultural consumption) seems to distinguish between groups. Future studies could examine more elaborately to what extent cultural cosmopolitanism structures contemporary cultural consumption behaviour by examining its social stratification and by studying to what extent it is a form of cultural capital distinguishing between groups and expressing social position.

## 2.6 Notes

- 1 The dominance of European – mainly French and Italian – cultural references is also evident in the list of films, although one Mexican and four American examples were included as well in the list of twenty films.
- 2 Via several programmes, the EU aims to improve the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples and to preserve and protect cultural heritage of European significance. Three full cultural programmes are especially important: *Kaléidoscope* (1996-1999), to encourage artistic and cultural initiatives with a European dimension; *Raphaël* (1997-1999), in the field of cultural heritage; and *Ariane* (1997-1999), in the field of books, reading and translation (European Commission of Culture; for more information see [www.ec.europa.eu/culture](http://www.ec.europa.eu/culture)). The two most recent programmes are the *Culture 2000 programme* (2000-2006), created to 'contribute to the promotion of a cultural area common to the European peoples' (European Commission of Culture, 2008) and the *Culture Programme* (2007-2013), aiming 'to enhance the cultural area shared by Europeans and based on a common cultural heritage through the development of cultural cooperation between the creators, cultural players and cultural institutions, with a view to encouraging the emergence of European citizenship' (Interim Evaluation Report on the Implementation of the Culture Programme, 2011). Cross-border mobility of artists as well as the diffusion of cultural goods has been encouraged.
- 3 We also examined these variables coded into quintiles, but this led to a horseshoe effect on axis 1-2.
- 4 Unlike the categorisation of leisure activities, we decided to group people who seldom consumed domestic or foreign films, books and music together with people who never consumed domestic or foreign films, books and music, to avoid small frequencies.
- 5 Although we do not report it here for reasons of space, the cloud of individuals (active cases) shows a good distribution on axes 1-2 and 1-3, which reassures us that our results are robust.
- 6 The only two exceptions to this general pattern are concerned with watching television (1tvmin) and listening to the radio (1radiomin), which are located on the left of Figure 2.1. This conforms to other studies of cultural activity which invariably demonstrate that TV watching is inversely correlated with other kinds of cultural participation. See Putnam (2000) for a well-known argument that TV watching reduces the propensity to be socially engaged.
- 7 Two exceptions to this pattern are exclusively listening to Dutch music and watching Dutch films. As the frequencies of these modalities were below 4 per cent, we should be careful with interpreting these modalities, especially regarding the exclusive consumption of Dutch music.

## Appendix 2A

We included respondents' educational level, age, sex and ethnicity as supplementary variables to explore to what extent these socio-demographics are associated with the structuring dimensions of cultural consumption and to strengthen our interpretation of the axes.

Respondents' educational level was derived from the LISS background variables. It consisted of six standard categories by the Statistics Netherlands (Dutch abbreviations in parentheses). Primary school (8.9%), lower/intermediate secondary education (VMBO) (26.4%), higher general secondary education and pre-university education (HAVO/VWO) (11%), intermediate professional education (MBO) (22.8%), higher professional education (HBO) (22.9%), and academic education (WO) (8.0%). In addition, we examined social class as a supplementary variable. Our analysis showed similar results to educational attainment as a supplementary variable. Hence, for reasons of parsimony, we do not report it here.

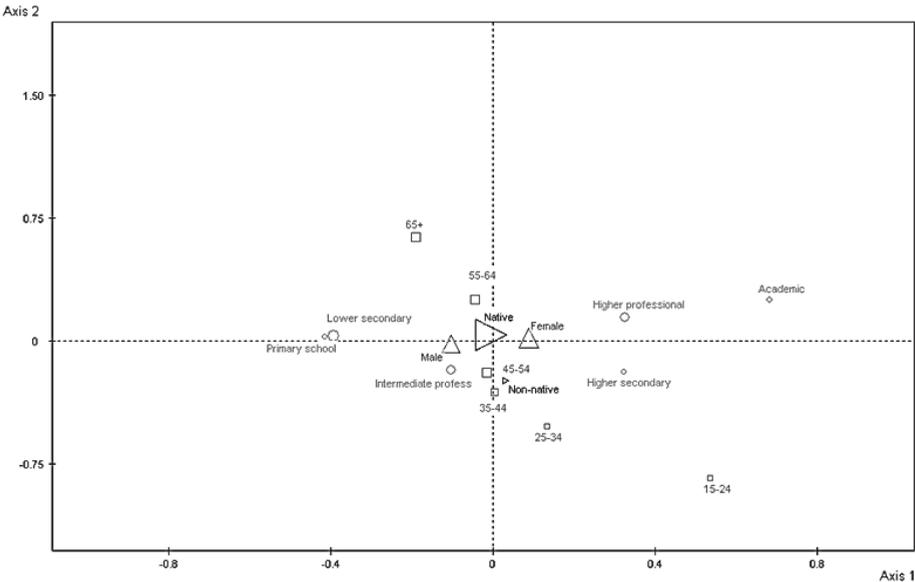
Age was measured with six categories: 15-24 (8.3%), 25-34 (10.1%), 35-44 (15.5%), 45-54 (19.2%), 55-64 (22.9%) and people older than 65 (24.1%). Females constitute 53.9 per cent of the sample. The respondents' ethnicity was defined as Dutch when they and both of their parents were born in the Netherlands (88.3%). This is a commonly used definition in the Netherlands, based on the Statistics Netherlands.

In Appendix 2B, the associations between respondents' educational qualifications, age, sex and ethnicity and axis 1 and 2 are examined. The size of the symbols is linked to the frequencies of the modalities amongst the sample, so we can see, for instance, that there are many more native than non-native respondents in our data. Appendix 2B shows that people's educational level is strongly associated with axis 1, with the higher educated being more likely to be on the right of this first axis, and hence culturally engaged (especially amongst those drawn to highbrow culture), whereas those with lower educational levels are much more likely to be culturally disengaged. Age, by contrast, is loaded closely onto the second axis, with younger people being likely to be associated with popular, emerging culture and older people more drawn to established highbrow culture. This is also consistent with studies from other nations (e.g. Bennett *et al.*, 2009). We find little difference between men and women. Finally, although not very marked, it seems that native Dutch are more likely to consume highbrow culture than non-natives (of whom at least one of the parents is not born in the Netherlands), who are more likely to consume popular, emerging culture.

Appendix 2C demonstrates, surprisingly, that the third axis is less closely linked to the examined socio-demographic variables. The higher educated seem to be somewhat more likely to consume foreign cultural goods (compared to Dutch cultural goods), whereas lower educated people seem to be slightly more likely to be engaged in Dutch cultural goods exclusively, but this is not a very marked pattern. Also, although not very marked, it appears that younger people are more drawn to foreign cultural goods (combined with Dutch cultural goods) and older people to Dutch cultural

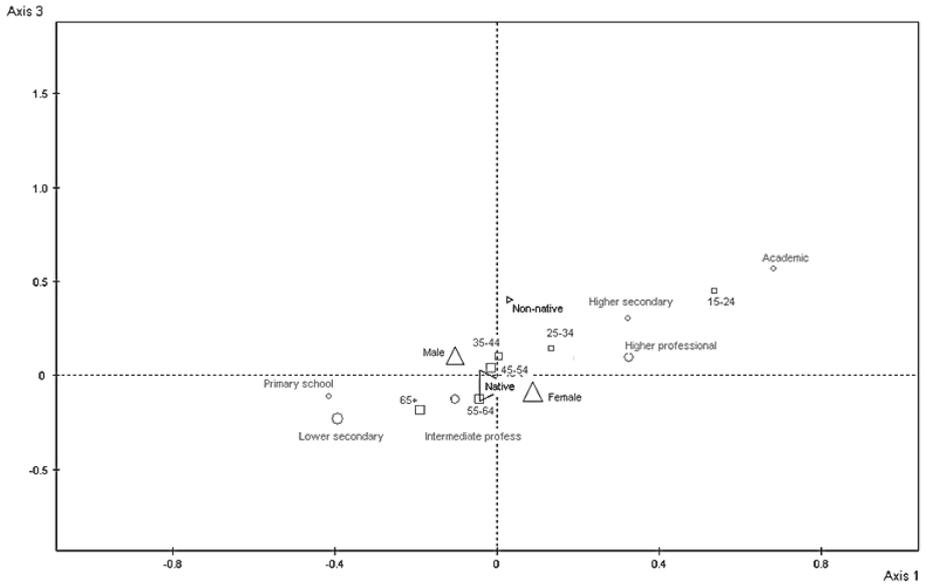
goods. Again, we find little difference between men and women. Finally, native Dutch are more likely to be associated with the consumption of Dutch cultural goods than non-natives who are more likely to consume foreign culture.

# Appendix 2B



Cloud of supplementary socio-demographic modalities: axis 1-2.

## Appendix 2C



Cloud of supplementary socio-demographic modalities: axis 1-3.



# CHAPTER 3

## The social distinction in domestic versus foreign favourite music artists\*

\* A slightly different version of this chapter is forthcoming in *Poetics*: Meuleman, R. & Lubbers, M. (in press). The social distinction in having domestic versus foreign favorite music artists. *Poetics*.

## **Abstract**

Music can be used as a group-specific symbol to express social position and mark group boundaries. It is unknown, however, to what extent the divide between domestic and foreign music is used as a marker of social position, despite the relevance of this dimension in the discussion on aesthetic cosmopolitanism and cultural globalization. In this chapter, we examine to what extent people have domestic versus foreign music artists as their favourites and to what degree this is stratified by the educational level and social class of the father and of the respondents themselves, while accounting for different genres and the language in which artists perform. Father's education level was (negatively) related to the likelihood to have domestic favourite music artists. Nevertheless this effect was overruled by the respondent's educational level. The higher one's own educational level and social class, the less likely one is to have domestic favourite artists, even when controlling for genre and the language artists use when performing. This provides evidence for the existence of a domestic versus foreign divide in the consumption of music in addition to high-, and lowbrow culture.

### 3.1 Introduction

Since the late 1980s, there has been an upward trend in the popularity of domestic music artists in many Western countries, regardless of increasing economic interdependencies and growing flows of foreign imports, which provide alternatives to domestically produced goods and culture (e.g. Achterberg *et al.*, 2011; Frith, 2004). The Netherlands, the focus of our study, has witnessed an increased popularity of domestic music artists since the early 1990s (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011; Hitters and Van de Kamp, 2010). To some extent, Dutch music seems to have replaced Anglo-American (pop) music in terms of popularity (Hitters and Van de Kamp, 2010). Based on an initiative from the Dutch radical right Party for Freedom (PVV), the Dutch House of Representatives installed a 35% quota for Dutch-language music on a public radio broadcaster (June 30, 2011, voting results House of Representatives). This proposal fits a wider surge of protectionist measures proposed by radical right-wing parties in Europe (Kriesi *et al.*, 2008; Norris, 2005). In contrast to views on cultural globalisation – expecting that cultural goods will more and more resemble those from dominant markets (often labelled homogenisation or Americanisation), expecting a diversification of cultural goods, or a mixing of domestic and international cultures, creating new, hybrid cultural forms and products (i.e. hybridisation) – the trend of increasing popularity of Dutch music seems to support the idea of neonationalist cultural resistance against cultural globalisation. Especially as Dutch music is increasingly sung in the native tongue (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011). The relevance of the division between national(ist) and international or cosmopolitan orientations is also marked by the focus on aesthetic cosmopolitanism: the openness to cultural experiences from other nations (e.g. Regev, 2007, 2011; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). Music is particularly relevant to this debate as it can be used as a group-specific symbol to distinguish one's own (national) group and to express social position because of its pervasive presence in everyday life (Coulangeon, 2005) and cultural and communicative functions (Bryson, 1996). Nevertheless, despite the global-local dialectic and the upward trend in the popularity of domestically produced music, the study of social distinctions remains underexposed in the consumption of nationally produced music versus music from foreign countries. In this chapter, we examine the stratification of this dimension, by looking at the likelihood of having domestic versus foreign music artists as favourites.

One of the central issues in previous research on musical taste and cultural consumption has been the distinction between the taste for elite/highbrow and popular/lowbrow genres as a marker of social position (Bourdieu, 1984), or on the combinations of these genres (omnivore) as opposed to a lowbrow univore taste (Peterson and Kern, 1996; Peterson and Simkus, 1992). This divide is expected to “contrast the proclivity of the upper classes for elite music, i.e. classical music, opera and, to some extent, jazz, with the working classes’ preference for popular genres, i.e. pop music, rock, rap, dance music, etc.” (Coulangeon and Lemel, 2007, p. 95). Family background and individuals’ own socio-economic characteristics are considered as key factors in predicting people’s participation in (high)

culture (Bourdieu, 1984; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011; Van Eijck, 1997). Katz-Gerro *et al.* (2007) have recently shown that the father's status is positively associated with the taste for classical music, blues, jazz, opera, and therefore highbrow music. Van Eijck (2001, p. 1164) mentions that "level of education and family background are the best predictors of participation in the arts", indicating "socialization as a major predictor of cultural consumption". We study to what extent higher social strata differ from lower social strata in their likelihood of having domestic versus foreign favourite music artists while controlling for the genre in which the artists perform. Moreover, we control for the language used by artists because cultural expressions in foreign languages may be more complex (Berlyne, 1970; Ganzeboom, 1984; North and Hargreaves, 1995), and because domestic music artists performing in a foreign language may be regarded as a rather explicit form of hybrid culture, with the distinction between domestic and foreign music being more explicit when origin and language coincide. Our research questions are:

*1) To what extent are people (whose fathers) with privileged social positions less likely to have domestic favourite artists than respondents (whose fathers) with less privileged social positions? And 2) to what degree do the differences between social positions in the likelihood to have domestic favourite artists persist when taking into account the genre and language used by the artist?*

### **3.2 Theories**

With the on-going trend of interdependencies between countries in every domain, the conflict between people with nationalist orientations and cosmopolitan orientations has deepened (Norris, 2005; Norris and Inglehart, 2009) and we expect that the domestic versus foreign divide is also relevant in people's cultural consumption. Defining cultural goods as local or national can be problematic since continuous mutual influences modify cultural goods all the time, processes which are labelled hybridisation or creolisation (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Regev, 2007). Nevertheless, in contrast to cosmopolitan orientations, nationalist ideologies emphasise to protect the 'national culture' and to 'buy national'. Even when domestic products are strongly influenced by foreign cultures, when they are defined as national, they may serve to perpetuate nationalist orientations. Previous research has pointed out the "interplay between global fields of art and fields of national culture" (Regev, 2007, p. 123), distinguishing between the consumption of national or ethnic culture versus foreign or 'other' culture by focusing on aesthetic (or cultural) cosmopolitanism: a "cultural disposition involving an intellectual and aesthetic stance of 'openness' towards peoples, places and experiences from different cultures, especially those from different nations" (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002, p. 468). There are few empirical studies that have addressed the relevance of the domestic versus foreign dimension in cultural taste.

Cultural taste is not simply a reflection of people's own personal preference, but is often used to express social position and to mark group boundaries (Bourdieu, 1984). Social strata, such as different educational groups and social classes, distinguish themselves from each other by their cultural consumption (Bourdieu, 1984). It is argued that, higher social strata, in order to maintain and express their social position, prefer highbrow or elite culture, whereas the lower social strata prefer popular or mass culture, which can be labelled lowbrow (e.g. DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; Ganzeboom 1989; Katz-Gerro, 2002; Kirchberg, 1996; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011). Previous research has shown that parental socio-economic characteristics, such as educational level and social class, and people's own social positions are important factors in predicting cultural participation and taste (Breen and Rottman, 1995; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Ganzeboom, 1984; Katz-Gerro, 1999, 2002; Kirchberg, 1996; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). With regard to cultural consumption, empirical investigation remains underexposed as to what social distinctions are involved in consuming nationally produced music versus music from foreign countries.

It has been a longstanding assumption, whether implicit or explicit, that higher social strata have a more cosmopolitan orientation and that cosmopolitanism is a more or less elite characteristic (Hannerz, 2005). "Historically at least, however, a cosmopolitan cultural orientation in this view has gone with more formal education, more travel, more leisure as well as material resources to allow the acquisition of knowledge of the diversity of cultural forms" (Hannerz, 2005, p. 206). This in itself might be status motivated. "Taking a Bourdieuan perspective, we could find cosmopolitan tastes and knowledge serving as symbolic capital in elite competitive games of distinction" (Hannerz, 2005, p. 206). Alternatively, it might be that cosmopolites have learned through higher education to think less rigidly in dichotomies and to adopt a tolerant worldview from which openness to other cultures arises (Hannerz, 1990). Considering this as a new form of cultural capital, as suggested by Prieur *et al.* (2008), one would expect that for higher social strata, consuming foreign cultural products is part of their habitus and will be passed on to their children. In contrast, lower social strata are more likely to value the nation as a valuable entity because it provides them a positive reference for identification and will therefore be more likely to consume national culture and provide their children with nation-specific cultural capital.

In addition, higher social strata might distinguish themselves from lower social strata by refraining from domestic cultural consumption. This might be particularly expected in countries where foreign culture is widespread and thus considered less prestigious than in countries where foreign culture is more exclusive. Bryson (1996) has shown that higher educated people are generally less likely to dislike music genres (and are in that sense more musically tolerant) than the lower educated, but genres that higher educated dislike the most, are the genres liked by the least educated.<sup>2</sup> According to Bryson, musical tolerance (i.e. absence of dislikes) and familiarity with a wide range of styles are unevenly distributed across educational groups and might serve as multicultural capital.

Building on these insights, we expect that higher social strata might refrain from domestic cultural consumption to distinguish themselves from lower social strata. Our hypotheses are:

*H1: Father's educational level (H1a) and social class (H1b) are negatively related to the likelihood to have domestic favourite artists. And respondent's educational level (H1c) and social class (H1d) are negatively related to the likelihood to have domestic favourite artists.*

Regev (2007, 2011) and many others before him discussing processes of hybridisation and creolisation (e.g. Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Norris and Inglehart, 2009; Robertson, 1995), noted that cultural production has become much more complex than a dichotomy of 'domestic' versus 'foreign', because many national cultural producers and artists retrieve much of their techniques, expressive forms and stylistic elements from outside the nation. Hence, our first hypothesis is an alternative to the idea that expressive cultural forms of various different nations become similar because they adopt, adapt or incorporate art forms and stylistic elements from each other (Regev, 2007, 2011). From that perspective, domestic products are heavily influenced by foreign creative technologies, stylistic elements, genres, and art forms, which may offer cosmopolites a national alternative. As domestic goods come to include nonindigenous and exogenous forms of expressions, Regev (2007, 2011) argues that it is not so much the domestic/foreign origin of cultural goods that point to artistic competence or consumer status, but more the 'being with the times', implying the modernity of creative technologies, stylistic elements and genres of the cultural good. This logic would presume that differences between social positions are absent, or in extreme cases even reversed when examining domestic and foreign cultural goods that share very similar elements, such as music genre or language. We therefore will attend to these two aspects in the remainder of the theoretical section.

### **High-, middle- and lowbrow genres**

A first alternative explanation for the relationship between social stratification and cultural stratification based on the nationality criterion as we formulated in Hypothesis 1, can be derived from the theory of distinction between high- and lowbrow genres (Bourdieu, 1984). Higher social strata can use cosmopolitan tastes and knowledge as a form of cultural capital similarly to cultural capital regarding highbrow cultural goods. Hence, the domestic versus foreign dimension could be a proxy for the lowbrow or middle- versus highbrow dimension. Distinctions between social strata in domestic versus foreign cultural consumption could be actually attributed to (the overlap with) genre, making it less evident as a relevant dimension. In some studies the country-specific genres of for example German '*schlager*' or Dutch '*levenslied*' are indeed regarded as lowbrow (e.g. Larkey, 2003; Roose and Vander Stichele, 2010; Tillekens, 1993), but – except from Chapter 2 in this dissertation – the relationship between the two dimensions of consumption has remained unclear.

If the domestic versus foreign dimension would be relevant, we would expect that within music genres (hence, keeping the low-, middle-, or highbrow dimension constant) more privileged people are more likely to prefer international culture. Our assertion is that within the different brow levels, an international orientation fits cosmopolitan and status claims. For example, among people who listen to pop music, higher social strata will be more likely to have favourite foreign pop artists, whereas lower social strata will be more likely to have favourite domestic pop artists. We expect that the mechanism of marking social position by having foreign favourites instead of domestic favourites is even stronger within lowbrow genres, since here higher social strata are not able to distinguish themselves from the lower social strata based on the genre of their favourite artists. We expect the following:

*H2: Controlling for genre, education (H2a) and social class (H2b) are negatively related to the likelihood to have domestic favourite music artists, and are more strongly related to the likelihood to have domestic favourite music artists performing in lowbrow genres than to artists performing in highbrow or middlebrow genres (H2c).*

### **The role of language**

Another alternative explanation for the relationship between social stratification and cultural stratification based on nationality derives from the information processing theory (Ganzeboom, 1984). In short, this theory assumes that higher educated people and people of higher social classes prefer more complex cultural goods because they are more able to process them. For instance, higher educated people tend to read more complex literary genres (Kraaykamp, 1990; Kraaykamp and Dijkstra, 1999). Besides the complexity of the genre itself, the language of the cultural good seems to play a role with respect to the complexity of the cultural good. Even though language in many pop songs is not of the complex literary sort, to make an understatement, a song in one's native tongue is generally accessible to everybody, as opposed to songs in a foreign language – how easy the formulations might be. We therefore expect that the higher one is educated, the more foreign language skills one possesses and the better one understands lyrics of music in other languages.

In the Dutch musical landscape, many domestic artists perform in the English language, a form of hybridisation. Although we doubt that listeners are unaware of the Dutch origin of some artists performing in English, the cosmopolitan argument may be stronger where it concerns the contrast between domestic artists performing in Dutch versus international artists than when the latter are compared to domestic artists performing in English. However, if the national-foreign dimension would be relevant and the cosmopolitan argument would hold, regardless of the language in which artists perform, we would expect higher social strata to consume more music from foreign artists than from domestic artists. We expect that:

*H3: Controlling for the language in which artists perform, the respondent's educational level (H3a) and social status (H3b) are negatively related to the likelihood to have domestic favourite artists.*

### **3.3 Data and methods**

#### **Data**

Data were derived from the Social and Cultural Developments in The Netherlands surveys (SOCON, survey wave 2007-2008). This survey covers a wide range of social issues, such as views about work, education, marriage and family, ethnocentrism, participation, environment and health. The 2007-2008 survey is of interest for our purposes since it includes questions about respondents' favourite music artists. The data are collected among respondents who had participated earlier in 1990, 2000 or 2005, in a representative SOCON survey from that particular year. Our analyses are based on the 2007-2008 survey wave only, since our dependent variables – the questions concerning people's favourite artists – were not asked in the previous waves. Because the data are a follow-up of the three previous waves, the data are not representative; as the youngest age categories are underrepresented. The average age is 53.7, which is higher than in surveys representative of people over 18 ( $N = 1,299$ ).

#### **Dependent variable, having domestic versus foreign favourite music artists**

To examine people's favourite music artists, we used two open questions. The first asked respondents which three artists they most liked to listen to in 2007, the second asked them to name three artists they most listened to in their teenage years. This leaves us with the names of six artists maximally and one artist minimally per respondent (people who did not mention any artist were excluded from our analyses, which equals 15%). Three-quarters of the people mentioned 5 or 6 artists (13% and 62% respectively). Only 3% of the respondents mentioned 1 artist.

We used online databases to assign the country of residence of the artist, together with the genre and language they predominantly perform in.<sup>3</sup> For Dutch artists, we used the musical encyclopaedia by the Musical Centre of the Netherlands ([www.muzyiekencyclopedie.nl](http://www.muzyiekencyclopedie.nl)). For foreign artists, we used their official websites and [www.last.fm](http://www.last.fm) for our coding. In total, 27% of the mentioned artists were Dutch residents. The foreign artists mentioned mainly reside in Great Britain (28%), the United States (26%) and other European countries (15%). We created categorical variables for each mentioned artist (maximally six, minimally one per respondent) which measure people's likelihood to have domestic favourite artists. For each of these variables, 0 refers to 'a foreign favourite artist' and 1 refers to 'a domestic favourite artist'.

## Independent variables

We have hypothesised about the role of the educational level and social class of the father and the respondent. Unfortunately, we have insufficient information on the mother's educational level and social class. The father's highest educational level (at the respondent's age of 12) is included as an ordinal variable in our analyses, ranging from 1 'elementary school' to 7 'university'. For comparability, we coded the respondent's educational level into the same categories as those of the father's.

Regarding *social class*, for both father and respondent we used the Dutch standard classification of occupations of Statistics Netherlands. This classification is based on the type of work; where level and field of the required skills are the main criteria (for more information, see [www.cbs.nl](http://www.cbs.nl)). Next, we recoded it into the adjusted version of the Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero (EGP) class scheme (Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero, 1979) following Güveli, Need and De Graaf (2007), since this adjusted scheme also captures new social class cleavages in the post-industrial societies.<sup>4</sup> For a parsimonious model, we combined high-grade professionals and low-grade professionals into one category: the 'higher class' for the father as well as for the respondent. The 'middle class' consists of routine non-manuals and lower service sales employees. Manual supervisors, skilled manual workers and semi-unskilled manual workers were combined into the category 'lower class'. We included a separate category for self-employed workers. Finally, the fifth category consists of people outside the labour market, and not classifiable social classes.

Regarding the *genre* in which the mentioned artists mostly perform, rock and pop music were most popular (37% and 21% respectively). We examine highbrow music (classical music, opera, and jazz; based on Van Eijck, 2001), middlebrow music (pop/rock, top 40/disco, chanson/sentimental song, and blues/Dixieland, based on Van Eijck 2001; complemented with soul, funk, and world music, based on Roose and Vander Stichelle, 2010) and lowbrow music (folk, brass band, gospel/spiritual, and accordion/guitar/mandolin, based on Van Eijck 2001; complemented with dance, and 'schlager' based on Roose and Vander Stichelle).<sup>5,6,7</sup>

With respect to *language*, the majority of the mentioned artists perform in English (64%), followed by Dutch (18%), instrumental music (11%), other languages (5%) and artists who perform in more than one language (3%). We created a categorical variable for language with 0 referring to artists who perform in Dutch, 1 referring to all other, foreign, languages and 2 referring to instrumental music.

We controlled for *sex*, *age* and *ethnicity* of the respondents. Respondents were defined as natives when they and both of their parents were born in the Netherlands. This is a commonly used definition in the Netherlands, based on the Statistics Netherlands ([www.cbs.nl](http://www.cbs.nl)). Finally, we controlled for whether the mentioned artists were the respondents' favourites in *teenage years or present*. For this specific division, we also included an interaction effect with the father's education and social class because we expect them to be more strongly related to having domestic favourites in teenage years than in later life. Table 3.1 shows the descriptive statistics for the above defined variables. In

**Table 3.1** Descriptive statistics

	<i>N</i>	%	Min/Max	Mean	SD
<b>Dependent variables</b>					
Listening to domestic artists	5,648				
Foreign (ref)		73.1			
Domestic		26.9			
Combination origin and language <sup>a</sup>	5,629				
Foreign artists, foreign language (ref)		64.9			
Domestic artists, foreign language		6.9			
Domestic artists, Dutch language		17.6			
Domestic artists, instrumental music		2.5			
Foreign artists, instrumental music		8.0			
<b>Independent variables</b>					
Education father <sup>b</sup>	1,107		1/7	2.80	1.83
Social class father	1,107				
High (ref)		28.9			
Middle		11.7			
Low		33.3			
Self-employed		18.1			
Other		8.0			
Sex	1,107				
Female (ref)		51.9			
Male		48.1			
Age <sup>b</sup>	1,107		20/87	53.78	11.62
Nationality	1,107				
Non-native (ref)		7.1			
Native		92.9			
Favourite artists in teenage years / present	5,648				
Present (ref)		50.1			
Teenage years		49.9			
Education respondent <sup>b</sup>	1,107		1/7	4.32	1.81
Social class resp.	1,107				
High (ref)		49.6			
Middle		19.8			
Low		13.1			
Self-employed		5.4			
Other		12.1			
Genre of artist	5,648				
Highbrow		11.8			
Middlebrow		74.4			
Lowbrow (ref)		13.7			

Source: SOCON '07/08, *N* artists = 5,648; *N* respondents = 1,107.

<sup>a</sup> Foreign artist performing in the Dutch language (Flemish artists) were excluded as the number of artists in this category was too small for multinomial analyses.

<sup>b</sup> Variables before mean centering.

the analyses, the educational level of the respondent and the father, and age, were mean centred for more meaningful interpretations of the main effects when adding interaction effects to the analyses.

## Methods

Missing values for the educational level of the father (6%) were replaced using the expectation-maximisation algorithm, in which values were imputed on the basis of relevant variables from the dataset.<sup>8</sup>

We restructured our dataset by nesting the mentioned artists as cases within respondents (maximally six, minimally one artist per respondent). Accordingly, our data are characterised by a hierarchical two-level structure, with favourite artists (level 1;  $N = 5,648$ ) nested in respondents (level 2;  $N = 1,107$ ). Since we wanted to examine effects on both the respondent level and artist level (e.g. genre) and because we expected a dependency of observations within these clusters, we performed multilevel analyses in MLwiN. Because we created dichotomous dependent variables, we also had to take into account that the model was not normally distributed and that the assumptions of homoscedasticity and linearity were violated. We therefore performed multilevel logistic regression analyses.

## 3.4 Results

Table 3.2 shows the results for the multilevel logistic regression analysis.<sup>9</sup> The first column shows Model 1. Here, we provide the findings for the relationship between father's and respondent's education and social class and the likelihood to have domestic versus foreign favourite music artists, controlled for the (high-, middle- and lowbrow) genres the artists perform in. Model 2 shows to what extent the relation between respondent's social position and the likelihood to have domestic versus foreign favourites interacts with the genres artists perform in. Finally, we tested whether the effects remain when we distinguish between Dutch language, foreign language and instrumental music in Table 3.3.

### The role of father's and respondent's education and social class – Model 1

Table 3.2, Model 1, examines the relationship between father's and respondent's education and social class and the likelihood to have domestic versus foreign favourite music artists. Firstly, we see that the father's educational level is not significantly related to the likelihood to have domestic versus foreign favourite artists. In a model without the respondent's education and social class, father's educational level is significantly negatively related to having domestic favourite artists. This only partly supports Hypothesis 1a.

We did not find significant effects of the father's social class on respondents' likelihood to have domestic favourite artists, also not in the analysis without respondent's education and social

class. Thus, contrary to our expectation in Hypothesis 1b, there are no significant differences in the likelihood of having domestic favourite artists between respondents with fathers from the middle and lower class, and respondents with fathers in the higher class.

**Table 3.2** Multilevel logistic regression analysis on having domestic versus foreign favourite music artists

	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>
Constant	-0.628	*	0.289	-0.905	**	0.311
Education father	-0.036		0.039	-0.037		0.039
Social class father (High=ref)						
Middle	-0.037		0.195	-0.019		0.196
Low	-0.068		0.164	-0.055		0.165
Self-employed	0.083		0.181	0.096		0.182
Other	-0.151		0.230	-0.141		0.233
Teenage years	-1.214	***	0.077	-1.222	***	0.077
Male	-0.343	**	0.123	-0.359	**	0.124
Age	0.038	***	0.005	0.038	***	0.005
Native	0.692	**	0.244	0.693	**	0.245
Education respondent	-0.147	***	0.039	-0.307	***	0.070
Social class resp. (High=ref)						
Middle	0.453	**	0.162	0.709	*	0.298
Low	0.586	**	0.189	1.028	**	0.317
Self-employed	0.085		0.259	0.419		0.511
Other	0.447	*	0.186	0.581		0.339
Genre of artist (Lowbrow=ref)						
Highbrow	-2.642	***	0.190	-2.207	***	0.292
Middlebrow	-0.747	***	0.104	-0.445	*	0.170
Education resp.* highbrow				0.230		0.123
Education resp.*middlebrow				0.185	**	0.070
Middle class resp.* highbrow				-0.627		0.550
Middle class resp.* middlebrow				-0.269		0.298
Low class resp.* highbrow				-1.165		0.786
Low class resp.* middlebrow				-0.543		0.328
Self-employed resp.* highbrow				-0.727		1.042
Self-employed resp.* middlebrow				-0.364		0.519
Other class resp.* highbrow				-0.140		0.349
Other class resp.* middlebrow				-0.394		0.574
Random-effects; resp. level 2	1.514	***	0.132	1.540	***	0.134

Source: SOCON '07/08, *N* artists = 5,648; *N* respondents = 1,107; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

With regard to the respondent's education, we found that the higher the educational level obtained by the respondent, the less likely he or she is to have domestic versus foreign favourite artists ( $B = -.147$ ). Hypothesis 1c is supported.

Considering social class, we found that respondents from the middle and lower class are more likely to have domestic favourite artists than respondents from the higher class ( $B = .453$  and  $B = .586$  respectively). These findings are in line with Hypothesis 1d. The effects of the respondent's social position are significant regardless of (high-, middle- or lowbrow) genre, as expected in Hypothesis 2a and 2b.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, Model 1 shows that domestic artists were (much) less popular in people's teen years than in 2007 ( $B = -1.214$ ). We cannot disentangle with these data between life course and period effects, although a larger popularity of domestic artists is in line with the period trend found in the Dutch hit charts (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011; Frith, 2004). We examined whether the effect of the father's social position on the likelihood to have domestic favourite music artists was stronger in teenage years than in later life. We did not find a significant interaction with the education or social class of the father. Hence, the effects of the father's social position on having domestic favourites are not stronger for respondents' favourite artists in their teen years compared to 2007. For a more parsimonious model, these interactions were not included in the final analyses.

### Interaction with high- middle- and lowbrow genres – Model 2

In Model 2, we examined whether the effects of the respondents' education and social class are stronger within lowbrow genres than within highbrow and middlebrow genres. The main terms of highbrow and middlebrow genres now refer to the effects for a mean level of education and the highest social class ( $B = -2.207$  and  $-.445$  respectively). The effects of respondents' education and social class are the effects for respondents whose favourite artists perform in lowbrow genres. We see that for these people, education and social class have the awaited effects. The higher one's level of education, the less likely one is to have domestic favourites, and people from lower social classes are more likely to have domestic favourites than higher social classes.

The interaction effect between education and middlebrow genres is significantly positive, which implies that the negative effect of education is weaker (closer to zero) for people whose favourite artists perform in middlebrow genres as compared to people whose favourite artists perform in lowbrow genres ( $B = -.307 + .185 = -.122$ ). The interaction with highbrow genres is also positive and is even stronger than the interaction with middlebrow genres, but does not reach significance.<sup>11</sup> For social class, none of the interaction effects reaches significance, indicating that the effects of social class for people who listen to highbrow and middlebrow genres do not differ significantly from those who listen to lowbrow genres.

We performed additional analyses, to test whether the main effects of education and social class are still significant when either the middlebrow genres or highbrow genres are taken as reference.

The negative educational effect is still significant with middlebrow genres as reference. However, within the small group of people whose favourite artists perform in highbrow genres, the negative educational effect is not significant. With respect to the effect of social class, middle and higher social classes are also significantly more likely to have domestic favourite artists than lower social classes when we take middlebrow genres as reference. However, social class is not a significant predictor within highbrow genres.

We expected in Hypothesis 2c that the effects from education and social class on the likelihood to have domestic favourite music artists would be more strongly negative in the lowbrow genres than in the highbrow and middlebrow genres. Partially in line with Hypothesis 2c, we found that the negative effect of education is stronger when people prefer artists who perform in lowbrow genres compared to middlebrow genres. We found no evidence to support this hypothesis with respect to social class.

### **The role of language**

The language in which an artist performs is related to, and partly defined by, his or her nationality. There are hardly any foreign artists performing in the Dutch language. We, therefore, perform multilevel multinomial logistic regression analysis in MLwiN on a variable which is a combination between origin and language of the favourite artists (Table 3.3). We compare the likelihood of having foreign favourites who perform in a foreign language (reference category, 65%) with having domestic favourites performing in a foreign language (7%), and having domestic favourites performing in the Dutch language (18%). Additionally, we compare between having foreign favourites performing instrumental music (8%) and having domestic favourites performing instrumental music (3%). The very few foreign artists performing in Dutch (Flemish artists, 0.3%), were excluded from these analyses. We only focus on characteristics of the respondents themselves in this model, since these appeared to be more salient than the father's socio-economic characteristics in predicting the likelihood to have domestic favourite music artists.

We found a significant negative effect of education on having domestic favourites performing in a foreign language ( $B = -.102$ ), and on having domestic favourites performing in the Dutch language ( $B = -.145$ ) versus having foreign favourites performing in a foreign language. This means that higher educated people are less likely to have domestic favourites performing in Dutch or a foreign language versus having foreign favourites performing in a foreign language. We also find that education discriminates between having foreign and domestic favourites performing instrumental music: the higher the education, the less likely one is to have domestic favourites performing instrumental music versus having foreign favourites performing instrumental music.<sup>12</sup>

With regard to the effects of social class, we see that the lower social class is more likely than the high social class to listen to domestic artists performing in a foreign language ( $B = .513$ ), and in the Dutch language ( $B = .444$ ) versus having foreign favourite artists performing in a foreign

**Table 3.3** Multilevel multinomial logistic regression analysis on having domestic favourite artists performing in a foreign language, Dutch or performing instrumental music and having foreign favourite artists performing instrumental music versus having foreign favourite artists performing in a foreign language

	Domestic artists, foreign language			Domestic artists, Dutch language			Domestic artists, instrumental music			Foreign artists, instrumental music		
	B	SE		B	SE		B	SE		B	SE	
Constant	-2.987	0.328	***	-0.674	0.245	**	-3.456	0.455	***	-3.415	0.382	***
Education respondent	-0.102	0.039	**	-0.145	0.033	***	0.041	0.057		0.282	0.055	***
Social class resp. (High=ref)												
Middle	0.287	0.171		0.404	0.141	**	0.294	0.277		-0.246	0.258	
Low	0.513	0.191	**	0.444	0.164	**	0.611	0.296	*	0.155	0.303	
Self-employed	-0.005	0.276		0.075	0.229		0.390	0.397		-0.624	0.413	
Other	0.469	0.194	*	0.294	0.166		0.546	0.260	*	0.144	0.249	
Teenage years	-0.311	0.106	**	-1.242	0.080	***	-2.360	0.257	***	-0.534	0.149	***
Male	-0.026	0.130		-0.407	0.109	***	-0.155	0.191		0.330	0.167	*
Age	0.009	0.006		0.035	0.005	***	0.101	0.010	***	0.004	0.007	
Native	0.564	0.271	*	0.690	0.224	**	0.400	0.372		0.414	0.280	
Genre of artist (Lowbrow=ref)												
Highbrow	-0.218	0.271		-3.704	0.384	***	0.419	0.297		3.070	0.261	***
Middlebrow	0.290	0.177		-0.876	0.098	***	-0.038	0.262		-1.496	0.299	***
Random-effects; resp. level 2												
Domestic artists, foreign language	0.547	0.146	***									
Domestic artists, Dutch language	0.353	0.088	***	0.852	0.103	***						
Domestic artists, instrumental	0.577	0.167	***	-0.156	0.138		0.395	0.266				
Foreign artists, instrumental	-0.067	0.159		0.025	0.139		0.096	0.193		0.876	0.197	***

Source: SOCON '07/08, *N* artists = 5,629; *N* respondents = 1,107; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

language. Moreover, the middle class is also more likely to have a domestic favourite performing in the Dutch language than the higher class ( $B = .404$ ). No significant class differences were found when comparing foreign artists performing instrumental music to domestic artists performing instrumental music, even though the parameters are in the expected direction. The general pattern observed is that higher educated people and higher social classes are less likely to have domestic favourite music artists regardless of whether these perform in Dutch, in a foreign language or play instrumental music, even when controlled for high-, middle- and lowbrow taste. Hypotheses 3a and 3b are partially confirmed.

### **The range of people's domestic versus foreign favourites**

This chapter focuses on people's favourite artists rather than a broader consumption pattern. In order to get some idea of the range of people's domestic versus foreign musical tastes, we tied in with previous research on cultural omnivores and univores in additional analyses (see Appendix 3B). Although it is not possible in this chapter to identify the complete omnivores (people who consume from all geographical regions of the world), we were able to distinguish between people who exclusively have domestic artists or exclusively have foreign favourite artists (univores) and people who have both domestic and foreign favourites (omnivores). Again, higher social strata are more likely to have foreign favourites exclusively than domestic favourites exclusively and – although less strong – they were more likely to have a combination of domestic and foreign favourite artists than to favour domestic artists exclusively. This might indicate that not only people's choice for domestic versus foreign favourites is socially stratified, but their range of domestic versus foreign consumption is as well. Our main results together with these additional analyses showed that in the Netherlands, higher social strata mainly distinguish themselves from lower social strata by not having domestic favourites. However, as they are also more likely to have a combination of domestic and foreign favourites than to have domestic favourites only, the consumption of foreign culture also seems to express social position.<sup>13</sup>

## **3.5 Conclusion and discussion**

Previous research has put forward that music can be used as a group symbol to express social position and mark group boundaries (Bourdieu, 1984). Families' social class and educational background and individuals' own socio-economic characteristics are considered to be key factors in explaining highbrow cultural consumption (Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Katz-Gerro, 1999, 2002; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012; Van Eijck, 1997). It was empirically unknown, however, to what extent the divide between domestic and foreign music might also be used as a marker of social position. In this chapter we have examined the degree to which the likelihood to

have domestic versus foreign favourite music artists is stratified by the father's and respondent's educational level and social class as two main indicators of social position.

The father's educational level was negatively related to the respondent's likelihood to have domestic versus favourites. This could be an indication that accumulated knowledge with respect to foreign cultural goods affects the cultural consumption of children. Nevertheless, the effect of the father's education disappeared when taking into account people's own educational level and social class and father's social class did not affect the likelihood of having domestic favourites versus foreign favourites. Previous studies have indicated that parents' cultural resources constitute the most important measured determinants of sibling cultural participation and that the impact of the educational attainment of siblings is relatively small (Van Eijck, 1997). Also, musical tastes are shaped by parental social position rather than respondents' social position (Katz-Gerro *et al.*, 2007). This is not in line with our findings. However, other studies have indicated that the influence of parental cultural resources declines over time (e.g. Aschaffenburg and Maas 1997). In line with these studies, the influence of the father's social position might have diminished in favour of partner and children influences. Especially, because our sample was on average older than a representative sample. Still, we found no evidence that the father's social position had a stronger effect on having foreign or domestic favourites in teenage years than in later life. However, we did not have information on the actual cultural resources of both parents (Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012), and we did not include the cultural tastes of the parents, which in particular are likely to affect the respondents musical preferences (Nagel, 2010). It would be interesting for future research to examine these aspects more closely.

Regarding the social positions of the respondents, we found that higher educated people and people from higher social classes were less likely to have domestic versus foreign favourite artists. These effects can only partly be contributed to the genre and language in which the artists perform; once controlled for genre and language, the effects of education and social class on the likelihood of having domestic favourite artists remained. Although hybridisation may have blurred what actually is a national cultural good, we found no evidence that this results in higher status groups being equally likely to have domestic favourite artists as lower status groups. Moreover, in comparison to more hybrid forms of culture where domestic artists perform in foreign languages, higher status groups are more likely to prefer foreign artists as well. We argue that foreign cultural goods might be seen as an expression of cosmopolitan taste which higher social strata can use as a form of capital to mark their status. In line with this assumption, additional analyses showed that higher social strata were more likely to have foreign favourites exclusively than domestic favourites exclusively and – although less strong – they were also more likely to have a combination of domestic and foreign favourite artists than to favour domestic artists exclusively. Hence, not consuming domestic cultural goods seems to be the most distinguishing for higher social strata. It seems that

next to the idea of foreign cultural consumption as an expression of social position, refraining from domestic culture seems to mark social position.

We have to take into account that – despite the increasing popularity of domestic artists – the share of foreign music artists in the Netherlands is relatively large (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011; UNESCO, 2009). In addition, Janssen, Kuipers and Verboord (2008) show that the coverage of music (classical and pop) in Dutch newspapers is largely internationally oriented. Hence, it might be that, in the Netherlands, where foreign culture is widespread (and might be considered less prestigious), higher social strata are more likely to mark their social position by refraining from domestic cultural consumption rather than by consuming foreign music compared to countries where foreign culture is less widespread. A highly interesting question for future studies is to what extent the stratification of people's domestic versus foreign cultural consumption is conditional on the national share of domestic and foreign cultural goods. In addition, other cultural goods might be less foreign oriented than music (Janssen *et al.*, 2008; UNESCO, 2009). It would be of interest to examine to what extent domestic versus foreign cultural consumption of literature, theatre, dance or the visual arts for instance is socially stratified as well.

The importance of stratification in the likelihood to have domestic favourite music artists within the highbrow genres is undecided. We found that within the highbrow genres, the effects of education and social class did not reach significance. One reason for this could be that asking people which artists they most prefer listening to results in a quite small highbrow category. In future research, it would be interesting to study the extent to which the domestic versus foreign divide remains relevant in more specific music genres using a larger dataset. Another limitation of this study is that we distinguished only between domestic and foreign languages (and instrumental music), whereas other aspects of language complexity as regards content were ignored, such as metaphors and poetry. Moreover, the complexity of the chords and sequences played, the instrumental techniques, the artist's virtuosity or a song's suitability to sing along could also play a role. To better control for the effects of complexity, future research could investigate these aspects more deeply.

Although this chapter slightly explored the range of domestic versus foreign music consumption patterns by examining preferences for domestic or foreign artists exclusively (univores) or a combination of both (omnivores), it mainly focused on people's favourite artists. Since we studied 6 mentioned artists per respondent maximally and the mentioned artists were people's favourites, we could not thoroughly examine the range of artists' origin countries in people's consumption pattern. Future studies could include more elaborate measurements on cultural consumption from various foreign geographical origins, or local and regional origins (e.g. Griswold and Wright, 2004), to thoroughly examine the range of people's cultural consumption. Those studies could examine more into depth how broad/open people's domestic versus foreign tastes are and to what extent these are stratified by education and social class.

In addition, as we suggested in our introduction, consuming domestic cultural goods might be interpreted as a form of neonationalist cultural resistance against cultural globalisation (rather than homogenisation, hybridisation or diversification views on cultural globalisation). Meuleman, Bekhuis, Lubbers and Scheepers (2013) and Meuleman and Lubbers (2013) have shown that nationalist attitudes are positively related to domestic cultural consumption (preferences). Furthermore, they found that domestic cultural consumption is stratified by education and social class, even when controlling for nationalist attitudes. Hence, this argument does not seem to undermine our results with regards to domestic favourites and social position. It would be interesting for future research to further examine the stratification of domestic music consumption next to nationalist attitudes in more detail to disentangle the two arguments better.

This chapter has shown that the likelihood to have domestic versus foreign favourite music artists is stratified by people's own socio-economic characteristics. We could not refute that these distinctions, based on people's educational level and social class can be interpreted by status arguments. Even when genres and the language in which artists perform are taken into account, higher social strata are still more likely to have foreign favourites.

### 3.6 Notes

- 1 We have insufficient information on the mother's socio-economic status in our study. We therefore refer to the father's, even though we do not mean to suggest that the father's social position alone affects respondents' cultural consumption.
- 2 Lahire (2008) criticises the linkage between (in-)tolerance and music consumption. According to him, the relation might be interpreted by differences in knowledge about music. We cannot disentangle between the interpretations, but hypothesise that higher social strata have a wider range of (domestic and foreign) cultural consumption, not implying that lower social strata are intolerant in other aspects than the range of their musical (dis)likes.
- 3 We also assigned artists' country of birth and analysed to what extent respondents had favourite artists who were born in the Netherlands versus favourite artists who were born in foreign countries. This did not influence our results with regard to the evaluation of our hypotheses.
- 4 Regarding the father's social class, we had BC'84 codes of Statistics Netherlands ('Beroepenclassificatie'/ Occupational classification, 1984) for the respondents sampled from the 1990 and 2000 waves and SBC'92 codes ('Standaard Beroepenclassificatie'/ Standard classification of occupations, 1992; please see [www.cbs.nl](http://www.cbs.nl) for more information) for respondents sampled from the 2005 survey wave. The former two classifications were coded directly into the adjusted EGP scheme by Güveli *et al.* (2007) using a macro syntax by the authors (please see [www.ayseguveli.nl](http://www.ayseguveli.nl) for more information). The SBC'92 codes were first coded into ISCO'88 scores and then into the same adjusted EGP scheme also using a macro syntax by the authors. Respondents' social class was also based on SBC'92 and similarly coded into the adjusted EGP scheme.
- 5 Based on the cluster analysis in Van Eijck (2001) in which genres were clustered according to their association with schooling levels.

- 6 We are aware that this classification is not beyond debate and may differ across over time. For instance, it is argued that jazz has become increasingly highbrow over the years and that previous studies have sometimes defined it as middlebrow. Nevertheless, this classification of genres into high-, middle- and lowbrow is largely in accordance with previous Dutch/Flemish studies (Roose and Vander Stichel, 2010; Van Eijck, 2001; Van Eijck and Lievens, 2008).
- 7 Within brow-levels, genres might differ in their level of hybridisation or their cosmopolitan nature, affecting the choice for domestic versus foreign favourite artists. To further control for this, we performed additional analyses where we did not classify genre into brow-levels but included the actual genres in which artists perform as separate controls (Appendix 3A).
- 8 “The ‘expectation maximisation algorithm’ method assumes a distribution for the partially missing data and bases inferences on the likelihood under that distribution. Each iteration consists of an expectation (E) step and a maximisation (M) step. The E step finds the conditional expectation of the missing data, given the observed values and current estimates of the parameters. These expectations are then substituted for the missing data. In the M step, maximum likelihood estimates of the parameters are computed as though the missing data had been filled in” (SPSS, Missing values, User guide, p. 10). Our results with regard to the evaluation of our hypotheses did not change when respondent with missing values on their father’s education were excluded from the analyses.
- 9 We performed additional analyses in which we controlled for the sampling origin of the respondents (wave 1990/2000/2005). Although respondents sampled from the questionnaires of 2000 and 2005 were more likely to have domestic favourite artists than those from 1990, our findings did not change significantly with regard to the evaluation of our hypotheses.
- 10 In additional analyses, we did not classify genre into brow-levels but included the actual genres in which artists perform as controls (Appendix 3A). The results are similar to Table 3.2 and show that higher social strata are less likely to have domestic favourite artists than lower social strata regardless of the fact that genres might differ in their level of hybridisation or their cosmopolitan nature.
- 11 This might be related to the fact that the number of favourite artists performing in highbrow genres is relatively small.
- 12 Based on the calculated z-score on the differences in the reported effect of education on having foreign favourites performing instrumental music and the effect of education on having domestic favourites performing instrumental music ( $z = 3.14 = (b_1 - b_2) / \text{SQRT}((SE_{b_1})^2 + (SE_{b_2})^2)$ ).
- 13 In line with Lahire (2008) we do not want to imply that lower social strata are intolerant in aspects beyond their music consumption, merely because they are less likely to mention foreign music artists as their favourites. We find that lower social strata are less likely to have a combination of domestic and foreign favourite artists than higher social strata. Hence, in this sense, higher social strata seem to have a broader range of consumption than lower social strata. This ‘openness’ of higher social strata to foreign artists does not imply that lower social strata are intolerant in the sense that they would oppose to others having foreign favourites or consume foreign cultural goods, but simply implies that their range of their consumption of cultural goods from various geographical origins is smaller and that they are less likely to convey a global cultural orientation and display competence/knowledge with regard to foreign cultures.

## Appendix 3A

Multilevel logistic regression analysis on having domestic versus foreign favourite music artists

	Model 1		SE
	B		
Constant	-0.816	**	0.284
Education father	-0.044		0.038
Social class father (High=ref)			
Middle	-0.056		0.189
Low	-0.021		0.158
Self-employed	0.072		0.175
Other	-0.240		0.222
Teenage years	-1.067	***	0.082
Male	-0.163		0.120
Age	0.034	***	0.005
Native	0.794	***	0.233
Education respondent	-0.125	**	0.038
Social class resp. (High=ref)			
Middle	0.345	*	0.156
Low	0.511	**	0.184
Self-employed	0.030		0.251
Other	0.419	*	0.181
Genre of artist (Folk / Schlager=ref)			
Classical music / Opera	-3.139	***	0.270
Jazz	-1.944	***	0.228
Rock	-2.085	***	0.146
Pop / Disco	0.171		0.131
Chanson / Blues / Dixie / Soul	0.396	**	0.150
Dance / House / Techno	1.932	***	0.439
Other	-0.731	***	0.168
Random-effects; resp. level 2	1.206		0.122

Source: SOCON '07/'08, *N* artists = 5,648; *N* respondents = 1,107; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

## Appendix 3B

Multinomial logistic regression analysis on having exclusively foreign favourites or a combination of domestic and foreign favourites versus having exclusively domestic favourites

(Univorous domestic = ref)	Univorous foreign		Omnivorous domestic and foreign			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>		
Constant	1.522	*	0.702	0.892	0.695	
Education father	0.235	***	0.044	0.223	***	0.044
Social class father (High=ref)						
Middle	-0.116		0.222	-0.129		0.221
Low	0.285		0.189	0.332		0.188
Self-employed	-0.125		0.210	-0.174		0.209
Other	-0.347		0.261	-0.542	*	0.259
Male	0.635	***	0.140	0.078		0.139
Age (15-34 = ref)						
35-54	0.606	*	0.283	0.597	*	0.282
55-75	-0.820	**	0.290	-0.732	*	0.289
75+	-4.932	***	0.647	-2.314	***	0.505
Native	-1.072	***	0.251	-0.384		0.251
Education respondent	0.370	***	0.045	0.208	***	0.044
Social class resp. (High=ref)						
Middle	-0.870	***	0.196	-0.539	**	0.193
Low	-0.868	***	0.227	-0.621	**	0.223
Self-employed	-0.850	**	0.289	-0.847	**	0.287
Other	-1.038	***	0.222	-0.675	**	0.218
Genre (Univorous lowbrow=ref)						
Univorous middlebrow	1.305	*	0.586	1.660	**	0.578
Univorous highbrow	4.699	***	0.731	2.829	***	0.727
Omnivorous (combination of low-, middle- and highbrow)	2.762	***	0.580	3.513	***	0.572

Source: SOCON '07/08, *N* respondents = 1,107; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

# CHAPTER 4

## Own culture first? Nationalism and the preference for domestic cultural goods\*

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## **Abstract**

To what extent do people prefer domestically produced cultural goods? This chapter examines the influence of nationalism on preferences for domestic cultural goods, and the socio-economic stratification of these preferences. By combining theoretical insights from research on the stratification of cultural consumption with research on nationalism, we answer our questions by analysing ISSP data from 32 countries. Results indicate that educational level and social class are negatively related to the preference for domestic cultural goods. With respect to nationalist attitudes, chauvinism and cultural patriotism are positively related to the preference for domestic cultural goods, whereas societal patriotism is negatively related. Moreover, nationalist attitudes partially explain the stronger domestic cultural preference among the lowly educated. Overall, the findings are cross-nationally comparable.

## 4.1 Introduction

Previous research has made a distinction between various patterns in people's cultural consumption which are mainly based around differences in preferences for various genres, and differences between omnivorous and univorous taste (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Katz-Gerro, 1999, 2002; Kraaykamp *et al.*, 2007; Peterson and Simkus, 1992). A new dimension worth examining in this age of globalisation is the origin of cultural goods, as increasing flows of goods from abroad provide alternatives for domestically produced goods and culture (Netemeyer *et al.*, 1991). However, preference for national versus foreign cultural goods as a dimension of cultural consumption preference has been neglected in previous studies (Edensor, 2002). Other overlooked questions are what groups are more likely to prefer domestically produced goods and why. In this chapter, we will focus on the preference for domestic cultural goods by examining two questions on the preference for national films and television programs and the perceived damage to national culture by exposure to foreign films, music, and books.

Education and social class are important determinants of cultural consumption preferences (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio & Useem, 1978; Katz-Gerro, 2002; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011). Comparable to Chapter 3 of this dissertation, we will address the stratification of the preferences for domestic cultural goods, and test whether we can replicate that privileged social groups prefer domestic cultural goods less than less privileged groups

The origin of cultural goods and the identification with this origin (national/foreign) also come into play in preferring domestic goods. Domestically produced goods may carry cultural meanings which allows individuals to use them to symbolically express their national identity through cultural consumption (Edensor, 2002; Verlegh, 2007). Domestic cultural goods, such as theatre, music, festivities, food, television, and film, transmit social and cultural connotations and represent aspects of national identity (Edensor, 2002). The UNESCO (2009) states in the world culture report that cultural goods cannot be treated as mere commodities or consumer goods because they act as vectors of identity, values, and meaning. Hence, cultural goods could be used to strengthen (national) in-group boundaries and to express visible distinctions from (foreign) out-groups. The relationship between national cultural preference and national identity is explicitly addressed in political programs of nationalist, radical right-wing parties. For instance, The Front National considers French art as an intrinsic expression of French identity (Front National, 2007) and The British National Party "calls for the selective exclusion of foreign-made goods from British markets and the reduction of foreign imports" (British National Party, 2010).

Previous research has shown that nationalist attitudes (and national identity) affect the preference for domestic goods and encourage negative attitudes toward foreign goods (Balabanis *et al.*, 2001; Sharma *et al.*, 1995; Verlegh, 2007). However, most of this previous research focuses on a relatively small sample of countries and does not particularly relate to cultural goods. Moreover, previous research on nationalism has empirically shown that various dimensions of nationalist

attitudes can be differently associated to attitudes and behaviours (e.g. Blank and Schmidt, 2003; Coenders and Scheepers, 2004; Hagendoorn and Poppe, 2004; Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989). The extent to which these various dimensions of nationalist attitudes are differently linked to the preference for domestic cultural goods is unknown. In this chapter, we will answer the following research questions:

*1) To what extent do privileged social groups differ from less privileged social groups regarding their preferences for domestic cultural goods?; 2a) To what extent are various dimensions of nationalist attitudes differently linked to preferences for domestic cultural goods and 2b) to what extent can differences in preferences for domestic cultural goods between privileged and underprivileged social groups be explained by nationalist attitudes?; and 3) To what extent are the relationships between education, social class, and nationalist attitudes and the preferences for domestic cultural goods comparable across countries?*

## 4.2 Theories

### Stratification theories

In sociological literature, one line of reasoning regarding the relationship between social stratification and cultural consumption preferences is the homology thesis (Bourdieu, 1984). This entails, in short, that social stratification corresponds with cultural stratification. Higher educated people and people from higher social classes prefer highbrow or elite cultural consumption, whereas the lower social strata favour popular, mass, or lowbrow culture. The theory of class distinction by Bourdieu (1984) explains this by stating that people confirm their social position through their cultural behaviour. Hence, social strata use cultural taste as a marker of group position to express social status. Indeed, previous studies have indicated that education and social class are important explanations for cultural consumption preferences (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Katz-Gerro, 2002; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011).

These insights suggest that education and social class may affect preferences for domestic cultural goods with similar underlying mechanisms. Our proposition is that higher social strata will have stronger preferences for foreign cultural goods. Related to the homology thesis, we propose that higher social strata use foreign cultural goods – similar to highbrow cultural goods – to express their social position. We expect that domestic cultural goods contain a reference to a localist orientation, whereas international culture expresses a cosmopolitan orientation, which would be more highly valued by the higher social strata (Roof, 1976). Hannerz (1990) has argued that owning foreign brands is a way of displaying competence with regard to foreign cultures among ‘cosmopolitan elites’. An alternative argument, used in research on country of origin effects in developing countries, is that the preference for foreign goods is also determined by symbolic, status-enhancing reasons (status

preference), in addition to suggesting overall quality (Batra, Ramaswamy, Alden, Steenkamp and Ramachander, 2000). Such generalised status preference for non-domestic goods has been reported in many developing countries (e.g. Batra *et al.*, 2000; Ger, Belk and Lasclu, 1993; Marcoux, Filiatrault and Chéron, 1997). Our first hypotheses are as follows:

*H1: The higher people's educational level (H1a) and social class (H1b), the weaker their preference for domestic cultural goods.*

### **Social identity theory: Nationalism**

Because the national dimension of cultural preferences refers to the geographical origin of goods (national or foreign) and identification with this origin, we relate to social identity theory. According to this theory, individuals strive for a positive social identity derived from the social group they belong to (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Taylor and Moghaddam, 1994). Because intergroup comparisons determine the relative status and value of the in-group, and because people strive for positive in-group distinctiveness, individuals selectively perceive positive values and characteristics among members of the in-group, inducing a positive attitude toward the in-group (Brown, 2000). One of the group memberships contributing to people's identity is citizenship (Mummendey *et al.*, 2001). Those identifying more strongly with their country are more inclined to show favouritism toward their country, inducing nationalist attitudes, such as feelings of national pride or even national superiority (Blank and Schmidt, 2003).

Previous research has conceptually distinguished between various dimensions of nationalism (e.g. Blank and Schmidt, 2003; Coenders *et al.*, 2004; Davidov, 2009; Dekker and Malová, 1995; Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989), also distinguishing between attachment to the in-group and cultural practices as two separate concepts. In research on ethnic identity, Phinney and Ong (2007) stress that one item in the '*multigroup ethnic identity measure*' that explicitly refers to participation in cultural practices should be viewed as distinct from identity measures. Hence, preferences and behaviours can be affected by other aspects than the in-group assessment. It is therefore relevant to study the association between different dimensions of nationalism and the preference for domestic cultural consumption as two distinct concepts.

With respect to the various dimensions of nationalist attitudes, Coenders *et al.* (2004) made a conceptual distinction between chauvinism and patriotism. Chauvinism describes a view of uniqueness and superiority of one's national in-group and country combined with a rather blind and uncritical attachment to the national in-group and country (Adorno *et al.*, 1950; Blank and Schmidt, 2003; Coenders *et al.*, 2004; Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989). Dekker *et al.* (2003) refer to this as national superiority. Patriotism can be defined as the love for and pride of one's group based on a more critical assessment of one's group and country (Adorno *et al.*, 1950; Blank and Schmidt, 2003; Coenders *et al.*, 2004). Dekker *et al.* (2003) refer to patriotism as national pride.

According to Brown (2000), in-group love does not necessarily induce negative feelings toward the out-group. Pride in one's nation does not imply an unfavourable evaluation of other countries. Because of the positive differentiation of the in-group, patriotism is expected to be positively related to the preference for domestic cultural goods. Chauvinism is regarded as a more aggressive dimension of nationalist attitudes: with its implied feelings of superiority, it does entail a negative evaluation of others. Therefore, we expect chauvinism to be more strongly related to domestic cultural preferences than patriotism. Previous research has empirically shown that chauvinism was more strongly related to ethnic exclusionism, negative stereotypes about out-group members, and social distance from out-group members, compared with patriotism (e.g. Coenders and Scheepers, 2004; Hagendoorn and Poppe, 2004). Our hypotheses are as follows:

*H2: Chauvinistic and patriotic attitudes are positively related to the preference for domestic cultural goods (H2a). The relation between chauvinism and the preference for domestic cultural goods is stronger than the relation between patriotism and the preference for domestic cultural goods (H2b).*

We can expect that chauvinism and patriotism will mediate the effects of education and social class on the preference for domestic cultural goods. It could be that, due to their lower socio-economic standing, lower educated people and people from lower social classes have a stronger need for a positive group distinction. Previous research has shown that both lower educated people and people from lower social classes are more chauvinistic and patriotic (Coenders *et al.*, 2004). An alternative explanation could be that higher educated people and higher social classes are, in general, more open-minded than lower educated people and lower social classes (e.g. Kohn and Schooler, 1969; Lipset, 1959; Vogt, 1997).

Because we expect that the relation between chauvinism and the preference for domestic cultural goods is stronger than the relation between patriotism and the preference for domestic cultural goods (H2b), we can also expect that the effects of education and social class on domestic cultural preferences are mediated more strongly by chauvinism than by patriotism. Our hypotheses are:

*H3: Chauvinism and patriotism partially mediate the effect of education (H3a) and social class (H3b) on preferences for domestic cultural goods; moreover, the effects of education and social class on the preference for domestic cultural goods are mediated more strongly by chauvinism than by patriotism (H3c).*

As we proposed, the national versus international dimension of cultural consumption can be used to express either social position or nationalist attitudes (Bourdieu, 1984; Edensor, 2002). Previous research has shown that higher social strata are generally less supportive of nationalist attitudes. However, when higher social strata do hold nationalist attitudes, we anticipate that they still prefer

domestic cultural products less than lower social strata with nationalist attitudes, because higher social strata are also more likely to express social position by refraining from domestic consumption and by preferring foreign cultural goods. We therefore will explore to what extent the relationship between chauvinism and patriotism and the preference for domestic cultural goods is conditional on educational level and social class.

### 4.3 Data and measurements

Data were derived from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP, [www.issp.org](http://www.issp.org)), which is a continuing annual program of cross-national collaboration. We used the “National identity module” from 2003, which was conducted in 34 countries.

On the basis of the small number of (valid) cases with regard to our central variables, we had to exclude South Africa, New Zealand, and the Arab sample from Israel from our analyses. We used data from the remaining 32 countries in our final analyses.<sup>1</sup> We excluded people who were not citizens of the country they live in (2.9%) because what they perceive as domestic goods is more ambiguous.

#### **Dependent variable: The preference for domestic cultural goods**

To measure the preference for domestic cultural goods, we used two items: “[Country’s] television should give preference to [Country’s] films and programs” and “Increased exposure to foreign films, music, and books is damaging the national and local cultures” (see Figure 4.1). Both items are 5-point scales, ranging from 1 ‘disagree strongly’ to 5 ‘agree strongly’ after our recode. The Pearson correlation between the two items was .494. In an exploratory factor analysis on a larger set of items (including items concerning nationalist attitudes), we distinguished the preference for domestic cultural goods as a separate factor (see Table 4.1). We computed a mean score on the two items for each individual to measure the preference for domestic cultural goods. Although the items do not refer to the consumption preferences of the individuals themselves, research on consumer ethnocentrism has shown that favouring domestically produced goods over foreign goods also includes the idea that nations should adopt a protective stance against foreign products by limiting imports or by heavily taxing foreign products (Shimp and Sharma, 1987). We also tested the robustness of our findings by taking the first or second item as a separate dependent variable in our analyses. This showed that the results did not change significantly with regard to the evaluation of our hypotheses.

#### **Mediating variables: Nationalist attitudes**

We distinguished chauvinism and patriotism as two different factors in an exploratory factor analysis (see Table 4.1). The eigenvalue for ‘chauvinism’ is slightly below the Kaiser criterion of 1

### **Preference for domestic cultural goods**

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

V40 [Country's] television should give preference to [Country's] films and programs <sup>a</sup>

V45 Increased exposure to foreign films, music, and books is damaging our national and local cultures <sup>a</sup>

### **Chauvinism**

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

V21 The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the [Country's Nationality] <sup>a</sup>

V22 Generally speaking, [Country] is a better country than most other countries <sup>a</sup>

### **Societal patriotism**

How proud are you of [Country] in each of the following?

V26 How proud: The way democracy works <sup>b</sup>

V27 How proud: Its political influence in the world <sup>b</sup>

V28 How proud: [Country's] economic achievements <sup>b</sup>

V29 How proud: Its social security system <sup>b</sup>

V35 How proud: Its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society <sup>b</sup>

### **Cultural patriotism**

How proud are you of [Country] in each of the following?

V31 How proud: Its achievements in sports <sup>b</sup>

V32 How proud: Its achievements in the arts and literature <sup>b</sup>

V342 How proud: Its history <sup>b</sup>

**Figure 4.1** Items used to measure the preference for domestic cultural goods, chauvinism, and patriotism.

Source: ISSP 2003, <sup>a</sup>'Disagree strongly' to 'Agree strongly', <sup>b</sup>'Not proud at all' to 'Very proud'.

(Kaiser, 1960). However, Jolliffe (1986) suggests that all factors with eigenvalues of  $>.7$  should be retained. On the basis of the scree plot (Catell, 1966) and because we consider previous research that clearly distinguished between chauvinism and patriotism, we differentiate 'chauvinism' as a separate factor and discern four factors. Moreover, the items referring to pride in achievements in sports, arts and literature, and pride in national history load on a third factor, which is interpreted as a cultural dimension of national pride. We included 'cultural patriotism' as a different dimension of nationalist attitudes. For all three concepts, we computed a mean score on the items for each individual. The correlations between the three dimensions of nationalist attitudes and the preference for domestic cultural goods are shown in Table 4.2. Chauvinism, societal patriotism, and cultural patriotism are positively related to each other (ranging from .204 to .318). Chauvinism and cultural patriotism are also positively correlated to the preference for domestic cultural goods (.239 and .155, respectively), whereas societal patriotism shows a negative correlation with our dependent variable (-.101).

**Table 4.1** Exploratory factor analysis of items referring to the preference for domestic cultural goods and nationalist attitudes

Items	Factor loadings (pattern matrix)				Communalities
	Preference for domestic cultural goods	Chauvinism	Societal Patriotism	Cultural patriotism	
V40 Preference [Country's] films and programs	<b>.671</b>	-.057	-.023	.040	.292
V45 Damage to our national and local cultures	<b>.728</b>	.031	.003	-.043	.269
V21 World better place if other countries more like [Country]	.066	<b>-.724</b>	-.042	-.008	.312
V22 [Country] is a better country than most other countries	-.048	<b>-.703</b>	.065	.007	.320
V26 Proud democracy	-.020	.006	<b>.750</b>	-.048	.415
V27 Proud political influence	.106	.037	<b>.643</b>	.094	.369
V28 Proud economic achievements	-.045	-.032	<b>.675</b>	.017	.398
V29 Proud social security system	-.050	.017	<b>.707</b>	-.082	.370
V35 Proud equal treatment all groups	-.003	-.090	<b>.512</b>	.095	.313
V31 Proud achievements in sports	-.042	-.047	-.029	<b>.644</b>	.261
V32 Proud arts and literature	-.019	.103	.012	<b>.754</b>	.283
V34 Proud history	.082	-.077	.061	<b>.413</b>	.194
Eigenvalue	1.941	.925	3.406	1.344	

Source: ISSP 2003,  $N = 38,217$ .

Note: We performed a principal factor analysis with oblique rotation.

**Table 4.2** Correlations between the various dimensions of nationalist attitudes and the preference for domestic cultural goods

	Chauvinism	Societal patriotism	Cultural patriotism
Chauvinism	-		
Societal patriotism	.308 ***	-	
Cultural patriotism	.204 ***	.318 ***	-
Preference for domestic cultural goods	.239 ***	-.101 ***	.155 ***

Source: ISSP 2003,  $N = 38,217$ ; Countries = 32; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

## Independent variables

To measure educational attainment, we used the international educational classification scheme of the ISSP. After a test for linearity, we decided to include this variable as an interval variable in our analyses.

To measure respondents' social class, we recoded the available occupational classification codes (ISCO88) into five categories, after having examined the nominal class typology of Erikson *et al.* (1979) and the adjusted EGP class scheme of Güveli *et al.* (2007). Because we found little difference between higher technocrats, higher social cultural specialists, low technocrats, and lower social cultural specialists regarding domestic cultural preferences, we combined high- and low-grade professionals into one category, the 'high service class'. We combined these categories to obtain a parsimonious model. The 'middle class' consists of routine non-manuals and lower service sales employees. Manual supervisors, skilled manual workers, and semi-unskilled manual workers were combined into the category 'lower class'. We included a separate category for self-employed workers (in which we combined self-employed workers with and without employees and self-employed farmers to avoid small class frequencies). Our final category consists of people outside the labour market and the unclassifiable social classes.

Sex, age, church attendance, and localism were included as control variables. Localism is operationalised using a measure of people's affectionate closeness toward their town/city. Finally, we standardised the scores on educational attainment, chauvinism, societal patriotism, cultural patriotism, localism, age, and church attendance. Table 4.3 shows the mean, standard deviation, and the minimum and maximum values of the previously defined variables.

## Equivalence

A rather crucial question in international comparative survey research concerns the cross-national comparability of the measurement instrument (Cheung and Rensvold, 2002; Steenkamp and Baumgartner, 1998). We performed multigroup structural equations modelling in LISREL. Taking into account the ordinal scale scores of the items, we analysed polychoric correlations matrices with the generally weighted least-squares method. We tested for configural, metric, and scalar invariance (see Table 4.4). The  $\chi^2$  statistics show that the models for metric and scalar invariance have a significant worse fit compared with models with fewer constraints. However, as our sample size is very large and even small misspecifications may therefore result in large  $\chi^2$  differences, we could not rely on this test (Cheung and Rensvold, 2002; Davidov, 2009). Moreover, for all models, the values of the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) were close to .05 and the values of the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) were above .95, which suggests that the models have an acceptable fit (Hu and Bentler, 1999). We conclude that the basic model structure is the same in the different countries (configural invariance), that the relationships between observed and latent variables can

**Table 4.3** Description of variables after imputation

Variable	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Preference for domestic cultural goods	3.144	1.062	1	5
Education	2.811	1.438	0	5
Social class				
High service class	.226	.419	0	1
Middle class	.128	.334	0	1
Lower class	.146	.353	0	1
Self-employed workers	.045	.208	0	1
Outside the labour market	.454	.498	0	1
Chauvinism	3.187	.962	1	5
Societal patriotism	2.412	.669	1	4
Cultural patriotism	3.075	.603	1	4
Localism	3.138	.811	1	4
Church attendance	1.033	1.098	0	3
Age	45.881	16.996	15	98
Sex (Male = 0)	.533	.499	0	1

Source: ISSP 2003,  $N = 38,217$ .

Note: the scores on educational attainment, chauvinism, societal patriotism, cultural patriotism, localism, age and church attendance were standardised to a mean of zero and standard deviation of one.

**Table 4.4** MGCF: Fit measures of the invariance tests

Model	$\chi^2$	$df$	RMSEA	ECVI	CFI
Configural	7102.241	1536	.056	.243	.972
Metric	8541.422	1784	.057	.269	.966
Scalar	9043.561	2168	.052	.282	.965

Source: ISSP 2003,  $N = 38,217$ .

Note: We analyzed polychoric correlations matrices with the generally weighted least-squares method.

be meaningfully compared across countries (metric invariance), and that we can compare the means of our latent constructs across countries (scalar invariance) (Hong, Malik and Lee, 2003; Steenkamp and Baumgartner, 1998).

## Method

We listwise deleted the missing values on our dependent variable (6.8%) and excluded people who had nine or more missing values (.2%). The remaining missing values were five times replaced by simulated values using multiple imputation according Rubin's procedure (Rubin, 1987). To investigate

the relationship between the aforementioned individual characteristics and preferences for domestic cultural goods, we performed multilevel regression analyses with Stata. The data were characterised by a hierarchic two-level structure, with respondents (level 1;  $N = 38,217$ ) nested in countries (level 2;  $N = 32$ ).

## 4.4 Results

Tables 4.5 and 4.6 show the results for the multilevel regression analysis. The first column in Table 4.5 shows Model 0, which is a random intercept model. In Model 1, we added education and social class as predictors, next to the control variables. In Model 2, chauvinism, societal patriotism, and cultural patriotism were added. Finally, as shown in Table 4.6, we included interaction effects in Models 3A to 3C.

**Table 4.5** Multilevel regression analysis on the preference for domestic cultural goods

	Model 0			Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>
Constant	3.125	***	.081	3.023	***	.079	3.030	***	.075
Education				-.117	***	.018	-.083	***	.015
Social class (High = reference)									
Middle				.088	***	.017	.075	***	.017
Low				.152	***	.017	.124	***	.017
Self-employed				.157	***	.025	.131	***	.025
Non-classifiable				.155	***	.014	.131	***	.013
Chauvinism							.215	***	.012
Societal patriotism							-.047	**	.015
Cultural patriotism							.074	***	.010
Localism				.068	***	.005	.035	***	.005
Church attendance				.084	***	.006	.077	***	.006
Age				.208	***	.005	.189	***	.005
Sex (Male = reference)				-.018		.010	-.004		.010
Variance									
Country	.209	***	.053	.197	***	.050	.174	***	.044
Education				.009	***	.002	.006	**	.002
Chauvinism							.004	***	.001
Societal patriotism							.006	**	.002
Cultural patriotism							.002	*	.001
Individual	.911	***	.007	.806	***	.006	.756	***	.005
Log restricted-likelihood	-52534.051			-50273.430			-49131.286		

Source: ISSP 2003,  $N = 38,217$ ; Countries = 32; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

### Random intercept model without predictors – Model 0

On the basis of our random intercept model, we calculated an intraclass correlation of .187 on the level of countries [209/(.209+.911)]. This means that the clustering of individuals in countries leads to some coherency in preferences for domestic cultural goods among inhabitants of the same country.

**Table 4.6** Multilevel regression analysis on the preference for domestic cultural goods

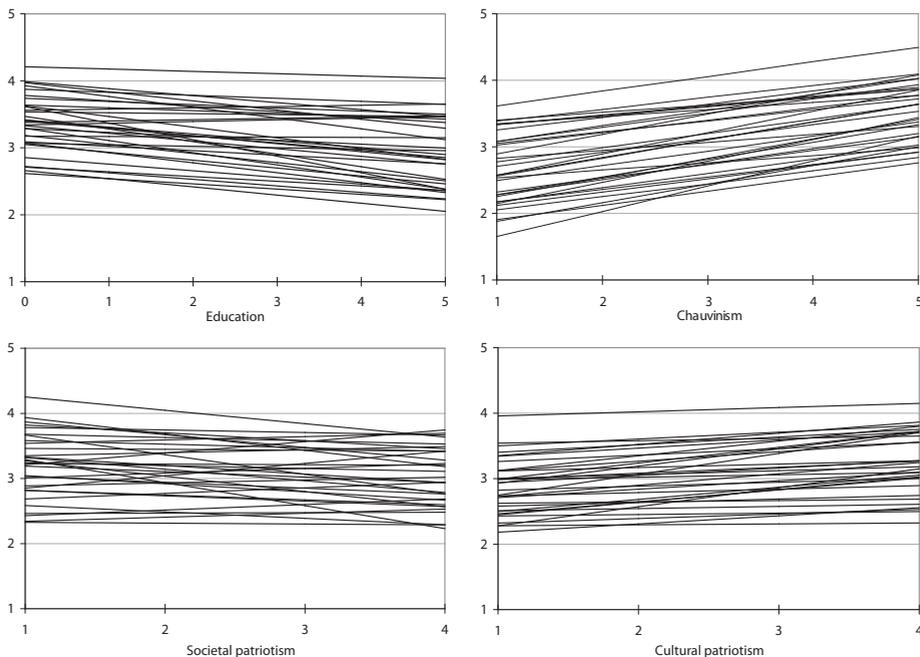
	Model 3A			Model 3B			Model 3C		
	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>
Constant	3.027	***	.075	3.030	***	.075	3.025	***	.075
Education	-.083	***	.015	-.083	***	.015	-.083	***	.015
Social class (High = reference)									
Middle	.076	***	.017	.075	***	.017	.081	***	.017
Low	.125	***	.017	.124	***	.017	.128	***	.017
Self-employed	.132	***	.025	.131	***	.025	.135	***	.025
Non-classifiable	.131	***	.013	.130	***	.013	.135	***	.013
Chauvinism	.214	***	.012	.214	***	.012	.188	***	.015
Societal patriotism	-.047	**	.015	-.045	**	.015	-.047	**	.015
Cultural patriotism	.074	***	.010	.074	***	.010	.074	***	.010
Localism	.035	***	.005	.035	***	.005	.035	***	.005
Church attendance	.078	***	.006	.077	***	.006	.078	***	.006
Age	.188	***	.005	.189	***	.005	.188	***	.005
Sex (Male = reference)	-.005		.010	-.004		.010	-.005		.010
Education * Chauvinism	-.011	*	.005						
Education * Societal patriotism				.017	**	.005			
Class * Chauvinism (High = reference)									
Middle * Chauvinism							.038	*	.017
Low * Chauvinism							.039	*	.016
Self-employed * Chauvinism							.031		.024
Non-classifiable * Chauvinism							.032	**	.012
Variance									
Country	.174	***	.045	.174	***	.044	.174	***	.045
Education	.006	**	.002	.006	**	.002	.006	**	.002
Chauvinism	.004	***	.001	.004	***	.001	.004	***	.001
Societal patriotism	.006	**	.002	.006	**	.002	.006	**	.002
Cultural patriotism	.002	*	.001	.002	*	.001	.002	*	.001
Individual	.756	***	.005	.756	***	.005	.756	***	.005
Log restricted-likelihood	-49133.274			-49130.496			-49139.371		

Source: ISSP 2003, *N* = 38,217; Countries = 32; \* *p* < .05; \*\* *p* < .01; \*\*\* *p* < .001.

## Education and social class – Model 1

In Model 1, we included education and social class and our control variables localism, church attendance, age, and sex. This significantly improved the model fit in comparison with Model 0. We found that the higher the educational level people have obtained, the weaker their preference for domestic cultural goods ( $B = -.117$ ). This supports Hypothesis 1a.

Besides, we added a random slope for education because we aimed at examining whether the effect of education varies across countries. The variance for the slope of education is relatively small with .009, which indicates that the effect of education differs only to a small extent across countries. However, the random slope does not inform us on the effects of education in each country separately. These effects of education per country are therefore illustrated in Figure 4.2. The effect of education on the preference for domestic cultural goods is negative in all countries, with exception of The Philippines and the Slovak Republic. This implies that the effect of education on domestic cultural preferences is to a large extent equivalent across countries. Concerning the random effect of social class, we found very little variance between countries in three of the five imputed data sets.



**Figure 4.2** Random effects of education, chauvinism, societal patriotism, and cultural patriotism on the preference for domestic cultural goods.

Source: ISSP 2003,  $N = 38,217$ .

Note: Each line represents the effect of education, chauvinism, societal patriotism and cultural patriotism on the preference for domestic cultural goods within one country.

For two data sets, the model did not converge after adding a random effect for social class, which indicates that the variance between countries is too small. From this, we deduce that the effect of social class is equivalent across countries to a large extent.

## Nationalist attitudes – Model 2

In Model 2, we added chauvinism, societal patriotism, and cultural patriotism, as dimensions of nationalist attitudes, to the model. The model fit improved significantly compared with Model 1. We found that chauvinism and cultural patriotism are positively related to the preference for domestic cultural goods ( $B = .215$  and  $.074$  respectively). Societal patriotism, however, is negatively linked to the preference for domestic cultural goods ( $B = -.047$ ). Hence, Hypothesis 2a holds for chauvinism and cultural patriotism, but is rejected with regard to societal patriotism.

We expected that the relation between chauvinism and the preference for domestic cultural goods would be stronger than the relation between patriotism and the preference for domestic cultural goods. This hypothesis (H2b) is confirmed, as the associations between societal and cultural patriotism and the preference for domestic cultural goods ( $B = -.047$  and  $.074$  respectively) are significantly weaker than the relationship between chauvinism and the preference for domestic cultural goods ( $B = .215$ ).

We also expected that chauvinism and patriotism would partially mediate the effects of education and social class on preferences for domestic cultural goods. To test this, we performed a variant of the Sobel test in Stata (Sobel, 1982), which allowed us to test multiple indirect effects simultaneously.<sup>2</sup> The results of this analysis are shown in Table 4.7.

We observe that the indirect effects of education through chauvinism, societal patriotism, and cultural patriotism are all significant. The indirect effect of education through chauvinism appears to be the strongest ( $B = -.021$ ). Hence, we can conclude that chauvinism and patriotism partially mediate the effect of education on the preference for domestic cultural goods. Hypothesis 3a is supported. We note a significant direct effect of education remaining after inclusion of the nationalist attitudes. Moreover, we find that chauvinism and patriotism mediate the effect of social class on the preference for domestic cultural goods, which supports Hypothesis 3b.

In addition, we expected that the effects of education and social class on the preference for domestic cultural goods would be mediated more strongly by chauvinism than by patriotism. The indirect effect of education on domestic cultural preferences is significantly stronger through chauvinism ( $B = -.021$ ) than through societal patriotism ( $B = .006$ ) and cultural patriotism ( $B = -.002$ ). However, the indirect effect of social class on domestic cultural preferences is strongest through societal patriotism. These results support Hypothesis 3c only partially.

In Model 2, Table 4.5, we also added random slopes for chauvinism, societal patriotism, and cultural patriotism. We found small, but significant variances for the slopes. The variance for the slope

**Table 4.7** Indirect effects of education and social class on the preference for domestic cultural goods

		<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>
Education through	Chauvinism	-.021	***	.001
	Societal patriotism	.006	***	.001
	Cultural patriotism	-.002	***	.000
Total indirect effect education		-.017	***	.001
Social class through				
Middle	Chauvinism	.009	***	.002
	Societal patriotism	.028	***	.002
	Cultural patriotism	.007	***	.001
Low	Chauvinism	.030	***	.002
	Societal patriotism	.064	***	.002
	Cultural patriotism	.009	***	.001
Self-employed	Chauvinism	.046	***	.003
	Societal patriotism	.042	***	.003
	Cultural patriotism	.004	*	.002
Non-classifiable	Chauvinism	.023	***	.002
	Societal patriotism	.040	***	.002
	Cultural patriotism	.009	***	.001

Source: ISSP 2003,  $N = 38,217$ ; Countries = 32; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .  
 Note: we controlled for localism, church attendance, age and sex.

of cultural patriotism is the smallest, followed by chauvinism, and the variance for the slope of societal patriotism is the largest. Consequently, the association of chauvinism, societal patriotism, and cultural patriotism with the preference for domestic cultural goods differs somewhat across countries, but not to a large extent. This is illustrated in Figure 4.2, which also indicates the strength and direction of the effects for each country separately. The relationships between chauvinism and cultural patriotism and the preferences for domestic cultural goods do not differ much across countries and run in the same direction for all countries. In the majority of countries, societal patriotism is negatively related to domestic cultural preferences. Conversely, Canada, Finland, The Philippines, Spain, Switzerland, Taiwan, and Venezuela show a positive association of societal patriotism with domestic cultural preferences. We conclude that the relationship between societal patriotism and domestic cultural preferences is less equivalent across countries than the relationship between domestic cultural preferences and other dimensions of nationalist attitudes.

### Interaction effects – Model 3A - 3C

We added interaction effects to Models 3A to 3C in Table 4.6, to examine the extent to which the relationship between chauvinism and patriotism and the preference for domestic cultural goods is

conditional on educational level and social class. We only show the significant interaction effects. In Model 3A, we added an interaction between education and chauvinism. We see that the association between chauvinism and domestic cultural preferences is .214 for people with an average educational level. As education increases, the relation between chauvinism and domestic cultural preferences becomes less positive ( $B = -.011$ ).

In Model 3B, we find a significant interaction effect between education and societal patriotism. The main effect of societal patriotism is  $-.045$ . As people are higher educated, the negative association of societal patriotism with domestic cultural preferences is weaker ( $B = .017$ ). We did not find a significant interaction between cultural patriotism and education.

Finally, Model 3C shows the interaction between social class and chauvinism. We see that the association between chauvinism and domestic cultural preferences is .188 for the high service class. This positive relation is stronger for the middle class ( $.188 + .038 = .226$ ). The same holds for the lower class. With regard to the dimensions of patriotism, we did not find a significant interaction effect with social class.

To summarise, the relationship between nationalist attitudes and the preference for domestic cultural goods is weaker among higher social strata. We could deduce that for these groups, expressing nationalist attitudes (by preferring domestic cultural goods) is more trivial than expressing social position (by preferring foreign cultural goods). Status arguments could be the reason why higher social strata with nationalist attitudes still may prefer foreign cultural goods.

## 4.5 Conclusion

We have examined the stratification of preferences for domestic cultural goods and its relation with nationalist attitudes across 32 countries. To this end, we innovatively combined insights from research on the stratification of cultural consumption with research on nationalism. We have examined the preference for domestic cultural goods, by examining two items referring to national television favouring domestic films and television programs, and the perceived damage to national culture by exposure to foreign films, music, and books, which formed one factor. The items do not specifically refer to the consumption preferences of the individuals themselves. People who agree with broadcasting policies favouring domestic cultural TV programs and films may not necessarily prefer domestic cultural goods for instance. However, previous research has argued that one aspect of consumer ethnocentrism is the belief that consuming foreign products is inappropriate; possibly even immoral (Klein and Ettenson, 1999). Moreover, this line of research has also indicated that the desired protective role of a country against foreign products, by limiting imports or by heavily taxing foreign products, is an aspect of favouring domestically produced goods over foreign goods consumption (Shimp and Sharma, 1987). Preferring domestically produced goods is apparently not

linked only to personal preference. Additional research would be valuable to disentangle between individual preferences and support for policies, although we wish to stress that our results did not change significantly when performing our analyses on the single items of our dependent variable separately. We anticipate that the effects we found would be even stronger in examining people's individual preferences.

We have found that the higher the educational level of people and the higher their social class, the weaker their preference for domestic cultural goods, replicating the findings from chapter 3 in this dissertation. Moreover, we have found that these effects are not unique to the Netherlands and are similar across a large set of countries. Because these effects remain after controlling for the relevance of nationalist attitudes, higher social strata seem to be likely to use this dimension of cultural preferences to confirm their social position (Bourdieu, 1984).

We also focused on the association between various dimensions of nationalism and the preference for domestic cultural goods. In line with previous research, we distinguished chauvinism and (societal) patriotism as separate dimensions of nationalist attitudes. In addition, we distinguished a third dimension, cultural patriotism, which refers to pride in achievements in sports, arts and literature, and pride in the history of one's country. These three dimensions turned out to be positively related to each other.

In line with our expectations, chauvinism was most strongly positively associated with the preference for domestic cultural goods. This is consistent with our conceptualisation that chauvinism is a more aggressive dimension of nationalist attitudes. Cultural patriotism was also positively associated with preferences for domestic cultural goods. Societal patriotism, on the other hand, was negatively correlated to domestic cultural preferences. This contradicts previous studies by Klein and Ettenson (1999) and Sharma *et al.* (1995), which have demonstrated that patriotism positively correlates to consumer ethnocentrism and consumer animosity. A possible explanation for the negative relationship could be societal patriotism's link to support for democratic principles, which includes acceptance of cultural variety within society (Blank and Schmidt, 2003). In addition, Adorno *et al.* (1950) suggest that a genuine patriot "can appreciate the values and ways of other nations, and can be permissive toward much that he cannot personally accept. He is free of rigid conformism, out-group rejection, and imperialistic striving for power" (p. 107).

Another aim of this chapter was to gain more insights in the stratification of domestic cultural preferences by examining nationalist attitudes as underlying mechanism, and to explore the extent to which associations between nationalism and preferences for domestic cultural goods were conditional on levels of education and social class. We found that chauvinism and patriotism partially mediate the effects of education and social class on preferences for domestic cultural goods. In addition, the relationship between chauvinism and the preference for domestic cultural goods decreased when education attainment or social class ranking increased. Higher social strata holding

nationalist attitudes might still view international cultural consumption as increasing their social status, or domestic cultural consumption only as decreasing their status.

Since previous studies on nationalism and preferences for national goods have focused mostly on a relatively small sample of countries, we examined to what extent the relationships between education, the dimensions of nationalist attitudes and preferences for domestic cultural goods are comparable across countries. We found that the effects of education, social class, chauvinism, and cultural patriotism differ only to a small extent across countries. Hence, these relations are not exclusive to a small subset of countries, but similar across a large group of countries. In support of social identity theory, nationalist attitudes are robustly associated with domestic cultural preferences.

## 4.6 Notes

- 1 These countries are: Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Chili, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Israel (Jews), Japan, Latvia, The Netherlands, Norway, The Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.
- 2 Indirect effects were computed by using the product of the coefficients method, which determines the indirect effect by multiplying the regression coefficients. We added product terms for all indirect effects to calculate the total indirect effect. Standard errors and confidence intervals were corrected through bootstrapping (1,000 replications).



# CHAPTER 5

## **The consumption of domestic versus foreign films, books and music: The role of parents and nationalist attitudes\***

A slightly different version of this chapter is currently under review in an international peer-reviewed journal:  
(Meuleman, R., Lubbers, M., & Verkuyten, M. (under review).  
The consumption of domestic versus foreign films, books and music).

## **Abstract**

Based on socialisation theory, this chapter examines to what extent parents' domestic cultural consumption, parents' nationalist behaviour and respondents' nationalist attitudes are related to respondents' domestic versus foreign cultural consumption of films, books and music. Similar to previous studies on parental socialisation of high and lowbrow cultural consumption, parents' cultural socialisation when respondents were in their formative years (i.e. parental domestic cultural consumption) is relevant for respondents' domestic versus foreign cultural consumption later in life. Parents' nationalist behaviour (i.e. celebrating national holidays) during their children's formative years is related to the respondents' positive nationalist attitudes, which, in turn, is associated with respondents' domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. This suggests the importance of socialisation processes and might be an indication that national boundaries can be strengthened and national distinctions can be expressed through domestic versus foreign cultural consumption.

## 5.1 Introduction

Cultural consumption research has shown that genres are at the core of people's consumption patterns: may it be in the distinction between preferences for high- and lowbrow genres or the range of the consumption of various genres (omnivorous versus univorous taste) (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2007; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Katz-Gerro, 1999, 2002; Peterson and Simkus, 1992). Meuleman and Savage (2013) have demonstrated that next to the genres of cultural goods and people's general cultural (dis-)engagement, the geographical origin of cultural goods (domestic versus foreign) is a structuring dimension in cultural consumption in the Netherlands. The relevance of this division between national(ist) and international or cosmopolitan orientations is also apparent in the focus of cultural consumption research on cultural globalisation and aesthetic/cultural cosmopolitanism (e.g. Regev, 2007, 2011; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). Could these new kinds of cultural possibilities blur or even breakdown national cultural boundaries and reform national identities (e.g. Bennet *et al.*, 2009; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002)? To what extent is domestic cultural consumption (still) used to symbolically mark national boundaries in this globalising world (Edensor, 2002; UNESCO, 2009; Verlegh, 2007)? In this chapter we will examine the relation between nationalist attitudes and national socialisation and people's domestic versus foreign consumption of films, books and music.

Previous research has indicated that social groups transmit valuable cultural resources from one generation to the next and that parents' cultural socialisation is key to children's cultural consumption (e.g. Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Ter Bogt *et al.*, 2011; Van Eijck, 1997). The few studies that focus on the geographical range of cultural consumption (Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Meuleman and Savage, 2013; Savage *et al.*, 2010) have not examined the role of parental socialisation. This study will examine to what extent parents' domestic cultural consumption is related to respondents' consumption of domestic versus foreign films, books and music.

Moreover, as we focus on the national versus foreign origin of cultural goods, parents' socialisation regarding the nation is examined. Studies among minority groups have shown that parents' ethnic/racial socialisation is positively related to children's favourable in-group attitudes and in-group oriented ethnic behaviours (for an overview, see Hughes *et al.*, 2006). It is unclear, however, to what extent native majority group parents transmit positive attitudes towards the nation to their children, and whether this, in turn, is related to respondents' domestic cultural consumption.

Finally, next to parental socialisation, respondents' own attitudes can be expected to be relevant. Previous research has argued that domestic cultural goods can represent national identity and symbolically express nationalist attitudes (Edensor, 2002). The few empirical studies in this field have shown that nationalist attitudes are related to preferences for domestic consumer goods (e.g. cars and televisions) and encourage negative attitudes towards foreign consumer goods (Balabanis *et al.*, 2001; Sharma *et al.*, 1995). However, that research focuses on preferences rather

than on behaviour (comparable to Chapter 4 in this dissertation), does not examine cultural goods, and often fails to investigate which dimension of nationalist attitudes mainly drives the association with domestic consumption. Our research question is:

*1) To what extent are parents' domestic cultural consumption, parents' nationalist behaviour and respondents' nationalist attitudes related to respondents' domestic versus foreign consumption of films, books and music?*

## 5.2 Theoretical perspectives

### **Socialisation: parents' domestic consumption and nationalist behaviour**

Parents play an important role in the formation of their children's attitudes and behaviours (e.g. Barber, 2000; Glass, Bengston and Durham, 1986; Jaspers, Lubbers and De Vries, 2008; Van Eijck, 1997). They transfer values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours through non-verbal communication, exemplary behaviour and explicit teaching (Glass *et al.*, 1986). Previous research has shown that parental cultural preferences and consumption are key in explaining cultural preferences and participation of their children (e.g. Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Ter Bogt *et al.*, 2011). According to Van Eijck (1997) parents' cultural behaviour is even the most important explanation.<sup>1</sup> Parental cultural socialisation is thought to inculcate children with cultural resources (i.e. cultural capital) such as taste, knowledge and receptivity to specific cultural products (Bourdieu, 1984). Similar to passing on highbrow or lowbrow culture, we expect that parents transmit domestic or foreign culture. We hypothesise:

*H1: The stronger parents' domestic cultural consumption, the more often the respondent will consume domestic cultural goods versus foreign cultural goods.*

Next to (domestic) cultural socialisation, we are interested in the influence of parents' national socialisation on children's domestic cultural consumption. There is little research on parental socialisation with regard to national attitudes and identification among native majority members. Previous studies on parents' identity socialisation have mainly focused on ethnic/racial socialisation among minority groups (see Hughes *et al.*, 2006). These studies found that parents' ethnic/racial socialisation is positively associated with children's ethnic/racial identity, favourable ethnic/racial in-group attitudes and ethnic/racial behaviours (e.g. Demo and Hughes, 1990; O'Connor, Brooks-Gunn and Graber, 2000; Quintana, Casteñada-English and Ybarra, 1999; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1995; Thompson, Anderson and Bakeman, 2000; Umaña-Taylor and Fine, 2004). Parents from ethnic and racial minority groups tend to transmit ethnic/racial group pride, knowledge and traditions to their children (Hughes *et al.*, 2006). Similar socialisation effects can be expected

for the development of national identity among native majority members. Parents influence their children's national identity and attitudes through their national discourses and practices (e.g. by taking stances on political issues, participating in national celebrations, or visiting national museums), providing important examples of attitudes towards the nation (Barrett, 2007). We therefore expect national socialisation (such as celebrating national holidays) to be positively related to favourable national attitudes and behaviours, such as domestic cultural consumption. We hypothesise:

*H2: The stronger parents' nationalist behaviour, the more often the respondent will consume domestic cultural goods versus foreign cultural goods.*

### **Socialisation through the life course**

It has been argued and shown that the formative years during adolescence are an important period for parental socialisation of attitudes and beliefs (Alwin and Krosnick, 1991; Inglehardt, 1990). The circumstances during the formative years may mark people in such a way that the attitudes acquired in this crucial life phase remain relatively stable throughout the rest of their lives. This would mean that parental socialisation in the formative years is similarly related to attitudes in different periods later in life (Alwin and Krosnick, 1991; Glenn, 1980). However, there also might be a gradual change in attitudes during the adult years, changing the effect of parental socialisation over time. For example, parents' and children's attitudes could converge through the life course, as the motivation to distinguish oneself from one's parents and establish independence decreases, while, at the same time, one's social structural position becomes more similar (e.g. marital status, income, having children of their own). Yet, following socialisation theory, it is also possible that the effect of parental socialisation might diminish over time as the frequency and intensity of parent-child contact reduces and significant others (e.g. peers or partners) become more important. In the field of cultural socialisation, Nagel and Ganzeboom (2002) demonstrated that family influence on cultural participation does not vary much over the life cycle, i.e. they found similar effects of parents' cultural participation on the cultural participation of their adolescent (age 14) and adult (age 30) children. Kraaykamp and Van Eijck (2010) have shown that the effect of parents' cultural behaviour on respondents' education and cultural possessions are weaker for older people. Yet, the effect of parents' cultural behaviour on respondents' cultural behaviour did not significantly interact with age. Previous research is inconclusive on the stability of the effect of parents' cultural socialisation on respondents' cultural consumption over the life course (and has hardly empirically examined the stability of parents' national socialisation). We will explore whether the effect of parents' socialisation depends on the respondents' age in order to examine possible socialisation changes during the life course.

## Respondents' nationalist attitudes

Domestically produced cultural goods can reflect and communicate aspects of national identity (Edensor, 2002; UNESCO, 2009; Verlegh, 2007). Individuals might use the consumption of national cultural goods to express their nationalist attitudes (Edensor, 2002). Hence, through domestic cultural consumption national boundaries can be strengthened and distinctions from other nations can be expressed. Research has shown that nationalist attitudes are related to preferences for domestic consumer goods and dislike for foreign consumer goods (Balabanis *et al.*, 2001; Sharma *et al.*, 1995). However, most of this research does not consider the consumption of *cultural* goods and focuses on preferences rather than on behaviour. We hypothesise:

*H3: The stronger the respondent's nationalist attitudes, the more often the respondent will consume domestic cultural goods versus foreign cultural goods.*

Particularly overlooked in research on domestic cultural consumption is the distinction between two dimensions of nationalist attitudes (Coenders *et al.*, 2004). Previous research has shown that a distinction should be made between *chauvinism* and *patriotism*. The former represents the view of national superiority compared to other countries, combined with a rather blind and uncritical attachment to the nation (Adorno *et al.*, 1950; Blank and Schmidt, 2003; Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989). Patriotism refers to love for and pride of one's nation, but based on a more critical assessment (Adorno *et al.*, 1950; Blank and Schmidt, 2003). Research has shown that chauvinism is more strongly related to various outcomes (e.g. Coenders and Scheepers, 2004; Hagendoorn and Poppe, 2004; Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989), including the preference for domestic cultural goods (Meuleman *et al.*, 2013). However, the effect of chauvinism and patriotism on the actual consumption of domestic and foreign films, books and music has not been examined. We expect both dimensions to be positively related to consuming domestic cultural goods, since both emphasise the own nation. Yet, chauvinism is a more harsh form of nationalist attitudes and includes comparisons between nations. Therefore chauvinism, compared to patriotism, is likely to be more strongly associated with domestic consumption, and more negatively related to consumption of foreign cultural goods. As patriotism does not include explicit comparisons between nations, we do not expect a negative (nor positive) relation between patriotism and foreign cultural consumption. Thus, we expect that:

*H4: The difference in the association of chauvinism with domestic consumption versus its association with foreign consumption will be larger than the difference between these associations with patriotism.*

Respondent's nationalist attitudes (both patriotism and chauvinism) are likely to be affected by their parents. Parental national values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours are transmitted through parents' national discourses and practices, which children observe and copy or internalise (as suggested by Barrett, 2007). Following socialisation theory, we assume that parents' nationalist behaviour (which

we expected to be associated to respondent's domestic cultural consumption) will be related to respondents' nationalist attitudes, which, in turn, will be associated to their domestic cultural consumption. In other words, we expect that:

*H5: Respondent's nationalist attitudes will mediate the association between the parents' nationalist behaviour and the respondent's consumption of domestic cultural goods versus foreign cultural goods.*

## 5.3 Data and methods

### Data

The data were collected in the LISS panel (Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social sciences). This is a nationally representative online panel of 5,000 Dutch households (comprising 8,000 individuals) administered by CentERdata at the University of Tilburg in the Netherlands. Next to the LISS Core Study (which is a yearly repeated longitudinal study on topics such as family, household, work and schooling), researchers get the opportunity to collect their own data via online questionnaires to the panel members (for more information, see [www.lissdata.nl](http://www.lissdata.nl)). In the fall of 2011, a questionnaire on the consumption of domestic and foreign cultural goods was added and the data were collected amongst household members who were at least sixteen years old ( $N = 4,785$ ). We excluded non-natives from our dataset (11%) together with people with missing information on ethnicity (4%) since the questions on Dutch nationalist behaviour might not apply to non-natives' parents as it is unknown if they were living in the Netherlands during the respondents' youth. In addition, we excluded respondents of 80 years and older (3%) because their parents weren't able to participate in some of the nationalist behaviours the respondents were asked about (i.e. World War II commemorations on 4 and 5 May which were installed in 1947;  $N = 3,910$ ).

### Dependent variables: films, books and music

To examine the geographical range of cultural tastes, respondents were asked how often they consume films (on television, DVD or in the theatre) from a) the Netherlands, b) Europe (other than the Netherlands), c) the United States of America and d) from other parts of the world (4 items). Similarly, respondents were asked how often they consumed books from these geographical areas (4 items). The questions about music were distinguished by geographical area and language. Respondents were asked how often they consume music from the Netherlands (singing in Dutch and foreign languages, 2 items) and from foreign artists (singing in German, French, English and other languages, 4 items). Thus, in total, we examine 4 items on (Dutch) domestic consumption and

10 on foreign consumption which we will examine in a multivariate model. Response categories on all 14 items ranged from 1 'never' to 5 'often'.<sup>2</sup>

When respondents never consumed a particular cultural good (regardless of the geographical area), we coded their scores as missing values for that particular good, while their consumption of the other cultural goods is examined. As we wanted to make sure that respondents made a comparison between their domestic and foreign consumption, for each cultural good, we coded scores as missing values when respondents only answered the question on domestic consumption (and not on foreign consumption), and the other way around. For films 4% of the respondents had missing values, for books 16% and for music 2%. Respondents were deleted from our dataset if they were inactive on all three cultural goods (0.3%) ( $N = 3,898$ ).

Domestic films were watched 'regularly to often' by 22% of the respondents, while 49% watched foreign films frequently (maximum of Europe, United States and other). For books, 37% of the respondents read domestic books 'regularly to often', which is similar for foreign books (38%, maximum of Europe, United States and other). Finally, 57% of the respondents listened to music by Dutch artists 'regularly to often' (maximum of music sung in Dutch or foreign language) and 76% frequently listened to foreign music (maximum of music sung in German, French, English or another language).

## Independent variables

To measure *parents' domestic consumption*, we asked respondents how often (ranging from 1 'never' to 5 'often') their parents listened to Dutch music (sung in either Dutch or a foreign language), read books from Dutch authors and watched Dutch films when respondents were 15 years old. We calculated an average score on these items. We used retrospective questions to measure parents' (domestic) cultural consumption, which is common in research on parents' cultural resources (e.g. Kraaykamp, 2003; Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Notten and Kraaykamp, 2010; Roose and Vander Stichele, 2010; Van Eijck, 1997). A drawback of retrospective questions is that respondents' recollection might not be accurate. Yet, the questions we used concern actual visible behaviours which are more easily remembered than parental attitudes or preferences. Moreover, using retrospective measures and controlling for educational level, De Vries and De Graaf (2008) have shown that the effects of parents' highbrow cultural consumption on respondents' highbrow cultural consumption are relatively little biased (by random and correlated measurement error). This was tested by the use of information from respondents, their parents and their siblings. In this chapter we control for both parents' and respondents' educational level.

*Parents' nationalist behaviour* is measured by an average score of the following items: 'My parents always observed a two-minute silence on 4 May (Remembrance Day)', 'My parents always hung the Dutch flag on 5 May (Liberation Day)' and 'My parents always used orange decorations or wore orange clothing on Queen's Day or international championships', ranging from 1 'totally disagree' to 4 'totally agree'.<sup>3</sup> Similar to the retrospective questions on parents' consumption, we

asked about concrete visible behaviour. The correlations between these questions and respondents' own nationalist attitudes are low (0.07 for chauvinism and 0.19 for cultural patriotism), indicating that respondents did not simply base their parents' nationalist behaviour on their own attitudes. In addition, exploratory factor analysis showed that the three items on parents' nationalist behaviour load on a different factor than the items on respondents' nationalist attitudes, indicating that the two constructs are empirically distinguishable (Table 5.1).

We included two dummy variables to examine whether the respondents for whom we had no information on their parents' domestic consumption (11%) and parents' nationalist behaviour (7%) (later imputed) differ from those for whom we did have this information. Finally, we interacted parents' domestic consumption and parents' nationalist behaviour with age to examine to what extent the effects are stable over the life span.

Based on an exploratory factor analysis on the nationalism items, we distinguished two separate factors for respondents' nationalist attitudes (Table 5.1). Items referring to being proud of 'The Dutch performance in sports', 'The Dutch achievements in art and literature' and 'The Dutch history' load on a factor which we interpret as *cultural patriotism* (ranging from 1 'not proud at all' to 4 'very proud') (Cronbach's alpha is .69). The second factor, relating to *chauvinism*, consisted of two items: 'It would be a better world if people from other countries were more like the Dutch' and 'Generally speaking, the Netherlands is a better country than most other countries' (ranging from 1 'totally disagree' to 5 'totally agree').

**Table 5.1** Exploratory factor analysis on parents' and respondents' nationalist items

Items	Factor loadings (pattern matrix)		
	Respondents' cultural patriotism	Respondents' chauvinism	Parents' nationalist behaviour
Resp: Pride in achievements in sports	<b>.713</b>	.087	-.020
Resp: Pride in arts and literature	<b>.775</b>	-.150	-.030
Resp: Pride in history	<b>.488</b>	.122	.087
Resp: World better place if people from other countries were more like the Dutch	-.002	<b>.842</b>	-.019
Resp: Netherlands is a better country than most other countries	.028	<b>.674</b>	.007
Parents hung flag (5 May)	-.131	-.006	<b>.902</b>
Parents observed silence (4 May)	.072	-.065	<b>.363</b>
Parents orange decorations/clothes	.021	.075	<b>.484</b>
Eigenvalue	2.235	1.516	1.379

Note: We performed a principal factor analysis with oblique rotation.  
Source: LISS data 'Domestic cultural consumption' 2011, N = 3,898.

We control for highbrow and lowbrow consumption. Domestic cultural consumption has been linked to lowbrow consumption in previous research (e.g. Roose and Vander Stichele, 2010), which could imply that we are actually examining lowbrow consumption rather than domestic consumption. Nationalist attitudes could then seem to affect domestic cultural consumption because lower social strata are more likely to be nationalist (Coenders *et al.*, 2004) and are more likely to consume lowbrow goods (Bourdieu, 1984). Although we also control for education and social class, these measures might not fully pick up highbrow and lowbrow taste. Moreover, by including these two measures we also control to some extent for people's general cultural participation which is likely to be related to national consumption as well. We dichotomised the variables on highbrow and lowbrow consumption as they were skewed, with around a third to a half of the respondents and their parents being culturally inactive. We measure *parents' highbrow participation* with a dichotomous variable assessing whether parents visited the theatre, a concert of classical music, an opera or operetta, or a museum when respondents were 15 years old (68% was active in at least one of the activities, coded '1'). *Parents' lowbrow participation* measures whether parents visited a popular music concert, musical or the cinema when respondents were 15 years old (54% was active in at least one of the activities, coded '1').

Similar to the variables we used for parents' highbrow participation, we measured *respondents' highbrow participation* by asking whether they visited the last year: the theatre; a concert of classical music, an opera or operetta; a museum; a film house; an art gallery or a ballet (62% was active in at least one of the activities, coded '1'). *Respondents' lowbrow participation* was assessed by asking whether respondents visited the last year: a concert of popular music; a musical; the cinema; a dance event or house party or a cabaret show (74% was active in at least one of the activities, coded '1').

We furthermore controlled for education and social class of the parents and the respondent, as well as for respondents' sex and age. *Parents' educational level* is measured by the highest educational level attained by either father or mother, ranging from 'no completed education' to 'university' which we recoded into six categories similar to those of the respondents. *Respondents' educational level* consists of standard categories by the Statistics Netherlands (CBS), ranging from 1 'primary education' to 6 'university'. We included the parents' and the respondents' educational level as ordinal variables in our analyses. *Parents' and respondents' social class* were measured with an adjusted version of the well-known Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero (EGP) class scheme (Erikson *et al.*, 1979) following Güveli *et al.* (2007). This adjusted scheme also captures new social class cleavages in post-industrial societies.<sup>4</sup> We examine the higher class (high- and low-grade professionals), the middle class (routine non-manuals and lower service sales employees), the lower class (manual supervisors and workers), self-employed people, and other classes (people outside the labour market, and not classifiable social classes). Parents' social class was measured by the highest class attained by either father or mother.<sup>5</sup> Table 5.2 shows the descriptive statistics.

**Table 5.2** Descriptive statistics independent variables

	%	Min/Max	Mean	SD
<b>Level 1: cultural good</b>				
Geographical origin of cultural good				
Foreign (ref)	71.0			
Domestic	29.0			
Type of cultural good				
Film (ref)	29.2			
Books	25.6			
Music	45.2			
<b>Level 2: respondent</b>				
Parents' domestic consumption		1/5	2.784	0.727
No information on parents' domestic consumption	11.0			
Parents' nationalist behaviour		1/4	2.725	0.709
No information on parents' nationalist behaviour	6.6			
Respondents' chauvinism		1/5	2.935	0.865
Respondents' cultural patriotism		1/4	2.980	0.572
Parents' education		1/6	2.942	1.510
Parents' social class				
High class (ref)	29.5			
Middle class	7.8			
Low class	28.1			
Self-employed class	14.3			
Other class	20.2			
Parents' highbrow participation				
Inactive (ref)	32.4			
Active	67.6			
Parents' lowbrow participation				
Inactive (ref)	46.4			
Active	53.6			
Respondents' sex				
Women (ref)	53.8			
Men	46.2			
Respondents' age		17/79	50.180	16.126
Respondents' education		1/6	3.378	1.472
Respondents' social class				
High class (ref)	40.7			
Middle class	28.0			
Low class	19.7			
Self-employed class	3.2			
Other class	8.5			
Respondents' highbrow participation				
Inactive (ref)	38.0			
Active	62.0			
Respondents' lowbrow participation				
Inactive (ref)	26.3			
Active	73.7			

Source: LISS data 'Domestic cultural consumption' 2011, *N* cultural consumption = 50,692; *N* resp. = 3,898.

## Methods

We replaced remaining missing values for the independent variables using the expectation-maximisation algorithm in which values were imputed on the basis of relevant variables from the dataset. All ordinal variables were standardised in order to be able to compare the strength of the effects. For comparing the extent to which people consume all three cultural forms (films, books and music) and all geographical areas in one model, we nested the 14 items of cultural consumption (level 1,  $N = 50,692$ ) within respondents (level 2,  $N = 3,898$ ) (each respondent answered 14 questions). Accordingly, our data is characterised by a hierarchical two-level structure and therefore we performed multilevel regressions analyses. We created two variables at level 1: type of cultural consumption (measuring whether the nested 14 items pertain to film, books or music) and origin of cultural consumption (measuring whether the nested 14 items pertains to domestic or foreign cultural goods). By interacting the latter dichotomous variable with our independent variables, we can examine to what extent the effects of our independent variables on cultural consumption differ for domestic and foreign cultural goods.

## 5.4 Results

Table 5.3 presents the multilevel regression analyses on the consumption of music, books and films. For both models, the first column shows the main effects for the consumption of *foreign* cultural goods and the second column shows the effects for *domestic* cultural consumption, which we calculated by adding the interaction effect to the main effect. Asterisks indicate whether the effects on foreign and domestic consumption differ significantly from zero and superscripts (a, b, c) indicate whether the effects differ significantly from each other.

### Parents' domestic cultural consumption and nationalist behaviour

Model 1 shows the effects of parents' domestic consumption and nationalist behaviour. As parents' domestic cultural consumption was higher, respondents' foreign and domestic cultural consumption is also higher ( $B = .141$  and  $B = .203$  respectively). The positive effect of parents' domestic cultural consumption was significantly stronger for domestic than for foreign cultural goods. This is in line with Hypothesis 1. Focusing on the interaction term with age, we found that the positive effect of parents' domestic consumption on foreign cultural consumption was stronger for older people, whereas the positive effect on domestic cultural consumption was weaker for older people. The interaction effect with age differed significantly between foreign and domestic consumption.

Parents' nationalist behaviour had a negative effect on the consumption of foreign films, books and music ( $B = -.036$ ) and a positive effect on domestic cultural consumption ( $B = .037$ ), and these effects differed significantly from each other. This supports Hypothesis 2.

**Table 5.3** Multilevel regression analysis on the consumption of foreign versus domestic music, books and films

	Model 1				Model 2				
	Foreign		Domestic		Foreign		Domestic		
	<i>B</i>		<i>B</i>		<i>B</i>		<i>B</i>		
Constant	2.964	***	2.957	***	2.905	***	2.904	***	
<b>Level 2: respondent</b>									
Parents' domestic consumption (z)	0.141	***	0.203	** c	0.142	***	0.189	*** c	
Parents' domestic consumption * Age	0.043	***	-0.043	*** c	0.036	***	-0.037	*** c	
No information on parents' domestic consumption	-0.115	***	-0.021	a	-0.090	**	-0.022		
Parents' nationalist behaviour (z)	-0.036	***	0.037	*** c	-0.032	***	0.017	c	
Parents' nationalist behaviour * Age	-0.023	**	-0.027	*	-0.024	**	-0.024	*	
No information on parents' nationalist behaviour	0.089	*	0.068		0.099	**	0.088		
Respondents' chauvinism (z)					-0.059	***	0.039	*** c	
Respondents' cultural patriotism (z)					0.017	*	0.083	*** c	
Parents' education (z)	0.055	***	-0.048	*** c	0.030	**	-0.037	** c	
Parents' social class ( <i>High = ref</i> )									
Middle class	-0.059		0.028	a	-0.060		0.027	a	
Low class	-0.025		0.075	* c	-0.010		0.063	* a	
Self-employed	-0.065	*	0.076	* c	-0.065	*	0.065	c	
Other class	-0.043		0.009		-0.025		0.011		
Parents' highbrow participation ( <i>Inactive = ref</i> )	-0.005		0.003		-0.030		0.007		
Parents' lowbrow participation ( <i>Inactive = ref</i> )	0.070	***	-0.075	** c	0.065	***	-0.092	*** c	
Respondents' sex: Men ( <i>Women = ref</i> )	-0.050	**	-0.179	*** c	-0.040	*	-0.183	*** c	
Respondents' age (z)	0.029	**	0.043	***	0.024	*	0.043	***	
Respondents' education (z)					0.016		-0.010	a	
Respondents' social class ( <i>High = ref</i> )									
Middle class					-0.047	*	-0.020		
Low class					-0.024		0.021		
Self-employed					-0.042		0.087	a	
Other class					-0.036		-0.007		
Respondents' highbrow participation ( <i>Inactive = ref</i> )					0.062	**	0.003	a	
Respondents' lowbrow participation ( <i>Inactive = ref</i> )					0.060	**	0.086	**	

Table 5.3 continues on next page

**Table 5.3** *Continued*

	Model 1			Model 2						
	Foreign		Domestic		Foreign		Domestic			
	<i>B</i>		<i>B</i>		<i>B</i>		<i>B</i>			
<b>Level 1: cultural consumption</b>										
Type of cultural good ( <i>Film = ref</i> )										
Books	-0.303	***	0.255	***	c	-0.308	***	0.259	***	c
Music	-0.274	***	0.454	***	c	-0.274	***	0.453	***	c
<b>Random Part</b>										
Level 2: respondent			0.140					0.136		
Level 1: cultural good			1.034					1.030		
-2*log likelihood:			149470.8					149207.2		

Note: We interacted all independent variables with a variable indicating whether cultural goods were domestic or foreign. The first column for each model shows the main effects for foreign cultural goods and the second column shows the effects for domestic goods, which we calculated by adding the interaction effect to the main effect.  
 Source: LISS data 'Domestic cultural consumption' 2011, *N* cultural consumption = 50,692; *N* resp. = 3,898;  
 \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (differing significantly from zero); <sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$ ; <sup>b</sup>  $p < .01$ ; <sup>c</sup>  $p < .001$  (domestic and foreign differing significantly from each other); *z* = standardised.

The interaction term with age shows that the negative effect of parents' nationalist behaviour on foreign consumption was stronger for older people. The positive effect on domestic consumption was weaker as people were older. The interaction effect did not differ significantly between foreign and domestic consumption.

### Respondents' nationalist attitudes

In Model 2 we add respondents' nationalist attitudes. The more chauvinistic respondents were, the less they consumed foreign cultural goods ( $B = -.059$ ) and the more they consumed domestic cultural goods ( $B = .039$ ). These two effects differed significantly from each other. Cultural patriotism had a positive effect on both foreign cultural consumption ( $B = .017$ ) and domestic cultural consumption ( $B = .083$ ), whereby the effect on domestic cultural consumption was significantly stronger than on foreign consumption. Furthermore, the effect of chauvinism on domestic versus foreign cultural consumption was stronger than the effect of patriotism: the difference between the effect sizes of chauvinism was .098 whereas for cultural patriotism it was .066. This is in line with Hypotheses 3 and 4.

Moreover, after including respondents' nationalist attitudes, the effect of parents' nationalist behaviour on domestic cultural consumption was no longer significant.<sup>6</sup> Sobel tests indicated that the effect of parents' nationalist behaviour is fully mediated by respondents' nationalist attitudes

( $z = 9.172$ ,  $SE = 0.002$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The negative effect of parents' nationalist behaviour on foreign consumption is weaker in Model 2 than in Model 1 and is partially mediated by respondent's nationalist attitudes ( $z = -4.792$ ,  $SE = 0.002$ ,  $p < .001$ ). This is in line with Hypothesis 5.

## 5.5 Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter we have extended the focus of cultural consumption research by examining the distinction between domestic and foreign consumption of films, books and music, a relevant divide in today's globalizing world. Related to propositions and findings that social boundaries are expressed and affirmed by cultural consumption, we examined to what extent nationalist attitudes and behaviours are related to domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. Based on a large sample of Dutch adults, we have demonstrated that parents' nationalist behaviour (e.g. celebrating national holidays) during their children's formative years are related to the respondents' positive national attitudes, which, in turn, are associated with respondents' domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. This suggests the importance of socialisation processes and indicates that national boundaries can be strengthened and national distinctions can be expressed through domestic versus foreign cultural consumption.

Similar to previous studies on parental socialisation of high and lowbrow cultural consumption, parents' cultural socialisation when respondents were in their formative years (i.e. domestic cultural consumption) appears to be relevant for respondents' domestic versus foreign cultural consumption later in life. Contrary to our expectations, parents' domestic cultural consumption was positively related to foreign cultural consumption. Since we had no measurement of parents' foreign cultural consumption next to their domestic consumption, the latter measurement could also be related to parents' general cultural interest. This interpretation is in line with previous research showing that culturally active people are more likely to be engaged in both foreign and domestic culture than the culturally inactive. Yet, the findings also indicate that respondents are socialised with specific domestic (versus foreign) culture on top of a general cultural engagement, as parents' domestic cultural consumption was more strongly related to respondents' domestic than foreign cultural consumption. This transmission of national cultural consumption might be related to the idea of resistance against cultural globalisation which could have implications for the persistence of national culture. In addition, previous research has been argued that higher social strata convey a cosmopolitan cultural orientation by consuming foreign cultural goods, differentiating themselves from lower social strata (Hannerz, 2005; Prieur *et al.*, 2008). Our findings imply that parents transmit cosmopolitanism taste and knowledge to their children as well, which might create distinctions between social strata. With respect to parents' cultural and national socialisation we have to take into account that similarities in parents' and children's tastes or attitudes might

alternatively be the result of similar neighbourhoods, peer groups or other social milieus that have affected both parents and children. Future studies could try to disentangle socialisation and these alternate mechanisms.

We asked respondents after their parents' domestic cultural consumption and nationalist behaviours, using retrospective questions. This is common practice in research on parental socialisation of cultural consumption. A drawback is that respondents' recollection might not be accurate. Yet, we have used concrete, visible behaviours, which can be remembered more easily than parents' beliefs and attitudes. Furthermore, parents' nationalist behaviours were not merely based on respondents' own nationalist attitudes (low correlations and loading on different factors). Nevertheless, for future research it would be interesting to analyse longitudinal data rather than retrospective questions and to include parents as well to better distinguish between parents' domestic versus foreign consumption and between their chauvinistic and patriotic attitudes.

Adding to the debate on the influence of parental socialisation over the life course, we have shown that the effects of parental socialisation on domestic consumption were weaker as people are older (divergence). This is in line with the idea that the effect of parental socialisation might diminish over time as parent-child contact diminishes and significant others (e.g. peers, partners) become more important (e.g. Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1997). On the other hand, the effects of parental socialisation on foreign cultural consumption were stronger for older people (convergence). An explanation for these contradictory findings is not straightforward, but we suspect that the difference in foreign cultural supply across age cohorts plays a role here. Younger cohorts might be less influenced by their parents in their choice for foreign cultural goods than older cohorts, because the former have more easy and independent access to these goods via new media (e.g. music channels on TV or the Internet) than the latter. Most of the existing research on the role of the parents in cultural consumption did not test whether it is stable over age cohorts, or only focused on younger age groups (e.g. Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002). Our findings suggest that it is important to examine the continuing parental influence. Since we were not able to consider current relationships with parents, future research should try to examine whether the formative years have a continuing influence independent of current relationship characteristics.

Regarding the respondents' nationalist attitudes, patriotism was positively related to foreign cultural consumption, unlike we anticipated. Our measurement of patriotism only concerns pride in *cultural* aspects (i.e. national history, sports, arts and literature). This might be related to a general interest in culture, influencing cultural consumption regardless of whether it is domestic or foreign. Chauvinism was negatively related to foreign cultural consumption. This indicates that intergroup comparisons between the own nation and foreign nations might be expressed through the consumption of domestic films, books and music versus foreign alternatives, marking national boundaries. Respondents' nationalist attitudes were also associated to perceived parental

national behaviour. This is one of the few empirical studies that suggests that national attitudes and behaviours can be transmitted from parents to children (among majority members), similar to the role of parents' ethnic/racial socialisation in identity development and ethnic/racial attitudes and behaviours (among ethnic minorities) (Hughes *et al.*, 2006). National socialisation may have positive functions for the cohesion and solidarity in society but might also create relatively strong group distinctions between nations. Our research suggests that domestic cultural consumption may play an important role in marking national boundaries and therefore deserves attention in research on nationalism and international relations.

## 5.6 Notes

- 1 Most important of the measured determinants: mother's education, father's education and occupation, parental material and cultural resources, number of siblings, and the siblings' birth year, sex, education and cultural consumption.
- 2 We acknowledge that films, books and music are different types of goods to consume. For instance, reading books is a relatively highbrow pastime compared to listening to music and watching films (regardless of geographical origin). We chose to examine all three types of cultural goods in one multivariate model as we do not formulate specific hypotheses regarding differences between cultural goods. Moreover, additional analyses showed that the relationships between our independent variables and the consumption of either films, books or music did not vary much across the different types of cultural goods.
- 3 The Dutch Remembrance Day honours all killed - civilians and military - in the Netherlands or abroad since the outbreak of World War II, during war or peace operations. The Dutch Liberation Day celebrates the fact that "we in the Netherlands, since 1945, live in freedom" and "focus on the importance of freedom and the necessity to combat servitude" (National Committee for 4 and 5 May, [www.4en5mei.nl](http://www.4en5mei.nl)). In addition, The Netherlands observes Queen's Day, celebrating the Dutch Monarchy. Orange is considered the national colour.
- 4 The (relatively many) missing values on respondent's social class were completed with information from the 'Work and schooling' questionnaire from the LISS Core Study (wave 4, 2011) about people's current profession (self-reported). This variable consisted of categories similar to the adjusted EGP class scheme.
- 5 When one of the parents was self-employed, we took the father's social class as representing parents' social class, being likely to be the main provider of the family.
- 6 We estimated a separate model which controlled for respondents' education, social class and highbrow and lowbrow participation without nationalist attitudes. Here the effect of parents' nationalist behaviour on domestic cultural consumption was still significant.



# CHAPTER 6

## **Manifestations of nationalist attitudes: Domestic music listening, participation in national celebrations, and far right voting\***

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## **Abstract**

In this chapter, we aim to develop an understanding of the behavioural manifestations of nationalism. Building on social identity theory and ethnic competition theory, we examine to what extent nationalist attitudes and perceived cultural ethnic threat are related to domestic music listening, participating in national celebrations and commemorations and voting for far right parties. We use data from the Social and Cultural Developments in The Netherlands surveys (SOCON, wave 2007). We find that the stronger one's nationalist attitudes and perceived cultural ethnic threat, the more likely one is to listen to domestic music. With regard to participation in national celebrations and commemorations, only nationalist attitudes have a positive effect, which seems to be mainly driven by feelings of national pride. With respect to voting for far right parties, perceived cultural ethnic threat is most important, whereas nationalist attitudes hardly affect far right voting.

## 6.1 Introduction

In today's strongly globalised world, nations remain one of the pre-eminent entities around which identity is shaped (Edensor, 2002). Nationalist attitudes, seen as an outcome of a stronger attachment to or identification with the nation, have even increased over time in various countries (Davidov, 2011). Following Dekker *et al.* (2003), we view nationalism as individuals' positive attitudes towards the nation, comprising feelings of pride in one's people and country (national pride) and feelings that one's people and country are superior to others (national superiority).<sup>1</sup> Such favourable attitudes towards the national in-group "create bonds of solidarity among all members [...] and provide the motivation for being a good group member" (Li and Brewer, 2004, p. 727). Previous research has shown that nationalist attitudes are linked to various attitudinal outcomes, and (less often) to behavioural outcomes (e.g. Fox, 2006; Fox and Miller-Idriss, 2008; Mudde, 2007; Turner, 2006). Focusing on the relation between nationalist attitudes and (a) listening to domestic music; (b) participation in national celebrations, and (c) far right voting, the current chapter is one of the few quantitative studies examining empirically behavioural manifestations of nationalist attitudes. Moreover, it is one of the few behavioural manifestations' studies also paying attention to various dimensions of nationalism and their (possible) differential effects.

Positive attitudes towards the ethnic in-group are related to negative out-group attitudes, a phenomenon called ethnocentrism (Blank and Schmidt, 2003; Coenders and Scheepers, 2004; Sumner, 1906). However, in-group attachment does not necessarily induce negative feelings towards out-groups (Brewer, 1999; Brown, 2000), indicating that nationalist attitudes and unfavourable out-group attitudes can be distinguished theoretically and empirically (Coenders and Scheepers, 2004). Perceptions of ethnic threat are related to negative reactions to out-groups (Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders, 2002) and to marking in-group (versus out-group) boundaries. There is however little empirical research which tests (simultaneously) the extent to which either nationalist attitudes or perceptions of ethnic threat affect behaviour with a reference to the nation.

Participation in national celebrations and commemorations, or in supporting international sporting competitions, is argued to be associated with nationalism (Edensor, 2002; Fox, 2006; Fox and Miller-Idriss, 2008; Turner, 2006). According to Fox (2006, p. 218), these events are "key sites for the collective experience and articulation of the imagined community of the nation". Far right parties emphasise the protection of national identity and culture from foreign influences, and voting for these parties is theoretically related to nationalist attitudes (Mudde, 2007). Next to these two more formal, routinized forms of national engagement, we are in the unique position to have data on national engagement in everyday life as well, i.e. listening to domestic music. Several authors have called attention to more commonplace expressions of nationalist attitudes (Billig, 1995; Edensor, 2002) such as through consumption. Consumption of cultural goods, especially music, can be used to mark group boundaries and express social position (Bourdieu, 1984) and can serve as a symbol for

(national) identity (Edensor, 2002; UNESCO, 2009). By innovatively studying three forms of behaviour, we are able to examine to what extent nationalist attitudes are manifested in different expressions in a similar way. Our research question is as follows:

*1) To what extent are nationalist attitudes and perceived ethnic threat related to listening to domestic music, participation in national celebrations and commemorations, and voting for far right parties?*

## 6.2 Theories

### Nationalist attitudes

According to social identity theory, individuals strive for a positive social identity, derived from the groups to which they belong (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Taylor and Moghaddam, 1994). By comparing the in-group with relevant out-groups, the relative status and value of one's own group is determined. A positive social identity is thus largely established through favourable comparisons between one's own group and other relevant groups. Consequently, individuals selectively perceive mainly positive characteristics among members of their own group, inducing a positive attitude towards their own group.

The nation is argued to contribute to people's identity, also because people are socialised in it from early childhood (Mummendey *et al.*, 2001). The evaluation of one's country thus contributes to the development of one's self-concept. In line with social identity theory, we can assume that those identifying more strongly with their nation are more inclined to strive for a positive evaluation of their country in comparison to other nations. Consequently, to ensure a positive self-identity, people are more inclined to positively discriminate towards the nation, inducing nationalist attitudes, such as feelings of national pride or national superiority (Coenders *et al.*, 2004; Druckman, 1994; Verkuyten, 2005).

According to Brown (2000, p. 747), "It is by now a common-place that group members are prone to think that their own group (and its products) are superior to other groups (and theirs), and to be rather ready behaviourally to discriminate between them as well". The theory of planned behaviour aims to predict behaviour from attitudes and explains the process through which the two are linked (Ajzen, 1991). In line with this theory, it can be argued that – in the absence of perceived social pressure that could refrain people from revealing their nationalist attitudes and expressing them through behaviour (subjective norm), and in the absence of constraints by lack of opportunities or resources (perceived behavioural control) – positive attitudes towards the nation promote various behavioural patterns towards the nation.

Several studies have suggested that individuals seek to strengthen and/or express their national identity through consumption (Edensor, 2002; Verlegh, 2007). "Consumers don't simply buy national

commodities; they constitute national sensibilities, embody national pride, [and] negotiate national meanings" (Fox and Miller-Idriss, 2008, p. 551). The few empirical studies in this field have indeed shown that nationalist attitudes affect the preference for national products over foreign products (e.g. Balabanis *et al.*, 2001; Bekhuis, Meuleman and Lubbers, 2013; Meuleman *et al.*, 2013; Sharma *et al.*, 1995). We therefore expect that people's nationalist attitudes shape their (national) consumption, and specifically, their (domestic) music consumption because cultural goods can be considered as benchmarks of national identity (Edensor, 2002; UNESCO, 2009; Verlegh, 2007).<sup>2</sup>

Previous research on (other) expressions of nationalism through behaviour argues that instituted national celebrations and commemorations strengthen the 'we-feeling' among residents (Fox and Miller-Idriss, 2008; Turner, 2006). Fox (2006, p. 217) has suggested that national celebrations such as national holiday commemorations and international sporting competitions are "an important venue for the propagation of national and sometimes nationalist, sensitivities". Nevertheless, there are few quantitative studies examining this relation empirically.

Nationalist attitudes are also related to voting for far right and radical right-wing parties (Mudde, 2007). The nationalist ideologies of far right parties emphasise protecting national identity, which caters to people with nationalist attitudes. Surprisingly, the majority of empirical studies on far right-wing voting do not include measurements of nationalism. Two recent studies are an exception: Billiet and De Witte (2008) found a positive relation between (Flemish) nationalism and voting for the 'Vlaams Blok' and Lubbers, Scheepers and Jaspers (2009) found a bivariate positive relation between nationalism and voting for the far right in The Netherlands. We expect the following:

*H1: The stronger one's nationalist attitudes, the more likely one is to listen to domestic music (H1a), participate in national celebrations and commemorations (H1b), and vote for a far right party (H1c).*

### **Dimensions of nationalist attitudes**

Previous research has made a distinction between various dimensions of nationalist attitudes (e.g. Blank and Schmidt, 2003; Coenders *et al.*, 2004; Davidov, 2011; Dekker *et al.*, 2003; Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989). A distinction can be made between love for and pride of one's national in-group and country, labelled national pride (Dekker *et al.*, 2003), and the assessment of uniqueness and superiority of one's national in-group, labelled national superiority (Dekker *et al.*, 2003).

Because both dimensions assume positive in-group differentiation, we expect both to be positively related to consuming domestic music, participating in national celebrations and commemorations, and far right voting. Nevertheless, national superiority can be considered a more aggressive dimension of nationalist attitudes than national pride as it includes forms of inter-group comparison (Dekker *et al.*, 2003). Previous research has shown that feelings of national superiority

were more strongly related to various outcomes such as ethnic exclusionism (e.g. Coenders and Scheepers, 2004; Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989). We expect the following:

*H2: The stronger one's feelings of national pride and superiority, the more likely one is to listen to domestic music (H2a), participate in national celebrations and commemorations (H2b), and vote for a far right party (H2c).*

*H3: The relationship between national superiority and listening to domestic music (H3a), participating in national celebrations (H3b), and voting for a far right party (H3c) is stronger than the relationship between national pride and listening to domestic music, participating in national celebrations and voting for a far right party.*

### **Education and social class**

People can derive a positive social identity from their national group membership, but as all citizens are socialised in the nation, this begs the questions why people differ in their nationalist attitudes. In accordance with social identity theory, lower educated people and people from lower social classes could have a stronger need to positively distinguish the national group because their need for a positive self-concept will be less likely met by in-group comparisons on the basis of their (lower) socio-economic standing. Consequently, to ensure a positive self-identity, lower social strata are more inclined to positively discriminate towards the nation, inducing nationalist attitudes (Coenders *et al.*, 2004), which in turn will induce listening to domestic music, national celebration participation, and far right voting.

*H4: Nationalist attitudes will partially mediate the effect of education and social class on listening to domestic music (H4a), participating in national celebrations and commemorations (H4b), and voting for far right parties (H4c).*

### **Perceived cultural ethnic threat**

Although we expect all three behaviours to be related to nationalism, previous research has shown that far right voting is mainly an expression of perceived ethnic threat (Ivaresflaten, 2008; Rydgren, 2008). However, these claims are made in the absence of measures of nationalism. The few studies on voting behaviour including both sides of ethnocentrism, e.g. Billiet and De Witte (2008) and Lubbers *et al.* (2009), provide evidence that nationalism is less relevant than perceived ethnic threat.

According to ethnic competition theory, inter-group competition leads to more internal cohesion, solidarity and feelings of superiority among in-group members (in-group favouritism) and more unfavourable attitudes towards members of ethnic out-groups because these groups compete over scarce goods (such as status, power, or privilege) (Sherif and Sherif, 1969). Empirically, it is shown

that the more an ethnic out-group is perceived as a threat to the in-group, the more likely people are to respond with negative out-group reactions (e.g. Scheepers *et al.*, 2002; Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior, 2004) and, we derive, the more likely they are to mark in-group versus out-group boundaries, also through behaviour. Recent research has furthermore shown that people particularly react when they perceive a threat to their culture, as people are likely to define differences between ethnic groups and nations mainly in terms of cultural differences and less in terms of economic differences (Sniderman *et al.*, 2004). Hence, we expect the following:

*H5: The stronger one perceives cultural ethnic threat, the more likely one is to listen to domestic music (H5a), to participate in national celebrations and commemorations (H5b), and to vote for a far right party (H5c).*

### 6.3 Data and measurements

#### Data

Data were derived from the Social and Cultural Developments in The Netherlands surveys SOCON, survey wave 2007-2008). This survey covers a wide range of social issues, such as views about work, education, marriage and family, ethnocentrism, and health. The 2007-2008 survey is of interest because it includes questions about respondents' music listening behaviour as well as information on participation in national celebrations or commemorations and far right voting ( $N = 1,299$ ). The data are collected among respondents who participated earlier (in 1990, 2000, or 2005) in a representative SOCON survey.<sup>3</sup> Our analyses are based on the 2007-2008 survey wave only, as the questions about music listening behaviour and participation in national celebrations were not included in previous waves. Because the data are a follow-up of the three previous waves and participants have aged since their first participation, the youngest age category is missing from our data set. This is a sampling issue rather than an issue of underrepresentation (no new participants of the youngest age category were added to the follow-up). The lowest educated were underrepresented; therefore, we weighed our data according to educational level.

#### Dependent variables

##### *Listening to domestic music*

To examine which music artists people most like to listen to, we used two open questions. The first asked respondents which three artists they most liked to listen to in 2007, the second asked them to name three artists they most listened to in their teenage years. This leaves us with the names of six

artists maximally and one artist minimally per respondent (people who did not mention any artists were excluded from our analyses, which equals 15 per cent). Three-quarters of the people mentioned five or six artists (13 and 62 per cent, respectively). Only 3 per cent of the respondents mentioned one artist. Although we do not know how often respondents listen to these artists, we expect that this measure goes beyond a passive preference.

We used online databases to assign the artists' country of residence (i.e. citizenship). For Dutch artists, we used the music encyclopaedia from the Music Centre of the Netherlands' ([www.muzyiekencyclopedie.nl](http://www.muzyiekencyclopedie.nl)). For foreign artists, we used the artists' official website and [www.last.fm](http://www.last.fm). In total, 27 per cent of the mentioned artists were Dutch residents. The foreign artists mentioned mainly reside in Great Britain (28 per cent), the United States (26 per cent), and other European countries (15 per cent). We created categorical variables for each mentioned artist (maximally six, minimally one per respondent), which measure people's domestic music consumption. For each of these variables, 0 refers to 'listening to a foreign artist' and 1 refers to 'listening to a domestic artist'<sup>4</sup>. We restructured our data set by nesting these variables as cases within the respondents. Accordingly, our data are characterised by a hierarchic two-level structure, with favoured artists (level 1;  $N = 5,317$ ) nested in respondents (level 2;  $N = 1,041$ ).

### ***Participating in national celebrations and commemorations***

To examine the extent to which people participate in national celebrations and commemorations, we used five items, which we coded as dichotomous variables for comparability with the (dichotomous) measurements of listening to domestic music. Firstly, people were asked whether they own a Dutch flag (58.1 per cent owns the Dutch flag, coded '1'). Secondly, people were asked how often during the past 5 years they had hung the Dutch flag on 5 May, Liberation Day (30.4 per cent, 4-5 times, coded '1'). Thirdly, people were asked how often during the past 5 years they had observed a two-minute silence on Remembrance Day (4 May), a day that commemorates all civilians and members of the armed forces of the Netherlands who have died during wars or peacekeeping missions since the outbreak of World War II (70.7 per cent, 4-5 times, coded '1'). Fourthly, people were asked how often during the past 5 years they had watched the Queen's visit on Queen's Day (April 30), a day celebrating the birthday of the Queen of the Netherlands (41.7 per cent, 4-5 times, coded '1'). Lastly, people were asked how often during the last 5 years they had used orange decorations or worn orange clothing on Queen's Day or international championships (11.5 per cent, often or always, coded '1').<sup>5</sup>

We nested the mentioned various types of participation in national celebrations and commemorations as cases within respondents (similarly to mentioned music artists nested within respondents), creating a hierarchic two-level structure, with mentioned types of participation (level 1;  $N = 5,205$ ) nested in respondents (level 2;  $N = 1,041$ ).

### ***Voting for far right parties***

Voting for far right parties was measured by examining which national political party respondents would vote for if parliamentary elections were held on that day. Although the 'Party for Freedom' (PVV) from Geert Wilders is the only Dutch political party on the far right that is currently represented in parliament; at the time of data collection in 2007, it was fiercely competing with the political party 'Proud of the Netherlands' (TON), which also emphasised the protection of Dutch identity and the assimilation of minorities and migrants. Lubbers *et al.* (2009) show that explanations for the preference for the PVV and TON strongly resemble explanatory models used to predict radical right party preferences, and that there is a high degree of continuity between voters of the TON and PVV and former Dutch far right-wing parties. Based on this, we coded the intention to vote for TON (10 per cent) and PVV (4 per cent) if parliamentary elections were held on that day as 1 'voting for a far right party' versus 0 'not voting for a far right party' (1 level; respondents;  $N = 1,041$ ).

### **Independent variables**

We used three items to measure people's *nationalist attitudes*: 'In general, the Netherlands is a better country than most other countries', 'I am proud to be Dutch' and 'Dutch people should be more proud of their national identity', ranging from 1 'totally disagree' to 5 'totally agree'. Exploratory factor analysis (also including items on perceived cultural ethnic threat) has shown that these items load on one factor, which we interpret as nationalist attitudes (Cronbach's alpha is 0.624). We calculated the mean score on the items for all the respondents who at least answered two of the questions: 59 per cent of the respondents (mostly) agree (score  $\geq 3.5$ ).

Contrary to the results of the factor analysis, previous research has theoretically and empirically shown a distinction between feelings of national pride and national superiority as separate dimensions of nationalist attitudes (e.g. Coenders *et al.*, 2004). In line with this field of research, we conceptually distinguish between national pride and national superiority to examine to what extent the effect of nationalist attitudes can be attributed to either one of the sentiments, and to what extent the strength and significance of these two dimensions of nationalist attitudes differ for the dependent variables under study. Based on previous research, we measure national pride with the latter two items and national superiority with the first item. The correlation between national pride and national superiority is 0.310.

To measure *perceived cultural ethnic threat*, we used the following items: 'The arrival of ethnic minorities to the Netherlands is a threat to our culture', 'I am sometimes afraid that typical Dutch habits will be lost', and 'The arrival of ethnic minorities to the Netherlands is a threat to the rights of women and homosexuals', ranging from 1 'totally disagree' to 5 'totally agree'. Exploratory factor analysis showed that these three items load on a different factor than the items on nationalist attitudes, meaning that perceived cultural ethnic threat can empirically be distinguished from

nationalist attitudes. We calculated the mean score on these three items for all the respondents who at least answered two of the questions (Cronbach's alpha is 0.809): 31 per cent of the respondents (mostly) agree (score  $\geq 3.3$ ). The correlations between perceived cultural ethnic threat and national superiority and national pride are 0.057 (not significant) and 0.285, respectively.

*Educational level* is measured by the highest completed educational level ranging from people who completed no education to people who attained a university or postgraduate degree. Regarding *social class*, we coded the International Standard Classification of Occupations scores (ISCO '88) into the adjusted version of the Erikson, Goldthorpe, and Portocarero (EGP) class scheme (Erikson *et al.*, 1979) according to Güveli *et al.* (2007), as this adjusted scheme also captures new social class cleavages in post-industrial societies. For a parsimonious model, we combined high-grade and low-grade professionals into one category: the 'higher class'. The 'middle class' consists of routine non-manuals and lower service sales employees. Manual supervisors, skilled manual workers, and semi-unskilled manual workers were combined into the category 'lower class'. We included a separate category for self-employed workers. Finally, the fifth category consists of people outside the labour market, and unclassifiable social classes.

*Church membership, church attendance, sex, age, ethnicity, and sampling year* were included as control variables. Respondents were defined as natives when they and both of their parents were born in the Netherlands. This is a commonly used definition in the Netherlands, based on Statistics Netherlands ([www.cbs.nl](http://www.cbs.nl)). We deleted 66 respondents listwise (5 per cent) because they had missing values on one of the (in)dependent variables besides listening to music, resulting in a total number of respondents of 1,041 for all models. Table 6.1 shows the weighted mean, standard deviation, and the minimum and maximum values of the above defined variables. In the analyses, nationalist attitudes, perceived cultural ethnic threat, educational level, church attendance, and age were mean centred for more meaningful interpretations.

## Methods

Because we created dichotomous dependent variables, we had to take into account that the model was not normally distributed and that the assumptions of homoscedasticity and linearity were violated. We therefore performed (multilevel) logistic regression analyses in MLwiN. With regard to the analyses on listening to domestic music and participating in national celebrations, the data are characterised by a hierarchic two-level structure with favoured artists (level 1;  $N = 5,317$ ) and mentioned types of national participation (level 1;  $N = 5,205$ ) nested in respondents (level 2;  $N = 1,041$ ). We therefore performed multilevel analyses on these two dependent variables.

**Table 6.1** Descriptive statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
Domestic music listening					
Respondents	1,041				
Mentioned artists	5,317	0	1	0.283	0.450
Participation in national celebrations and commemorations					
Respondents	1,041				
Various types of participation	5,205	0	1	0.423	0.494
Voting for far right parties	1,041	0	1	0.150	0.357
Nationalist attitudes					
National superiority	1,041	1	5	3.260	0.563
National pride	1,041	1	5	2.951	0.611
	1,041	1	5	3.722	0.721
Perceived cultural threat	1,041	1	5	3.012	0.996
Educational level respondent	1,041	1	10	6.182	2.723
Social class respondent					
Higher class	1,041	0	1	0.452	0.498
Middle class	1,041	0	1	0.210	0.408
Lower class	1,041	0	1	0.155	0.362
Self-employed	1,041	0	1	0.056	0.230
Other	1,041	0	1	0.127	0.333
Male	1,041	0	1	0.488	0.500
Age	1,041	20	87	53.877	11.791
Native	1,041	0	1	0.936	0.244
Church member	1,041	0	1	0.474	0.500
Church attendance	1,041	0	4	0.792	1.059

Source: SOCON '07/'08, weighted data.

## 6.4 Results

Firstly, we examined the associations between our dependent variables. Listening to domestic music and participating in national celebrations and commemorations are positively related, but these two behaviours are not significantly related to voting for far right parties PVV and TON.<sup>6</sup> Tables 6.2 to 6.4 show the results for the (multilevel) logistic regression analysis for listening to domestic music, participating in national celebrations and commemorations, and voting for far right parties, respectively.<sup>7</sup>

## Listening to domestic music

*Model 1*, Table 6.2, shows the unmediated effects of education and social class. We find that the higher one's educational level, the less likely one is to listen to domestic music ( $B = -.096$ ). With regard to social class, we see that the middle and lower classes are more likely to listen to domestic music than the higher classes. We control for sex, age, ethnicity, church membership, church attendance, current versus past favourite artists, and sampling year.<sup>8</sup> We see that older people, natives, and church members are more likely to listen to domestic music than younger people, non-natives, and people who are not church members.

In *Model 2*, we examine the effect of nationalist attitudes on listening to domestic music. The stronger one's nationalist attitudes, the more likely one is to listen to domestic artists versus listening to foreign artists ( $B = .260$ ). This supports Hypothesis 1a. Moreover, the effect of education is partially mediated by nationalist attitudes, but the effects of social class are not. This is only partly in line with Hypothesis 4a.

In *Model 3*, we see that the stronger one perceives cultural ethnic threat, the more likely one is to listen to domestic music ( $B = .227$ ). This supports Hypothesis 5a. The positive effect of nationalist attitudes remains significant.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, in *Model 4*, we examine the effect of the different dimensions of nationalist attitudes. The stronger one's national pride, the more likely one is to listen to domestic music ( $B = 0.309$ ). One's feelings of national superiority do not affect the likelihood of listening to domestic music. This is partially in line with Hypothesis 2a, but rejects Hypothesis 3a.

## Participating in national celebrations and commemorations

In *Model 1*, Table 6.3, we see that the higher the completed educational level, the more likely one is to participate in national celebrations and commemorations ( $B = .036$ ).<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the middle classes are more likely to participate in national celebrations and commemorations than higher classes ( $B = .215$ ), whereas the lower classes do not significantly differ in their participation from higher classes. We control for sex, age, ethnicity, church membership, church attendance, and sampling year. The older one is, and the more often one attends church, the more likely one is to participate in national celebrations and commemorations. Additionally, women are more likely to participate than men.<sup>11</sup>

With regard to the effect of nationalist attitudes, we find that the stronger one's nationalist attitudes, the more likely one is to participate in national celebrations and commemorations ( $B = .376$ , *Model 2*). This supports Hypothesis 1b. The effects of education and social class are stronger after controlling for nationalist attitudes. Furthermore, given the positive effect of education on participation in national celebrations and the finding that middle classes are most likely to participate, we have to refute the idea of mediation for this expression (Hypothesis 4b).

**Table 6.2** Multilevel logistic regression analysis on the likelihood to listen to domestic music

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	B	SE		B	SE		B	SE		B	SE	
Constant	-2.202	***		-2.156	***		-2.118	***		-2.066	***	
Nationalist attitudes												
National superiority												
National pride				0.260	**		0.185	*		-0.125		0.069
Perceived cultural threat							0.227	***		0.204	***	0.060
Education												
Education				-0.087	***		-0.067	**		-0.064	*	0.025
Social class (high=ref)												
Middle class				0.557	***		0.571	***		0.562	***	0.160
Lower class				0.726	***		0.691	***		0.658	***	0.199
Self-employed				0.154			0.108			0.073		0.268
Other				0.480	**		0.450	*		0.446	*	0.178
Male				-0.196			-0.239			-0.220		0.126
Age				0.026	***		0.025	***		0.024	***	0.006
Natives				0.850	***		0.827	***		0.764	***	0.228
Church member				0.492	***		0.481	***		0.460	***	0.136
Church attendance				0.030			0.046			0.046		0.068
Teen years (favourite artists)				-1.110	***		-1.111	***		-1.110	***	0.087
Sampling 2000				0.369	*		0.332	*		0.332	*	0.142
Sampling 2005				0.224			0.187			0.191		0.137
Random-effects parameters												
Respondent, Level 2	1.363	***	0.104	1.355	***	0.103	1.316	***	0.101	1.281	***	0.099
-2 Log likelihood	3858.264			3836.407			3831.793			3818.547		

Source: SOCON '07/08, weighted data,  $N$  artists = 5,317;  $N$  resp. = 1,041; \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table 6.3** Multilevel logistic regression analysis on the likelihood to participate in national celebrations and commemorations

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	B	SE		B	SE		B	SE		B	SE	
Constant	-0.357	*	0.165	-0.290	0.161		-0.277	0.161		-0.239	0.162	
Nationalist attitudes												
National superiority				0.376	***		0.359	***		-0.047	0.043	
National pride										0.403	***	
Perceived cultural threat							0.053	0.039		0.032	0.039	
Education	0.036	*	0.015	0.050	***		0.055	***		0.057	***	
Social class (high=ref)												
Middle class	0.215	*	0.105	0.216	*		0.219	*		0.211	*	
Lower class	0.072		0.129	0.097	0.126		0.085	0.127		0.062	0.124	
Self-employed	-0.012		0.157	-0.015	0.144		-0.018	0.144		-0.053	0.146	
Other	0.027		0.119	0.016	0.118		0.011	0.119		0.009	0.116	
Male	-0.188	*	0.076	-0.217	**		-0.221	**		-0.203	**	
Age	0.014	***	0.003	0.012	***		0.012	***		0.012	***	
Natives	0.164		0.143	0.142	0.137		0.136	0.138		0.097	0.138	
Church member	0.125		0.089	0.109	0.087		0.106	0.087		0.088	0.087	
Church attendance	0.239	***	0.042	0.236	***		0.240	***		0.238	***	
Sampling 2000	-0.208	*	0.091	-0.255	**		-0.257	**		-0.252	**	
Sampling 2005	-0.280	***	0.082	-0.322	***		-0.325	***		-0.323	***	
Random-effects parameters												
Respondent, Level 2	0.278	***	0.037	0.245	***		0.242	***		0.232	***	
-2 Log likelihood	7138.261			7078.598			7076.045			7052.52		

Source: SOCON '07/08, weighted data, N types of participation = 5,205; N resp. = 1,041; \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

Perceived cultural ethnic threat is added in *Model 3*. We do not find a significant effect of perceived cultural ethnic threat on the participation in national celebrations and commemorations. This refutes Hypothesis 5b.

Finally, we examine the different dimensions of nationalist attitudes. The stronger people's national pride, the more likely they are to participate in national celebrations and commemorations ( $B = .403$ ). Conversely, feelings of national superiority do not have a significant effect on participation in national celebrations and commemorations. These findings only partially support Hypothesis 2b and refute Hypothesis 3b.

### Voting for far right parties

*Model 1*, Table 6.4, shows the effects of education and social class on voting for far right parties. As people have obtained a higher educational level, they are less likely to vote for a far right party such as PVV or TON ( $B = -.178$ ). With respect to social class, we do not find significant differences between social classes in the likelihood of voting for a far right party. Again, we control for sex, age, ethnicity, church membership, church attendance, and sampling year. Older people and women are less likely to vote for a far right party than younger people and men (*Model 3* and 4). Also, the more often one attends church, the less likely one is to vote for a far right party.

In *Model 2*, we find a positive effect of nationalist attitudes on far right voting, but it does not reach significance ( $B = .286$ ) (The effect is significant at  $p < 0.1$ ). This is not in line with Hypothesis 1c.<sup>12</sup> In addition, we find that the effect of education is hardly mediated by nationalist attitudes, which contradicts Hypothesis 4c.

In *Model 3* we find a strong significant positive effect of perceived cultural ethnic threat ( $B = 1.203$ ). The stronger one perceives cultural ethnic threat, the more likely one is to vote for a far right party, which supports Hypothesis 5c.

When we examine the effects of national pride and national superiority as separate dimensions of nationalist attitudes in *Model 4*, alongside the influence of perceived cultural ethnic threat, we find that the stronger one's feelings of national superiority, the less likely one is to vote for a far right party ( $B = -.328$ ). National pride does not have a significant effect on the likelihood to vote for a far right party.<sup>13</sup> This rejects Hypotheses 2c and 3c.

## 6.5 Conclusion and discussion

Our aim with this chapter was to develop an understanding of the behavioural manifestations of nationalism. Building on social identity theory and ethnic competition theory, we examined to what extent nationalist attitudes were related to listening to domestic music, participation in national

**Table 6.4** Logistic regression analysis on the likelihood to vote for far right parties

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	B	SE		B	SE		B	SE		B	SE	
Constant	-2.058	***	0.460	-2.023	***	0.458	-2.531	***	0.500	-2.442	***	0.494
Nationalist attitudes												
National superiority				0.286		0.191	-0.084		0.200			0.127
National pride												0.172
Perceived cultural threat							1.203	***	0.141			0.142
Education												
Social class (high=ref)												0.050
Middle class	0.039		0.300	0.039		0.300	0.311		0.319			0.319
Lower class	-0.072		0.333	-0.059		0.332	-0.375		0.360			0.364
Self-employed	-0.010		0.454	-0.012		0.456	-0.151		0.563			0.579
Other	0.201		0.330	0.217		0.328	0.270		0.352			0.348
Male	0.416		0.223	0.399		0.223	0.530	*	0.252			0.256
Age	-0.017		0.009	-0.018	*	0.009	-0.023	*	0.010			0.010
Natives	-0.094		0.373	-0.113		0.366	-0.080		0.382			0.380
Church member	0.092		0.233	0.081		0.232	0.108		0.254			0.258
Church attendance	-0.582	***	0.147	-0.583	***	0.145	-0.564	***	0.159			0.160
Sampling 2000	-0.103		0.248	-0.132		0.249	-0.223		0.273			0.273
Sampling 2005	-0.153		0.235	-0.184		0.240	-0.277		0.262			0.265
-2 Log likelihood			658.119			666.032			283.390			278.001

Source: SOCON '07/'08, weighted data,  $N_{resp.} = 1,041$ ; \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

celebrations and commemorations, and voting for far right parties. Furthermore, we examined the role of perceived cultural ethnic threat alongside the role of nationalist attitudes.

Contrary to our expectation that all three behaviours could be seen as an expression of nationalist attitudes, we found that listening to domestic music and participating in national celebrations are positively related to each other but not to voting for a far right party. Nationalist attitudes are not (significantly) positively related to far right voting, whereas listening to domestic music and participation in national celebrations seem to be a manifestation of nationalist attitudes, marking the in-group and establishing in-group cohesion. Specifically, feelings of national pride seem to play a role here. We are aware that listening to domestic music is a part of people's everyday social environment and operates via more subtle, unconscious, and more frequent references to the nation. Where the relation between nationalist attitudes and participation in national commemorations is a rather evident expression of the nation, the relation with listening to domestic music goes to show that nationalist attitudes are (re-)produced in everyday life as well, although it may be subtle or unaware, without inviting critical engagement (Fox and Miller-Idriss, 2008). For future research, it might also be of interest to examine the (nationalist) content of domestic music.

Even though far right-wing programmes feature an essentially nationalist ideology, we found that it is not nationalism that is decisive in voting for the far right, but perceptions of ethnic threat. When examining far right voting and the different dimensions of nationalist attitudes (along with perceived ethnic threat), we found that the more people express feelings of national superiority, the less likely they are to vote for far right parties. We may explain this unexpected finding by the far right parties' depiction of the Netherlands as a less pleasant country to live in than in 'previous better times' (due to the arrival of ethnic minorities), which accommodates the views of 'nostalgic chauvinists' who feel that the Netherlands of today has regressed. The party programme of the Dutch PVV states "The Dutch do not know their equivalents. [...] For centuries our flag waved across all seas, and the [Dutch] tricolour was the symbol for freedom. Of a nation that determined its own destiny. Those times are gone." (PVV, 2012, p. 5, own translation). An alternative explanation could be that people attribute Dutch superiority to the perception of the Netherlands as a tolerant multicultural country with equal rights and treatment for minority groups. This type of national superiority will be negatively related to voting for far right parties, which emphasise (national) protection and exclusion of ethnic minorities. A further disentangling of nationalist attitudes in domains where people express national pride or superiority could provide more insight into the role of nationalism in the differentiated behaviours, e.g. constructive patriotism, with pride in the welfare system and equal treatment of groups, and cultural patriotism, with pride in sports, history, and cultural achievements (see Coenders and Scheepers, 2004; Meuleman *et al.*, 2013).

The relationship between perceived (cultural) ethnic threat and nationalist manifestations other than far right voting is hardly addressed in previous research. We have shown that perceived

cultural ethnic threat is not linked to participation in national celebrations, but it is to domestic music listening. One interpretation could be that music is used as a marker of group boundaries more than national celebrations participation. In far right rhetoric, the consumption of national cultural goods (and music in particular) is put forward as a counter-reaction to cultural threat. For instance, the PVV has initiated a 35 per cent quota for Dutch-language music on public radiobroadcasts. It could be that individuals are also more likely to turn to (national) cultural consumption than other nationalist manifestations to retaliate against cultural threat, especially because this is an individual, accessible, everyday manifestation. Another explanation could be that people are more likely to respond to *cultural* threat with a *cultural* counter-reaction. Finally, with regard to participation in national celebrations, perceived threat could be identified more in connection with other countries or supranational organisations (e.g. the European Union) than with ethnic minorities.

A limitation of this study is that, because of the nature of the data, the youngest age category is missing (between 18 and 20). Nevertheless, corroborating previous research, we find that with age, support for nationalist attitudes increases while support for the far right decreases. Still, we would recommend replicating the study including younger respondents, in which it would also be of interest to investigate the degree to which younger people participate in less institutionalised national celebrations, such as attending pop concerts on Liberation Day and Queen's Day. Equally of interest would be to examine the relevance of the study beyond the context of the Netherlands, including different (foreign) national commemorations and celebrations and comparing between music markets of various countries.

With this chapter, we have empirically shown which behavioural manifestations arise from (different dimensions of) nationalist attitudes and perceived ethnic threat, comparing between national celebrations and commemorations participation and far right voting. Moreover, we have shown that nationalist attitudes as well as perceived ethnic threat can manifest themselves in everyday life by listening to domestic music. Future research could examine the extent to which other mundane and perhaps relatively subtle manifestations, such as (cultural) consumption, are used to increase in-group solidarity, mark group boundaries and exclude out-groups in everyday life.

## 6.6 Notes

- 1 Dekker *et al.* (2003) also distinguish national feeling, liking, preference, and nationalism as parts of nationalist attitudes. However, with our data, we could not distinguish between these.
- 2 In research on ethnic identity, Phinney and Ong (2007) argue for a distinction between participation in cultural practices from identity measures. Nationalist attitudes and domestic cultural consumption are advised to be studied as two distinct concepts.
- 3 In our analyses, we controlled for the sampling year in which respondents earlier participated (wave 1990/2000/2005) by adding two control variables for respondents who participated in 2000 and in 2005 (1990 as reference category).

- 4 We focus on music from domestic artists rather than music being nationalist in content. This is a more severe test of the predicted association than focusing on music with nationalist content only, for which an association with nationalist attitudes seems self-evident. We expect that nationalist attitudes will affect everyday (consumption) behaviour in a broad sense (i.e. not only referring to content directly related to nationalist attitudes).
- 5 Orange is considered the national colour of the Netherlands.
- 6 Controlled for education, social class, and the control variables.
- 7 In line with ethnic competition theory and the expected effect of perceived cultural ethnic threat on the micro level, we also examined the effect of threat on the macro level by including the percentage of ethnic minorities in the municipality in our analysis. We found a negative effect of the percentage of ethnic minorities on listening to domestic music and participation in national celebrations. For far right-wing voting, we did not find a significant effect.
- 8 Respondents were asked which three artists they most liked to listen to in 2007, and which three artists they most listened to at 15 years of age.
- 9 We tested for interactions between (dimensions of) nationalist attitudes and perceived cultural ethnic threat. We did not find significant interaction effects, with the exception of an interaction between nationalist attitudes and perceived cultural ethnic threat for far right voting.
- 10 The positive effect of education could be explained by the work of Gellner (1983), who argued that nationals are brought up with nationalist sentiments through the educational system. The question remains to what extent this explanation fits the Netherlands, as the national anthem is not sung nor is the national flag hung on a regular basis in schools, although it might apply to participation in Remembrance Day.
- 11 Although additional analyses on each form of participation separately show some minor age-, gender-, and education-based differences, all five behaviour types are not significantly related to perceived ethnic threat and positively related to nationalist attitudes (the only exception is participation in Remembrance Day where nationalist attitudes show a positive effect almost reaching significance).
- 12 Additional analyses do show that nationalist attitudes are positively related to voting for central right parties [Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) and People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)].
- 13 When we exclude perceived cultural ethnic threat from the model, we find a positive effect of national pride on voting far right parties ( $B = .561$ ) (National superiority,  $B = -.294$ ).



**CHAPTER**

**7**

**Conclusion and discussion**

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## 7.1 Research aims

This dissertation addressed people's domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. In many countries, including the Netherlands which is the main focus of this dissertation, a large share of the cultural goods people consume originates from foreign cultures. However, in contrast with increasing economic interdependencies and growing flows of foreign imports, providing alternatives to domestically produced goods and culture, domestic music artists have become increasingly popular since the late 1980s in the Netherlands and other Western countries (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011; Frith, 2004; Hitters and Van de Kamp, 2010; Wolther, 2008). Though research has examined the popularity of domestic culture at a macro level, it is largely unknown to what extent the distinction between domestic and foreign culture is relevant in the cultural consumption of individuals, which groups are more likely to consume domestic culture and why.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, this dissertation studied the extent to which the music people listen to, the books people read and the films people watch originate from the country they live in or from abroad, i.e. to what extent people 'consume the nation'. The aim of this dissertation was threefold: (1) to examine the extent to which the distinction between domestic and foreign cultural goods is a separate dimension of cultural consumption behaviour, (2) to study which groups are likely to consume domestic versus foreign cultural goods, and (3) to examine whether nationalist attitudes play a role in the choice for domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. In the following three paragraphs, the research aims and questions will be recapitulated, followed by an outline of this final chapter.

Firstly, this dissertation studied domestic versus foreign consumption next to other dimensions of cultural consumption. Previous research on cultural consumption has examined various aspects of cultural preferences and consumption behaviours, such as the amount of time people spend on cultural activities, preferences for high- and lowbrow genres, and omnivorous and univorous tastes (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2007; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Katz-Gerro, 1999, 2002; Kraaykamp *et al.*, 2007; Peterson and Simkus, 1992). Individuals' domestic versus foreign cultural consumption behaviour has hardly been examined empirically. Consequently, it is largely unknown whether and to what extent people distinguish between domestic and foreign cultural goods in their consumption behaviour. This study aimed to show the relevance of the distinction between domestic versus foreign cultural goods as a separate dimension of cultural consumption, next to people's general cultural (dis-)engagement and high- and lowbrow consumption. The first research question was:

*1) To what extent is domestic versus foreign cultural consumption a separate dimension of cultural consumption, compared to people's general cultural (dis-)engagement and high- and lowbrow consumption?*

Secondly, this dissertation studied which groups are more likely to consume domestic versus foreign cultural goods. Social strata, such as different educational groups and social classes, use cultural

consumption to express their social position and mark group boundaries (Bourdieu, 1984). It is argued that higher social strata prefer highbrow or elite cultural consumption, whereas lower social strata prefer lowbrow, popular, mass culture (e.g. DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985; Ganzeboom, 1989; Katz-Gerro, 2002; Kirchberg, 1996; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011). Studies have shown that (parental) educational level and social class are related to cultural consumption (preferences) (e.g. DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Ganzeboom, 1984; Katz-Gerro, 1999, 2002; Kirchberg, 1996; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011; Van Eijck, 1997; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Similar to the distinction in high versus lowbrow consumption, social strata might use their domestic versus foreign consumption to express their social position. Following Bourdieu, previous studies have suggested that higher social strata can distinguish themselves with their openness to foreign cultural experiences as a (new) form of cultural/symbolic capital (Hannerz, 2005; Prieur *et al.*, 2008). It might also be argued that higher social strata could distinguish themselves from lower social strata by refraining from the consumption of domestic goods. Building on these ideas, the present study focused on the social stratification of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption to provide more insights in the extent to which people of different social strata might use domestic versus foreign consumption to distinguish themselves from each other. Next to individuals' own socio-economic position, this dissertation examined the influence of parents' socio-economic status and parents' domestic cultural consumption on individuals' domestic cultural consumption. The second research question was:

*2) To what extent are (parental) education and social class related to domestic cultural consumption?*

The above-mentioned lines of reasoning mainly focus on reasons why higher social strata are more likely to consume foreign cultural goods and/or less likely to consume domestic cultural goods. The question why people would consume domestic cultural goods is more explicitly addressed in the third research question which focuses on the relationship between nationalist attitudes and domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. Although there are few empirical studies on this topic relating to cultural consumption, it is shown that nationalist attitudes and preferences for domestic consumer goods are positively related (e.g. Balabanis *et al.*, 2001; Sharma *et al.*, 1995). Building on this research, this dissertation examined cultural goods instead of consumer goods, various dimensions of nationalist attitudes, and preferences as well as (self-reported) consumption behaviour. In addition, the cross-national comparability of the relationship between nationalist attitudes and domestic cultural consumption preferences was tested. Related to the idea that domestic cultural consumption can be seen as an expression of nationalist attitudes in everyday life, this study also compared it to more formal routinized forms of national engagement (i.e. participation in national celebrations and commemorations and far right voting). Finally, the influence of parents' national socialisation (i.e. nationalist exemplary behaviour) was examined. By building on previous research in multiple ways, this study aimed to provide more insights in the relation between nationalist attitudes and domestic consumption. The findings can contribute to previous studies arguing that

domestic cultural consumption can be used to symbolically mark (national) in-group boundaries and express visible distinctions from (foreign) out-groups (Edensor, 2002, UNESCO, 2009; Verlegh, 2007). The third research question was:

3) *To what extent are (different dimensions of) nationalist attitudes related to domestic cultural consumption?*

In the remainder of this concluding chapter, I will firstly address to what extent the empirical chapters in this dissertation have demonstrated that domestic versus foreign consumption is a separate aspect of cultural consumption. Secondly, the main findings of this dissertation regarding the social stratification of domestic versus foreign consumption will be presented. Thirdly, the relation with nationalist attitudes is addressed. Finally, the contributions of this dissertation to existing research will be discussed together with its limitations and suggestions for future research.

## 7.2 Findings

### Separate dimension

The first empirical chapter of this dissertation relates to the first research question: *To what extent is domestic versus foreign cultural consumption a separate dimension of cultural consumption, compared to people's general cultural (dis-)engagement and high- and lowbrow consumption?*

As data including detailed information on actual consumption behaviour from various geographical areas are rare, especially including other measures of cultural participation, we collected representative data via the Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social sciences panel from the Netherlands (LISS, 2011). People were asked about their participation in various leisure activities (watching TV and DVDs and listening to the radio, visiting the theatre, cabaret shows, classical concerts, dance events, house parties, the cinema, art galleries, museums, pop concerts or musicals) and their consumption of domestic and foreign films, books, and music. The distinction between domestic and foreign cultural goods was assessed with questions in which the origin of the cultural good was predetermined. Respondents were asked about their consumption of 'music from Dutch artists' for instance. By performing multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), a geometric representation of patterns in the data was constructed. Three axes were distinguished. Similar to previous research, the first axis distinguished between people who regularly to often consume culture and people who seldom to never consume culture. The second axis distinguished people who consume highbrow cultural goods from people who consume lowbrow, emerging culture (attending classical concerts, art galleries and museums and reading books versus attending dance and house events, pop concerts, listening to music and the radio, and watching films and DVDs).

Finally, the third axis showed a distinction between people who exclusively consume foreign films, books and music versus people who exclusively consume domestic films and books at the extremes of the axis.<sup>2</sup> The consumption of both foreign and domestic films, books and music was located more towards the centre of the axis, in the middle of the extremes. The disposition towards domestic versus foreign cultural products was linked specifically to the third axis and could be distinguished over and above (dis-)engagement and high- and lowbrow consumption. This indicates that domestic versus foreign cultural consumption is a separate dimension of cultural consumption, providing a basis for Chapters 3 through 6, where the distinction between domestic and foreign music was studied as a separate aspect of cultural consumption.

## Stratification

### *Individuals' educational level and social class*

This paragraph addresses the answers to the second research question of this dissertation: *To what extent are (parental) education and social class related to domestic cultural consumption?*

Firstly, individuals' educational level and social class will be discussed. This dissertation has shown that higher educated people are less likely to consume domestic cultural goods than lower educated people. Individuals' educational level is negatively related to having/listening to domestic versus foreign favourite music artists (Chapter 3 and 6), domestic cultural consumption preferences (Chapter 4), and the consumption of domestic versus foreign music, books and films (Chapter 5).<sup>3,4</sup> Although three chapters focus on the Netherlands, Chapter 4 demonstrated that the negative association between educational level and domestic cultural consumption preferences is to a large extent similar across (30) countries from various continents.<sup>5</sup>

The findings related to the relationship between social class and domestic cultural consumption are somewhat less clear-cut. Higher social classes (high- and low-grade professionals) are less likely to have/listen to domestic versus foreign favourite music artists (Chapter 3 and 6) and prefer domestic cultural consumption (Chapter 4) than middle classes (routine non-manuals and lower service sales employees) and lower classes (skilled manual workers, and semi-unskilled manual workers). However, in Chapter 5, social class was not significantly related to the consumption of domestic versus foreign music, books and films. Finally, Chapter 4 demonstrated that the negative association between social class and domestic cultural consumption preferences is not exclusive to a small subset of countries, but is found across a large group of countries.

### ***Parents' educational level and social class***

Similar to individuals' educational level, fathers' educational level was negatively related to the individuals' likelihood to have favourite domestic versus foreign music artists (Chapter 3).<sup>6,7</sup> In addition, Chapter 5 demonstrated that as parents' education was higher, individuals' domestic cultural consumption was lower and individuals' foreign cultural consumption was higher.

Parents' social class was less clearly related to individuals' domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. Father's social class was not significantly related to individuals' likelihood to have domestic versus foreign favourite music artists (Chapter 3). Moreover, people with parents from lower classes were more likely to consume domestic cultural goods than respondents with parents from higher classes, but they did not differ from people with parents from higher classes in their foreign consumption (Chapter 5).

In line with previous research which has indicated that parents' actual cultural resources are in particular likely to affect individuals' cultural consumption (Nagel, 2010; Van Eijck, 1997; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012), Chapter 5 demonstrated that parents' domestic cultural consumption was positively related to domestic cultural consumption. Consequently, parents' domestic cultural socialisation seems to inculcate children with cultural resources which affect their domestic versus foreign cultural consumption.

Concluding, individuals' socio-economic characteristics seem to be key in explaining domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. In addition, parents' education is negatively related to individuals' domestic versus foreign cultural consumption and parents seem to transmit cultural resources regarding domestic versus foreign consumption on to their children. Following Bourdieu, an interpretation of these findings might be that social strata distinguish themselves with their domestic versus foreign consumption similar to the consumption of high- versus lowbrow culture.

### ***High- and lowbrow genre and language as alternative explanations***

The social stratification of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption might be alternatively explained by its relationship with high and lowbrow genres and the language of the cultural goods. Firstly, the relation between the (high and lowbrow) genres and geographical origin of cultural goods has not been empirically examined in previous research. Some studies consider country-specific genres lowbrow, such as the German "*schlager*" or the Dutch "*levenslied*" (e.g. Larkey, 2003; Roose and Vander Stichele, 2010; Tillekens, 1993). Therefore this study aimed at testing whether differences between educational groups and social classes in their domestic versus foreign cultural consumption might actually be based on genre rather than national origin. This dissertation demonstrated that regardless of individuals' and parents' high and lowbrow participation, education and social class are negatively related to domestic versus foreign cultural goods (Chapter 5). In addition, Chapter 3 showed that higher educated people and higher social classes were less likely to have domestic

versus foreign favourite music artists irrespective of the lowbrow and middlebrow genre of the artists' music. For instance, higher social strata were more likely to have a foreign favourite pop artist rather than a domestic favourite pop artist, whereas lower social strata were more likely to have a domestic favourite pop artist rather than a foreign favourite pop artist. This indicates that the choice for foreign over domestic cultural goods might reflect social positions regardless of its middle- or lowbrow genre. In contrast, the relationship between education and social class and having domestic favourite music artists did not reach significance within highbrow genres. Among the people who listened to classical music, opera, and jazz, higher social strata were not more likely to listen to foreign versus domestic classical music, opera, and jazz than lower social strata. A possible reason for this finding could be that higher social strata might feel less need to distinguish themselves from lower social strata with foreign consumption (or by refraining from domestic consumption) as their social position is already marked by the consumption of the specific highbrow genre. In addition, asking people which artists they most prefer listening to results in a quite small highbrow category. Within this relatively small group, only a fraction of the artists is Dutch. This begs for a replication of the findings among a larger subset of people with a highbrow cultural preference.

Secondly, this dissertation examined language as an alternative explanation for the relationship between social stratification and cultural stratification. According to the information processing theory (Ganzeboom, 1984), higher educated people and people of higher social classes prefer more complex cultural goods because they are more able to process them. This dissertation distinguished between domestic and foreign languages (and instrumental music). It demonstrated that higher educated people and higher social classes are less likely to favour a domestic artist performing in either the Dutch or a foreign language versus favouring a foreign artist performing in a foreign language. Hence, higher social strata are less likely to have domestic favourite artists regardless of whether these perform in Dutch or in a foreign language, even when controlled for the genre the artists perform in.

In conclusion, this dissertation demonstrated that social strata distinguish between domestic and foreign cultural goods. This stratification cannot be fully explained by middle- or lowbrow genres or language of the cultural goods. This might imply that social strata distinguish themselves from each other via domestic versus foreign cultural consumption.

## Nationalist attitudes

### *(Dimensions of) individuals' nationalist attitudes*

Next to the stratification of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption, this dissertation examined the relationship between nationalist attitudes and the consumption of domestic versus foreign cultural goods. The third research question was: *To what extent are (different dimensions of) nationalist attitudes related to domestic cultural consumption?*

In line with previous research, this dissertation distinguished between two dimensions of nationalist attitudes: chauvinism and patriotism (Chapters 4, 5 and 6). The former represents the view of national superiority compared to other countries (such as the idea that the world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like one's own country or that one's own country is a better country than most other countries). The latter refers to love for and pride of one's nation, based on a more critical assessment (relating to pride in specific characteristics of one's own country). In Chapter 4 and 5, patriotism was distinguished in societal patriotism (referring to pride in a country's democracy, political influence, economic achievements, social security system and fair and equal treatment of all groups in society) and cultural patriotism (referring to pride in a country's achievements in sports, achievements in the arts and literature, and its history).<sup>8</sup>

Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation have demonstrated that chauvinism and cultural patriotism are, as hypothesised, positively related to domestic cultural consumption preferences and the consumption of domestic music, books and films. Societal patriotism is negatively related to domestic cultural consumption (preferences). A possible explanation for this relationship could be societal patriotism's link to support for democratic principles, which includes acceptance of cultural variety within society (Blank and Schmidt, 2003). Adorno *et al.* (1950) suggest another explanation by stating that a genuine patriot "can appreciate the values and ways of other nations, and can be permissive toward much that he cannot personally accept. He is free of rigid conformism, out-group rejection, and imperialistic striving for power" (p. 107).

Chapter 4 and 5 have also indicated that the association between chauvinism and domestic cultural consumption (preferences) is stronger than the association between patriotism and domestic cultural consumption (preferences). This indicates that, in line with previous studies, chauvinism is a more harsh form of nationalist attitudes which includes comparisons between nations, whereas patriotism does not include explicit comparisons between nations.

In addition, the relationships between chauvinism and cultural patriotism and domestic cultural consumption preferences are similar across a large set of countries (Chapter 4). Societal patriotism is negatively related to domestic cultural consumption preferences in the majority of countries (similar to the additional analyses on Chapter 5 using data from the Netherlands), but shows a positive association with domestic cultural consumption preferences in a minority of countries as well. Hence, the relationship between societal patriotism and domestic cultural consumption preferences is less equivalent across countries than the relationship between chauvinism and cultural patriotism and domestic cultural consumption preferences.

Finally, in Chapter 6, we compare the likelihood of listening to domestic versus foreign music with more formal, routinized forms of national engagement: participation in national celebrations and commemorations and far right voting. Listening to domestic music and participating in national celebrations are positively related to each other but not to voting for a far right party. In addition,

nationalist attitudes are not (significantly) positively related to far right voting, whereas listening to domestic music and participation in national celebrations seem to be a manifestation of nationalist attitudes. Listening to domestic music is a part of people's everyday social environment and operates via more subtle, unconscious, and more frequent references to the nation than participation in national celebrations. Hence, it might be that while the relation between nationalist attitudes and participation in national commemorations is a rather evident expression of the nation, the relation with listening to domestic music suggests that nationalist attitudes are (re-)produced in everyday life as well, although it may be more subtle or unaware, without inciting critical reflection.

### ***Parents' nationalist behaviour as national socialisation***

Chapter 5 built on Chapters 3 and 4 by examining the influence of parents and nationalist attitudes in more detail. Parents' (remembered) nationalist behaviour (i.e. celebrating national holidays) during their children's formative years was negatively related to individuals' consumption of foreign films, books and music and positively to domestic cultural consumption. The relationship between parents' nationalist behaviour and individuals' domestic cultural consumption was fully mediated by individuals' nationalist attitudes, whereas the relationship between parents' nationalist behaviour and individuals' foreign cultural consumption was partially mediated by individuals' nationalist attitudes. This dissertation is one of the few empirical studies that indicates that attitudes and behaviours regarding the nation can be transmitted from parents to children (among majority members), similar to the role of parents' ethnic/racial socialisation in identity development and ethnic/racial attitudes and behaviours (among ethnic minorities) (Hughes *et al.*, 2006). In line with socialisation theory, this suggests that children observe and copy or internalise their parents' national values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours which are transmitted through parents' national discourses and practices, providing important examples of attitudes towards the nation.

### ***Relation with education and social class***

In Chapters 4 and 6, nationalist attitudes were examined as an explanation for the relationship of education and social class with domestic cultural consumption. It was examined to what extent individuals' nationalist attitudes mediated the relation between education and social class and domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. Previous research has shown that both lower educated people and people from lower social classes are more nationalist (Coenders *et al.*, 2004), which might be explained by a stronger need for positive group distinction due to their lower socio-economic standing. Consequently, to ensure a positive self-identity, lower social strata are more inclined to positively discriminate towards the nation, inducing nationalist attitudes (Coenders *et al.*, 2004), which in turn will induce domestic cultural consumption. Chapter 4 demonstrated that chauvinism and patriotism partially mediate the relation between education and social class and domestic

cultural consumption preferences. The relationship between education and domestic versus foreign cultural consumption preferences is most strongly mediated by chauvinism, whereas the relationship between social class and domestic versus foreign cultural consumption preferences is most strongly mediated by societal patriotism. Chapter 6 showed that the relationship between education and the likelihood of listening to domestic versus foreign music artists is partially mediated by nationalist attitudes, but the relationship between social class and listening to domestic versus foreign artists is not. (This might be related to a more limited measurement of nationalist attitudes than in other chapters). Summarizing, this dissertation demonstrated that the social stratification of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption cannot be fully explained by individuals' nationalist attitudes or the (middle- or lowbrow) genre or language of the cultural goods.

In addition to the study of nationalist attitudes as mediator, the present study also explored the extent to which associations between nationalist attitudes and domestic cultural consumption preferences were conditional on education and social class (Chapter 4). The relationship between chauvinism and domestic versus foreign cultural consumption preferences decreased when education attainment or social class ranking increased. In other words, the relationship between chauvinism and domestic versus foreign cultural consumption preferences is weaker among higher social strata. This suggests that for these groups, expressing nationalist attitudes (by preferring domestic cultural goods) is more trivial than expressing social position (by preferring foreign cultural goods).

Table 7.1 presents an overview of the findings concerning the relationships between (parental) education, social class, nationalist attitudes and domestic cultural consumption (preferences) in Chapters 3 to 6.

## **7.3 Contributions, limitations and suggestions for future research**

### **Separate dimension**

This dissertation is the first empirical study to examine to what extent the distinction between domestic and foreign culture can be distinguished as a separate structuring dimension in individuals' consumption behaviour, which groups are more likely to consume domestic culture and why. Connecting to a growing theoretical attention to the global-national dialectic and an upward trend in the popularity of domestically produced music, this study has shifted the (almost exclusive) macro-level focus on the popularity of domestic culture to the micro level. It contributes to previous research on cultural consumption by empirically distinguishing the domestic versus foreign cultural consumption from previously distinguished dimensions of cultural consumption (such as people's general cultural (dis-)engagement and consumption patterns related to highbrow versus lowbrow or emerging genres). This dissertation indicated that the distinction between domestic and foreign cultural goods

**Table 7.1** Overview of the relationships between education, social class, nationalist attitudes and domestic cultural consumption (preferences)

	Chapter 3: Having domestic favourite music artists		Chapter 4: Preferences for domestic cultural goods	Chapter 5: Consumption of domestic music, books and films		Chapter 6: Listening to domestic music artists
	SOCON 2007		ISSP 2003	LISS 2011		SOCON 2007
	Resp.	Father	Resp.	Resp.	Parents	Resp.
Educational attainment	-	-	-	- <sup>a</sup>	-	-
Social class <i>High (ref)</i>						
Middle	+	0	+	0	0	+
Low	+	0	+	0	+	+
Nationalist attitudes					+ <sup>c</sup>	+
Chauvinism	x	x	+	+	x	0
Societal patriotism	x	x	-	- <sup>b</sup>	x	
Cultural patriotism	x	x	+	+	x	+ <sup>d</sup>

Note: + positive association; - negative association; 0 no significant association; x not available/tested.

The relationships with other dependent variables in this dissertation (such as participation in national celebrations and far right voting) are not shown.

<sup>a</sup> Significant in model without education and social class of parents.

<sup>b</sup> Not included in this chapter, but additional analyses showed a negative relation.

<sup>c</sup> Parents' nationalist behaviour, not distinguished by the three dimensions. The association is fully mediated by nationalist attitudes of the respondent.

<sup>d</sup> General patriotism, not distinguished by societal or cultural patriotism.

is a distinguishable dimension in individuals' consumption behaviour, providing a strong case for more research on this topic from a micro-level perspective in the future.

## Stratification

This dissertation has extended the focus of cultural consumption research and has shown that domestic versus foreign cultural consumption is stratified by educational groups and social classes, similar to studies on high- versus lowbrow consumption. The social stratification of domestic versus foreign consumption might be interpreted in line of previous research which suggests that cultural consumption is used to express social position (Bourdieu, 1984) and that elites can distinguish themselves with their openness to cultural experiences from other nations as a form of cultural/symbolic capital (Hannerz, 2005; Prieur *et al.*, 2008). It might also be interpreted as higher social strata refraining from domestic cultural consumption to distinguish themselves from lower social strata (Bryson, 1996).

Similar to previous research on cultural consumption, where it is assumed that social strata use cultural consumption to mark their social position without actually testing this underlying explanation, it was not possible to test the above mentioned underlying explanations with regard to domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. Nevertheless, this study did go a step further by examining three alternative explanations for the social stratification of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. By examining the relationship between education, social class and domestic versus foreign cultural consumption a) in high-, middle- and lowbrow genres b) in national and foreign languages and in instrumental music and c) regardless of people's nationalist attitudes, the argument of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption as an expression of social position was put to a strict test and could not be refuted.

It would be interesting for future studies to examine more elaborately to what extent foreign versus domestic cultural goods might be used to express social position in highbrow genres by including more of these genres. Also, the cosmopolitan nature of various cultural goods might differ within lowbrow, middlebrow and highbrow genres as these are still broad categories. Future research could benefit by collecting more detailed information on genres to compare specific genres with each other or by looking at concrete film titles, book titles and music artists and compare domestic versus foreign equivalents. A second suggestion for future research relates to (language) complexity. This dissertation distinguished between domestic and foreign languages (and instrumental music), whereas other aspects of language complexity concerning content were ignored, such as metaphors and poetry. Moreover, the complexity of the chords and sequences played, the instrumental techniques, the artist's virtuosity or a song's suitability to sing along also play a role. In addition, the complexity of books and films could be of influence as well. Future research could investigate the relevance of these aspects more deeply.

This dissertation indicated that the domestic versus foreign dimension of cultural consumption might be relevant to research on the omnivore-univore thesis as well. In Chapter 3, additional analyses have shown that higher social strata are more likely to have foreign favourite music artists exclusively versus exclusively having domestic favourite music artists and that – although less strong – they are also more likely to have a combination of foreign and domestic favourite music artists versus exclusively having domestic favourite music artists. It might be interesting for future research to include more elaborate information on various foreign countries and to study to what extent higher social strata combine their (possibly diverse) foreign cultural consumption with domestic consumption. Chapter 2 provided some insight in various foreign geographical origins of cultural goods (i.e. Dutch, European, American, other). Although European cultural goods and American cultural goods seemed to be somewhat differently related to highbrow and lowbrow or emerging cultural consumption (axis 2), there was little differentiation between those origins on the third axis, demonstrating the cleavage is mainly between Dutch and foreign consumption. Nevertheless, it would be of future interest to study the cultural omnivore in terms of the range of geographical origins of cultural goods as well.

Finally, building on previous cultural consumption research, this is the first study to assess the role of parents in individuals' domestic versus foreign consumption. It did not only examine parents' socio-economic status, but also focused on parents' actual cultural participation (both domestic versus foreign and highbrow versus lowbrow). Parents' characteristics were measured by asking respondents retrospective questions about their parents. Although this is common practice in cultural consumption research, and although respondents were asked about concrete, visible behaviours, a drawback is that respondents' recollection might not be accurate. Hence, for future research it would be interesting to include parents as well and to distinguish between parents' domestic versus foreign consumption (as now only parents' domestic consumption was assessed). In addition, next to parents, other socialising agents (such as peers, partners, or teachers) might be of future interest.

### **Nationalist attitudes**

Previous research on 'consumer ethnocentrism' has shown that nationalist attitudes and preferences for domestic consumer goods (such as televisions and cars) are positively related (Balabanis *et al.*, 2001; Sharma *et al.*, 1995). This dissertation built on this line of research and improved on previous studies by focusing on cultural goods instead of consumer goods as the former can carry social and cultural connotations and can represent (national) identity. Secondly, this study contributes to previous research by examining the extent to which the relation between nationalist attitudes and domestic consumption preferences is based on chauvinism and/or patriotism, while many previous studies have failed to include this distinction between dimensions of nationalist attitudes. Thirdly, whereas previous studies on preferences for domestic goods have mostly focused on a relatively small sample of countries, the present study showed that the relationship between nationalist attitudes and preferences for domestic cultural goods was similar across countries. The findings might contribute to previous studies arguing that domestic cultural consumption can be used to symbolically mark (national) in-group boundaries and express visible distinctions from (foreign) out-groups (Edensor, 2002, UNESCO, 2009; Verlegh, 2007). Fourthly, next to individuals' own nationalist attitudes, parents' nationalist behaviour was examined as national socialisation. This dissertation is one of the few empirical studies that suggests that attitudes and behaviours regarding the nation can be transmitted from parents to children (among majority members), similar to the role of parents' ethnic/racial socialisation in identity development and ethnic/racial attitudes and behaviours (among ethnic minorities). Parents' nationalist behaviour was measured by asking people about their parents, using retrospective questions. The measurements for parents' nationalist behaviours as reported by the respondents and respondents' own nationalist attitudes loaded on different factors and showed a low correlation. Hence, people's recollection of their parents' nationalist behaviour did not seem to be biased by their own nationalist attitudes. For future studies it would be interesting to better assess parents' national socialisation as well as distinguish between their chauvinistic and patriotic

attitudes. Finally, the present study innovatively compared domestic cultural consumption with other possible (more formal and routinized) forms of nationalist manifestations (i.e. participation in national celebrations and commemorations and far right voting). Thereby, it provided more insights on mundane manifestations of nationalism.

### **Domestic versus foreign as a simplified categorisation**

This dissertation distinguishes domestic cultural goods from foreign cultural goods. This distinction is measured mainly by using questions in which the origin of the cultural good was predetermined. Respondents were asked about their consumption of 'music from Dutch artists', for instance. In addition, this study distinguishes between domestic and foreign cultural goods based on the current residence of the artist when the origin of the cultural goods was not predefined in the question (i.e. when respondents were asked about their favourite music artists to listen to).

This is a simplified categorisation in various ways. Firstly, cultural goods can be produced by multiple artists from various countries, by artists (whose parents) were not born in the country, or by artists born in the country but no longer residing there. These issues were taken into consideration in the present study where possible. It appeared that they only concerned a very small group of artists and that the conclusions of this study were hardly influenced by taking into account these alternative categorisations of origin.

Secondly, many domestic producers and artists retrieve much of their techniques, expressive forms and stylistic elements from outside the nation (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Norris and Inglehart, 2009; Regev, 2007, 2011; Robertson, 1995), blurring the boundaries between domestic and foreign cultural goods. Yet, as nationalist ideologies emphasise to protect the 'national culture' and to 'buy national', domestic products that are strongly influenced by foreign cultures still seem to be defined as national and may serve to perpetuate nationalist orientations.

Thirdly, related to the mixing of stylistic elements, the question arises to what extent people are actually aware about the origin of cultural goods. This study has shown that for domestic music artists performing in the own language (i.e. more easily recognizable as domestic), the associations with education and social class are stronger than the associations with domestic music artist performing in a foreign language. Nevertheless, even when the distinction between foreign music artists and domestic music artist is less obviously based on language, higher educated people and higher social classes are less likely to listen to domestic than foreign music artist than lower education and lower social classes. In addition, the open questions about favourite artists (codings post hoc) were positively associated with the questions where the origin of the cultural goods was predetermined (e.g. how often do you listen to music from Dutch artists). This indicates that respondents are (at least to some extent) able to assess the origin of the cultural goods they consume. For future research it would be of interest to examine to what extent the distinction between domestic and foreign cultural consumption

is related to more elaborate measures of the origin of the artist (e.g. non-native domestic artists), the origin of the cultural techniques, expressive forms and stylistic elements (e.g. domestic music sung in a foreign language), and people's knowledge of the origin of the cultural goods they consume.

Finally, one could wonder how foreign pop music artists or Hollywood movies mark social position for higher social strata. This dissertation built on the idea that the choice for foreign over domestic cultural goods within a certain genre could still reflect social positions, independent of genre. Results showed that within (middle- and lowbrow) genres, an international cultural orientation is still socially stratified and could be a form of cultural capital. Hence, within pop music, higher social strata could mark their social position by listening to a foreign pop music artist rather than listening to a comparable domestic pop music artist. Future studies could try to disentangle better to what extent social position is marked by the geographical origin of the cultural good independent of the genre.

### **Cultural consumption as manifestation of nationalist attitudes**

This dissertation departed from the assumption that nationalist attitudes are expressed through consumption behaviour. It is shown that chauvinism and cultural patriotism are positively related to domestic cultural consumption and that domestic cultural consumption is related to other manifestations of nationalist attitudes (i.e. participation in national celebrations and commemorations). Previous research has also argued for a reversed causality: people's nationalist attitudes might also be strengthened through such national events and behaviours (without ruling out that nationalist attitudes can also be expressed through these behaviours at the same time). This dissertation rigorously studied domestic cultural goods by focusing on all domestically produced cultural goods without making any assumptions about their content. The examined domestic cultural goods do not necessarily convey nationalist attitudes or ideas of national superiority. Accordingly, a reversed causality seems very unlikely, as it is questionable that nationalist attitudes would be strengthened by listening to general domestic rock artists or by reading a book from a national author without the content of the song or book being nationalist. For future research it would be of interest to examine the causality of the relationship, as well as to examine cultural goods with an explicit nationalist content (e.g. national anthems, '*15 miljoen mensen*' by Fluitsma and Van Tijn or '*Land of hope and glory*' by Elgar and Benson) or cultural goods that protest the nation (e.g. '*American idiot*' by Greenday or '*Dear Mr. President*' by Pink).

### **Comparability with other countries**

The main focus of this dissertation was on the Netherlands as datasets including information on people's domestic versus foreign cultural consumption together with information on their nationalist attitudes are scarce. It has to be taken into account that a large share of the cultural goods in the

Netherlands is foreign (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011; UNESCO, 2009). Local production is expensive because of the relatively small population and cultural goods (e.g. books, television programmes and films) are difficult to export unless translated or subtitled (Kuipers, 2011). In addition, the coverage (of classical and pop music) in Dutch newspapers is largely internationally oriented (Janssen *et al.*, 2008). Hence, the question is to what extent the findings for the Netherlands apply to other countries.

Chapter 4 demonstrated that the relationships between education, social class, nationalist attitudes and domestic cultural consumption preferences were similar across a large group of countries. Still, it might be that, in the Netherlands, where foreign culture is widespread (and might be considered less prestigious), higher social strata are more likely to mark their social position by refraining from domestic cultural consumption rather than by consuming foreign cultural goods as compared to countries where foreign culture is less widespread. An interesting question for future studies would be to examine to what extent the stratification of people's domestic versus foreign cultural consumption is conditional on the national share of domestic and foreign cultural goods. In addition, it would be of interest to examine more non-western countries. Previous research in developing countries has already shown that preferences for foreign goods are determined by symbolic, status-enhancing reasons (status preference), in addition to suggesting overall quality (e.g. Batra *et al.*, 2000; Ger *et al.*, 1993; Marcoux *et al.*, 1997). Also, the United States of America would be an interesting case because of their dominance on the cultural market. Finally, future studies could include country characteristics which are more focused on the supply side of cultural goods (such as countries' globalisation level; the influence of production companies, movie theatres, publishers, record companies, TV and radio stations; and national or supranational legislation and subsidies).

## 7.4 Final conclusions

Connecting to growing theoretical attention to the distinction between international and national culture, this dissertation is the first empirical study to focus on the popularity of domestic culture on the micro level. The first main conclusion is that domestic versus foreign cultural consumption can be empirically distinguished from previously defined dimensions of cultural consumption such as people's general cultural (dis-)engagement and high- and lowbrow (or emerging) consumption. Consequently, the distinction between domestic and foreign cultural goods seems to play a role in people's cultural consumption patterns and seems a valuable subject for further research. Secondly, the current study has extended the focus of cultural consumption research by showing that domestic versus foreign cultural consumption is stratified by education and social class (regardless of the genre or language of the cultural goods) in the Netherlands and in other countries across the world. Finally, this dissertation showed that nationalist attitudes are manifested in domestic versus foreign consumption and provides insights into nationalist behaviour in everyday life. Concluding, this study has indicated the relevance

of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption on the micro level and has provided indications that the consumption of domestic versus foreign cultural goods might mark group boundaries both in terms of social position as well as in terms of nationalist attitudes.

## 7.5 Notes

- 1 For two exceptions see Bennett *et al.* (2009) and Savage *et al.* (2010).
- 2 The consumption of domestic *music* exclusively (in contrast to the exclusive consumption of domestic *films* and *books*) was less clearly differentiated by axis 3 (as it was more towards the centre and was also associated with cultural disengagement). However, this result has to be interpreted more cautiously, because of the small frequency of this category.
- 3 In Chapter 5, this association was only significant in a model without the parents' education and social class.
- 4 Although based on the same measurement, the terminology of the dependent variables in Chapter 3 and 6 differs slightly in order to tie in with terms used in the respective fields and journals in which the chapters have been published.
- 5 The only exceptions were The Philippines and the Slovak Republic.
- 6 In Chapter 3, we had insufficient information on the mother's socio-economic status. We therefore only refer to the father's. Yet, we do not mean to suggest that the father's social position alone affects respondents' cultural consumption.
- 7 This association was only significant in a model without the individuals' education and social class.
- 8 Although societal patriotism was not included in chapter 5, this dimension of nationalist attitudes was distinguished from chauvinism and cultural patriotism in an exploratory factor analysis and was included in additional analyses.



# Nederlandstalige samenvatting

(Summary in Dutch)

## Inleiding en onderzoeksvragen

In veel landen vindt een groot deel van de culturele goederen (zoals muziek, boeken en films) die mensen consumeren zijn oorsprong in buitenlandse culturen. Toenemende internationale economische afhankelijkheden en groeiende stromen van buitenlandse import bieden meer en meer alternatieven voor binnenlands geproduceerde goederen en cultuur. Dit geldt ook voor Nederland als belangrijkste focus van dit proefschrift. Verschillende auteurs hebben hun bezorgdheid geuit dat nationale culturele goederen (i.e. die gemaakt zijn door een persoon of groep die uit hetzelfde land komt als de consument) verdrongen zullen worden door het buitenlandse aanbod, met als gevolg vervaging of zelfs het afbreken van nationale culturen. In veel westerse landen is er echter een opwaartse trend in de populariteit van nationale muzikanten sinds de jaren negentig (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011; Frith, 2004; Hitters en Van de Kamp, 2010; Wolther, 2008). Eerder wetenschappelijk onderzoek heeft de populariteit van nationale cultuur voornamelijk onderzocht vanuit een macroperspectief. Het is tot op heden onbekend in hoeverre het onderscheid tussen nationale en buitenlandse goederen relevant is in de culturele consumptie van individuen, welke groepen meer nationale versus buitenlandse culturele goederen consumeren en waarom. Dit proefschrift onderzoekt in hoeverre de muziek waar mensen naar luisteren, de boeken die ze lezen en de films die ze kijken afkomstig zijn uit het land waarin zij zelf wonen of uit het buitenland. Er wordt onderzocht (1) in hoeverre het onderscheid tussen nationale en buitenlandse culturele goederen een aparte dimensie is van culturele consumptie, (2) welke (sociaaleconomische) groepen meer nationale versus buitenlandse cultuur consumeren, en (3) in hoeverre nationalistische houdingen een rol spelen bij de keuze voor nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie.

Ten eerste is nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie onderzocht naast eerder vastgestelde dimensies van culturele consumptie. Onderzoek naar culturele consumptie heeft verschillende aspecten van culturele voorkeuren en consumptie onderzocht, zoals de tijd die mensen besteden aan culturele activiteiten, voorkeuren voor elitaire (*highbrow*) en populaire (*lowbrow*) genres, en culture *omnivoren* en *univoren* (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Chan en Goldthorpe, 2007; Coulangeon en Lemel, 2007; DiMaggio en Useem, 1978; Katz-Gerro, 1999, 2002; Kraaykamp *et al.*, 2007; Peterson en Simkus, 1992). Nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie van individuen is nauwelijks empirisch onderzocht. Het is daarom onbekend of en in hoeverre mensen onderscheid maken tussen binnenlandse en buitenlandse culturele goederen in hun consumptie. De eerste onderzoeksvraag van dit proefschrift was:

*1) In welke mate is nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie een aparte dimensie van culturele consumptie, naast een algemene culturele (on-)betrokkenheid van mensen en hun high- en lowbrow consumptie?*

Ten tweede is er in dit proefschrift onderzocht welke groepen meer nationale versus buitenlandse culturele goederen consumeren. Sociale strata, zoals verschillende opleidingsgroepen en sociale klassen, gebruiken culturele consumptie om hun maatschappelijke positie te uiten en groepsgrenzen te markeren (Bourdieu, 1984). Er wordt gesteld dat hogere sociale strata liever *highbrow* of elitaire culturele

goederen consumeren, terwijl de lagere sociale strata liever *lowbrow*, populaire, of massacultuur consumeren (e.g. DiMaggio en Mohr, 1985; Ganzeboom, 1989; Katz-Gerro, 2002; Kirchberg, 1996; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011). Studies hebben aangetoond dat (ouderlijk) opleidingsniveau en sociale klasse gerelateerd zijn aan culturele consumptie (voorkeuren) (e.g. DiMaggio en Useem, 1978; Ganzeboom, 1984; Katz-Gerro, 1999, 2002; Kirchberg, 1996; Purhonen *et al.*, 2011; Van Eijck, 1997; Yaish en Katz-Gerro, 2012). Vergelijkbaar met het onderscheid tussen *high-* en *lowbrow* consumptie, zouden sociale strata nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie kunnen gebruiken om hun maatschappelijke positie te markeren. Gebaseerd op Bourdieu, hebben eerdere studies gesuggereerd dat hogere sociale strata zich zouden kunnen onderscheiden met hun openheid voor buitenlandse culturele ervaringen als een (nieuwe) vorm van cultureel/symbolisch kapitaal (Hannerz, 2005; Prieur *et al.*, 2008). Het zou ook kunnen zijn dat hogere sociale strata zich van de lagere sociale strata onderscheiden door zich te onthouden van nationale culturele consumptie. Voortbouwend op deze ideeën, focust dit onderzoek op de sociale stratificatie van nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie om meer inzicht te krijgen in de mate waarin mensen uit verschillende lagen van de bevolking deze consumptie zouden kunnen gebruiken om zich te onderscheiden van elkaar. Naast de sociaaleconomische positie van mensen zelf, wordt er ook gekeken naar de invloed van de sociaaleconomische positie (en nationale culturele consumptie) van de ouders. De tweede onderzoeksvraag was:

*2) In hoeverre zijn (ouderlijk) opleidingsniveau en sociale klasse gerelateerd aan nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie?*

De bovengenoemde redeneringen zijn vooral gericht op argumenten waarom hogere sociale strata meer buitenlandse culturele goederen en/of minder nationale culturele goederen zouden consumeren. De vraag waarom mensen nationale culturele goederen consumeren wordt explicieter aan de orde gesteld in de derde onderzoeksvraag die zich richt op de relatie tussen nationalistische houdingen en nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie. Hoewel er weinig empirische studies zijn die een verband leggen tussen nationalistische houdingen en culturele consumptie, heeft eerder onderzoek aangetoond dat nationalistische houdingen positief gerelateerd zijn aan een voorkeur voor binnenlandse consumptiegoederen in het algemeen (zoals televisies en auto's) (e.g. Balabanis *et al.*, 2001; Sharma *et al.*, 1995). Voortbouwend op dit onderzoek, focust dit proefschrift op *culturele* goederen in plaats van algemene consumptiegoederen, verschillende dimensies van nationalistische opvattingen, en op de voorkeur voor nationale culturele goederen evenals (zelf-gerapporteerd) consumptiegedrag. Daarnaast is de cross-nationale vergelijkbaarheid van de relatie tussen nationalistische houdingen en de voorkeur voor nationale culturele consumptie onderzocht. Vanuit het idee dat nationale culturele consumptie kan worden gezien als een uiting van nationalistische houdingen in het dagelijks leven, heeft dit onderzoek nationale culturele consumptie ook vergeleken met formelere vormen van nationale betrokkenheid (i.e. deelname aan nationale vieringen en herdenkingen en stemmen op ver rechtse politieke partijen). Ten slotte is de invloed

van nationale socialisatie door de ouders (i.e. nationalistisch voorbeeldgedrag) onderzocht. Door op meerdere manieren voort te bouwen op eerder onderzoek tracht dit onderzoek meer inzicht te bieden in de relatie tussen nationalistische houdingen en nationale culturele consumptie. De bevindingen kunnen bijdragen aan eerdere studies waarin wordt gesuggereerd dat nationale culturele consumptie kan worden gebruikt om (nationale) groepsgrenzen symbolisch te markeren en verschillen met andere (buitenlandse) groepen te benadrukken (Edensor, 2002; UNESCO, 2009; Verlegh, 2007). De derde onderzoeksvraag luidde:

3) *In hoeverre zijn (verschillende dimensies van) nationalistische houdingen gerelateerd aan nationale culturele consumptie?*

## **Nationale versus buitenlandse consumptie als aparte dimensie**

Het eerste empirische hoofdstuk van dit proefschrift heeft betrekking op de eerste onderzoeksvraag. Er zijn weinig datasets die gedetailleerde informatie over consumptie van culturele goederen uit verschillende geografische gebieden bevatten, zeker in combinatie met informatie over andere culturele participatie. Daarom hebben we representatieve gegevens verzameld via het panel van de Langlopende Internet Studies voor de Sociale wetenschappen in Nederland (LISS, 2011). Respondenten hebben vragen gekregen over hun deelname aan diverse vrijetijdsbestedingen (kijken naar televisie en dvd's, radio luisteren, het bezoeken van het theater, een cabaretvoorstelling, klassieke concerten, dance events, housefeesten, de bioscoop, musea, popconcerten of musicals) en hun consumptie van nationale en buitenlandse muziek, boeken en films. Het onderscheid tussen nationale en buitenlandse culturele goederen werd gemeten met vragen waarbij de oorsprong van het cultuurobject vooraf was bepaald. Respondenten werden bijvoorbeeld gevraagd naar hun consumptie van 'Nederlandse muziek'. Met multi-pele correspondentie analyse (MCA) werd een geometrische representatie van patronen in de data geconstrueerd. Drie assen werden onderscheiden. Vergelijkbaar met eerder onderzoek markeerde de eerste as een onderscheid tussen mensen die regelmatig tot vaak cultuur consumeren versus mensen die zelden tot nooit cultuur consumeren. De tweede as differentieerde tussen mensen die elitaire culturele goederen consumeren en mensen die *lowbrow*, of 'emerging' cultuur consumeren. De derde as toonde een onderscheid tussen mensen die uitsluitend nationale boeken en films consumeren versus mensen die uitsluitend buitenlandse muziek, boeken en films consumeren. De consumptie van zowel nationale als buitenlandse muziek, boeken en films bevond zich meer in het midden van de as, tussen de extremen in. De voorkeur voor nationale en buitenlandse culturele producten bleek specifiek gekoppeld aan de derde as en kon onderscheiden worden van een algemene culturele (on-)betrokkenheid van mensen en hun *high-* en *lowbrow* consumptie. Dit geeft aan dat de nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie kan worden gezien als een aparte dimensie van culturele consumptie.

## Stratificatie

### Opleidingsniveau en sociale klasse

Deze paragraaf gaat in op de tweede onderzoeksvraag van dit proefschrift: In hoeverre zijn (ouderlijk) opleidingsniveau en sociale klasse gerelateerd aan nationale culturele consumptie? Dit proefschrift heeft aangetoond dat hoger opgeleiden minder nationale culturele goederen consumeren dan lager opgeleiden. Het opleidingsniveau van individuen is negatief gerelateerd aan het luisteren naar nationale favoriete muzikanten (hoofdstuk 3 en 6), nationale culturele consumptievoorkeuren (hoofdstuk 4), en de consumptie van nationale muziek, boeken en films (hoofdstuk 5). Hoewel drie hoofdstukken gebruik maken van Nederlandse data, is in hoofdstuk 4 aangetoond dat de negatieve associatie tussen opleidingsniveau en de voorkeur voor nationale culturele consumptie in grote mate vergelijkbaar is tussen (30) landen uit verschillende continenten.

De bevindingen met betrekking tot de relatie tussen sociale klasse en nationale culturele consumptie zijn iets minder eenduidig. Hogere sociale klassen (hogere en lagere leidinggevenden) luisteren minder naar nationale dan naar buitenlandse favoriete muzikanten (hoofdstuk 3 en 6) en hebben minder voorkeur voor nationale culturele consumptie (hoofdstuk 4) dan middenklassen (routine hoofdarbeiders, supervisors handarbeid) en de lagere klassen (geschoolde handarbeiders, en (semi-)ongeschoolde handarbeiders). In tegenstelling tot wat in hoofdstuk 3, 4 en 6 werd gevonden, was sociale klasse niet significant gerelateerd aan de consumptie van nationale muziek, boeken en films in hoofdstuk 5. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor kan zijn dat de meting van sociale klasse in hoofdstuk 5 beperkter was. Tot slot toonde hoofdstuk 4 aan dat de negatieve associatie tussen sociale klasse en de voorkeur voor nationale culturele consumptie wordt gevonden in een grote groep landen.

### Opleidingsniveau en sociale klasse van de ouders

Vergelijkbaar met het effect van het opleidingsniveau van individuen zelf, is het opleidingsniveau van de vader negatief gerelateerd aan de mate waarin individuen luisteren naar nationale versus buitenlandse favoriete muzikanten (hoofdstuk 3). Daarnaast bleek in hoofdstuk 5 dat naarmate het opleidingsniveau van beide ouders hoger is, individuen zelf minder nationale cultuur zullen consumeren en juist meer buitenlandse cultuur.

Sociale klasse van de ouders is minder duidelijk gerelateerd aan nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie van individuen. Sociale klasse van de vader is niet significant gerelateerd aan de mate waarin individuen luisteren naar nationale favoriete muzikanten (hoofdstuk 3). Mensen met ouders uit lagere klassen consumeren meer nationale culturele goederen dan mensen met ouders uit hogere klassen, maar verschillen niet van mensen met ouders uit hogere klassen in hun buitenlandse consumptie (hoofdstuk 5).

In overeenstemming met eerder onderzoek waaruit is gebleken dat culturele hulpbronnen van ouders een sterke invloed hebben op de culture consumptie van individuen zelf (Nagel, 2010; Van Eijck, 1997; Yaish en Katz-Gerro, 2012), bleek in hoofdstuk 5 dat nationale culturele consumptie van ouders positief gerelateerd is aan de nationale culturele consumptie van individuen zelf. Met andere woorden, nationale culturele socialisatie van ouders lijkt kinderen te voorzien van culturele hulpbronnen die invloed hebben op hun nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie.

Samenvattend, sociaaleconomische kenmerken van individuen lijken een belangrijke rol te spelen in hun nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie. Bovendien bleek het opleidingsniveau van de ouders negatief gerelateerd aan nationale culturele consumptie van individuen en lijken ouders culturele hulpbronnen met betrekking tot nationale consumptie door te geven aan hun kinderen. Voortbouwend op Bourdieu, zou een interpretatie van deze bevindingen kunnen zijn dat sociale strata zich onderscheiden met hun nationale en buitenlands culturele consumptie op een manier die vergelijkbaar is met het consumeren van *highbrow* en *lowbrow* cultuur.

### **High- en lowbrow genre en taal als alternatieve verklaringen**

De sociale stratificatie van nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie zou ook verklaard kunnen worden door de relatie met *high-* en *lowbrow* genres en de taal van de culturele goederen. Ten eerste kijken we naar genre als alternatieve verklaring voor de associatie tussen sociale stratificatie en culturele stratificatie. De relatie tussen (*high-* en *lowbrow*) genres en de geografische herkomst van culturele goederen is nauwelijks empirisch onderzocht in eerder onderzoek. Wel beschouwen sommige studies specifieke nationale genres als *lowbrow*, zoals de Duitse "*schlager*" en het Nederlandse "*levenslied*" (e.g. Larkey, 2003; Roose en Vander Stichele, 2010; Tillekens, 1993). Dit zou kunnen betekenen dat lager opgeleiden en lagere sociale klassen een grotere voorkeur voor nationale culturele goederen lijken te hebben omdat deze vaker *lowbrow* zijn en dat hoger opgeleiden en hogere sociale klassen een grotere voorkeur voor buitenlandse culturele goederen lijken te hebben omdat deze vaker *highbrow* zijn. Dit proefschrift onderzoekt daarom in hoeverre de verschillen tussen opleidingsgroepen en sociale klassen in hun nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie gebaseerd zouden kunnen zijn op het genre van het culturele goed in plaats van op de geografische herkomst van het culturele goed door herkomst en genre naast elkaar te onderzoeken.

Hoofdstuk 5 laat zien dat, ongeacht de *high-* en *lowbrow* participatie van individuen en hun ouders, opleidingsniveau en sociale klasse negatief gerelateerd zijn aan de consumptie van nationale versus buitenlandse culturele goederen. Daarnaast blijkt dat hoger opgeleiden en hogere sociale klassen minder luisteren naar muziek van nationale favoriete muzikanten dan lager opgeleiden en lagere sociale klassen, ongeacht het (*lowbrow* of *middlebrow*) genre van de muziek (hoofdstuk 3). Onder mensen die graag naar popmuziek luisteren, luisteren hogere sociale strata bijvoorbeeld meer naar buitenlandse popmuzikanten dan naar nationale popmuzikanten, terwijl lagere sociale strata

meer naar nationale popmuzikanten luisteren dan naar buitenlandse popmuzikanten. Dit is een indicatie dat de voorkeur voor buitenlandse culturele goederen boven nationale culturele goederen een reflectie zou kunnen zijn van maatschappelijke positie ongeacht het (*middle- of lowbrow*) genre. Opleiding en sociale klasse hebben geen significant effect op het luisteren naar nationale favoriete muzikanten wanneer het *highbrow* genres betreft. Onder de mensen die naar klassieke muziek, opera en jazz luisteren, luisteren hogere sociale strata niet vaker naar buitenlandse (versus nationale) klassieke muziek, opera en jazz dan lagere sociale strata. Een verklaring voor deze bevinding zou kunnen zijn dat hogere sociale strata minder behoefte hebben om zich te onderscheiden van de lagere sociale strata door middel van buitenlandse consumptie (of door zich te onthouden van nationale consumptie) omdat hun sociale positie al gemarkeerd is door de consumptie van *highbrow* cultuur. Daarnaast zijn mensen gevraagd naar hun favoriete muzikanten, wat resulteert in een vrij kleine *highbrow* categorie. Binnen deze relatief kleine groep, is slechts een fractie van de muzikanten Nederlands. De bevindingen zouden gerepliceerd moeten worden met een grotere dataset met meer mensen die een voorkeur hebben voor *highbrow* genres.

Als tweede alternatieve verklaring voor de relatie tussen sociale stratificatie en culturele stratificatie is er gekeken naar taal. Volgens de theorie van informatieverwerking (Ganzeboom, 1984) hebben hoger opgeleiden en hogere sociale klassen een voorkeur voor meer complexe culturele goederen. Dit proefschrift maakt onderscheid tussen muziek in nationale en buitenlandse talen (en instrumentale muziek) als een indicatie voor complexiteit (hoofdstuk 3). De resultaten laten zien dat hoger opgeleiden en hogere sociale klassen minder luisteren naar nationale artiesten die zingen in het Nederlands of in een buitenlandse taal dan dat ze luisteren naar buitenlandse artiesten die in een buitenlandse taal zingen. Met andere woorden, hogere sociale strata luisteren minder naar nationale favoriete muzikanten ongeacht of deze zingen in het Nederlandse of in een buitenlandse taal (zelfs wanneer er gecontroleerd wordt voor het genre van de muziek).

Samenvattend heeft dit proefschrift aangetoond dat sociale strata onderscheid maken tussen nationale en buitenlandse culturele goederen. Deze stratificatie kan niet volledig worden verklaard door het (*middle- of lowbrow*) genre of de taal van het culturele goed. Dit zou een indicatie kunnen zijn dat sociale strata zich onderscheiden van elkaar door middel van hun nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie.

## Nationalistische houdingen

### Chauvinisme en patriotisme

Naast de stratificatie van nationale en buitenlandse culturele consumptie, heeft deze dissertatie de relatie tussen nationalistische houdingen en nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie

onderzocht. De derde onderzoeksvraag luidde: In hoeverre zijn (verschillende dimensies van) nationalistische houdingen gerelateerd aan nationale culturele consumptie? Voortbouwend op eerder onderzoek, wordt er een onderscheid gemaakt tussen twee dimensies van nationalistische houdingen: chauvinisme en patriottisme (hoofdstukken 4, 5 en 6). Chauvinisme verwijst naar een blinde, onkritische, liefde voor het eigen land en de nationale in-groep, gecombineerd met gevoelens van nationale superioriteit in vergelijking met andere landen (zoals het idee dat de wereld een betere plaats zou zijn als mensen uit andere landen meer als mensen uit het eigen land zouden zijn of dat iemands eigen land een beter land is dan de meeste andere landen). Patriottisme verwijst naar liefde hebben voor en trots zijn op de eigen natie, gebaseerd op een meer kritische beoordeling. In hoofdstuk 4 en 5 werd een onderscheid gemaakt tussen maatschappelijk patriottisme (i.e. trots zijn op de democratie van het eigen land, de politieke invloed, economische prestaties, sociale zekerheid en de eerlijke en gelijke behandeling van alle groepen in de samenleving) en cultureel patriottisme (i.e. trots zijn op de nationale geschiedenis en prestaties op het gebied van sport, kunst en literatuur).

Hoofdstuk 4 en 5 van dit proefschrift hebben aangetoond dat chauvinisme en cultureel patriottisme, zoals verwacht, positief gerelateerd zijn aan de voorkeur voor nationale culturele consumptie en de consumptie van nationale muziek, boeken en films. Maatschappelijk patriottisme is negatief gerelateerd aan nationale culturele consumptie (voorkeuren). Een mogelijke verklaring voor deze relatie zou kunnen zijn dat maatschappelijk patriottisme een verwijzing naar steun voor democratische principes bevat, waaronder ook de acceptatie van culturele variëteit in een samenleving (Blank en Schmidt, 2003).

Uit hoofdstuk 4 en 5 blijkt ook dat de relatie tussen chauvinisme en nationale culturele consumptie (voorkeuren) sterker is dan de relatie tussen patriottisme en nationale culturele consumptie (voorkeuren). Dit impliceert dat, in overeenstemming met eerdere studies, chauvinisme kan worden gezien als een 'agressievere vorm' van nationalistische houdingen, waarbij vergelijkingen worden gemaakt tussen landen, terwijl patriottisme geen expliciete vergelijking tussen landen behelst.

Daarnaast bleek dat de relatie tussen chauvinisme en cultureel patriottisme en de voorkeur voor nationale culturele consumptie vergelijkbaar is voor een groot aantal landen (hoofdstuk 4). Maatschappelijk patriottisme is negatief gerelateerd aan nationale culturele consumptievoorkeuren in de meeste landen, maar in een klein aantal landen werd juist een positieve relatie gevonden met nationale culturele consumptievoorkeuren. De relatie tussen maatschappelijk patriottisme en nationale culturele consumptievoorkeuren is dus minder eenduidig dan de relatie tussen chauvinisme en cultureel patriottisme en nationale culturele consumptievoorkeuren.

Verder vergelijken we in hoofdstuk 6 de mate waarin mensen naar nationale versus buitenlandse muziek luisteren met formelere vormen van nationale betrokkenheid: deelname aan nationale vieringen en herdenkingen en stemmen op ver rechtse politieke partijen. Het luisteren naar nationale muziek en het deelnemen aan nationale vieringen zijn positief gerelateerd aan elkaar, maar niet aan

het stemmen op een ver rechtse partij. Daarnaast zijn nationalistische houdingen niet (significant) positief gerelateerd aan ver rechts stemmen, terwijl het luisteren naar nationale muziek en het deelnemen aan nationale vieringen juist een manifestatie van nationalistische houdingen lijken te zijn.

### **Nationalistisch gedrag van de ouders als nationale socialisatie**

Tot slot is de invloed van nationale socialisatie door de ouders (i.e. nationalistisch voorbeeldgedrag) onderzocht (hoofdstuk 5). Het nationalistische gedrag van ouders tijdens de jeugd van hun kinderen (zoals herinnerd door hun kinderen), bijvoorbeeld het vieren van nationale feestdagen, blijkt positief gerelateerd aan de consumptie van nationale muziek, boeken en films en negatief aan de consumptie van buitenlandse culturele goederen. De positieve relatie tussen het ouderlijk nationalistisch gedrag en nationale culturele consumptie van hun kind wordt volledig gemedieerd door de nationalistische houdingen van het kind. De negatieve relatie tussen het ouderlijk nationalistisch gedrag en buitenlandse culturele consumptie van hun kind wordt deels gemedieerd door de nationalistische houdingen van het kind. Deze resultaten impliceren dat, onder autochtonen, ouderlijke houdingen en gedragingen ten aanzien van de natie kunnen worden overgedragen van de ouders op kinderen, vergelijkbaar met ouderlijke etnische/raciale socialisatie onder allochtonen (Hughes *et al.*, 2006). In overeenkomst met de socialisatietheorie lijken deze bevindingen te suggereren dat kinderen de nationalistische waarden, overtuigingen, houdingen en gedragingen van hun ouders observeren, kopiëren en internaliseren.

Tabel S.1 geeft een overzicht weer van de bevindingen met betrekking tot de relaties tussen (ouderlijk) opleidingsniveau, sociale klasse, nationalistische houdingen en nationale culturele consumptie (voorkeuren) in hoofdstuk 3 tot 6.

### **Conclusie**

Aansluitend bij een toenemende theoretische aandacht voor het onderscheid tussen nationale en buitenlandse cultuur en bij een groeiende populariteit van nationale muzikanten vanaf de jaren negentig, is dit proefschrift een van de weinige empirische studies die de populariteit van nationale cultuur bekijkt vanuit een microperspectief. De eerste conclusie is dat nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie empirisch te onderscheiden is van eerder gedefinieerde dimensies van culturele consumptie, zoals een algemene culturele (on-)betrokkenheid en *high-* en *lowbrow* consumptie. Het onderscheid tussen nationale en buitenlandse culturele goederen lijkt dus een rol te spelen in de consumptiepatronen van individuen en lijkt een waardevol onderwerp voor verder onderzoek. Ten tweede heeft de huidige studie de focus van cultureel consumptieonderzoek uitgebreid door te laten zien dat nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie is gestratificeerd naar opleidingsniveau en sociale klasse (ongeacht de taal of het genre van het culturele goed)

**Tabel S.1** Overzicht van de relaties tussen (ouderlijk) opleidingsniveau, sociale klasse, nationalistische houdingen en nationale culturele consumptie (voorkeuren)

	Hoofdstuk 3:		Hoofdstuk 4:	Hoofdstuk 5:		Hoofdstuk 6:
	Luisteren naar nationale muzikanten		Voorkeur voor nationale culturele goederen	Consumptie van nationale muziek, boeken en films		Luisteren naar nationale muzikanten
	SOCON 2007		ISSP 2003	LISS 2011		SOCON 2007
	Resp.	Vader	Resp.	Resp.	Ouders	Resp.
Opleidingsniveau	-	-	-	- <sup>a</sup>	-	-
Sociale klasse <i>Hoog (ref)</i>						
Midden	+	0	+	0	0	+
Laag	+	0	+	0	+	+
Nationalistische houdingen					+ <sup>c</sup>	+
Chauvinisme	x	x	+	+	x	0
Maatschappelijk patriotisme	x	x	-	- <sup>b</sup>	x	
Cultureel patriotisme	x	x	+	+	x	+ <sup>d</sup>

Noot: + positieve associatie; - negatieve associatie; 0 niet significant; x niet beschikbaar/getoetst.

De relaties met andere afhankelijke variabelen in dit proefschrift (zoals deelname aan nationale vieringen en ver rechts stemmen) worden niet getoond.

<sup>a</sup> Significant in model zonder opleidingsniveau en sociale klasse van de ouders.

<sup>b</sup> Niet meegenomen in dit hoofdstuk, maar aanvullende analyses tonen een negatief verband.

<sup>c</sup> Nationalistisch gedrag van de ouders, niet onderscheiden naar de drie dimensies. De relatie wordt volledig gemedieerd door nationalistische houdingen van de respondent.

<sup>d</sup> Algemeen patriotisme, niet onderscheiden naar maatschappelijk en cultureel patriotisme.

in Nederland en in andere landen over de wereld. Ten derde heeft dit proefschrift laten zien dat nationalistische houdingen zich manifesteren in nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie, waarmee het inzicht geeft in nationalistisch gedrag in het dagelijks leven.

Een aantal punten die in dit proefschrift onderbelicht zijn, verdienen in vervolgonderzoek meer aandacht: zo zou het interessant zijn om de rol van culturele omnivoren en univoren meer te belichten, om de specifiekere geografische herkomst van culturele goederen te onderzoeken, om meer verschillende genres te onderscheiden en om te kijken naar andere landen.

Dit proefschrift heeft de relevantie van nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie op het microniveau aangetoond en heeft laten zien dat nationale versus buitenlandse culturele consumptie groepsgrenzen lijkt te markeren, zowel in termen van sociale positie als in termen van nationalistische houdingen.

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Roza Meuleman

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# Curriculum Vitae

Roza Meuleman was born on September 29, 1986 in Doetinchem, The Netherlands. She obtained a Bachelor's degree in Sociology (bene meritum, 2007) and a Research Master's degree in Social and Cultural Science (bene meritum, 2009) both at the Radboud University Nijmegen. In September of 2009, Roza started as a PhD candidate at the Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology (ICS) at Utrecht University, where she was an active member of the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER). Her PhD project was part of the overarching VIDI project 'Cultural sameness or preservation of own identity: the consumption of national cultural goods in times of European integration and mass immigration'. From May to July 2012, she was a visiting scholar at the University of York, in York, the United Kingdom, hosted by Prof. Mike Savage. In 2013, Roza worked at Utrecht University as a lecturer at the Department of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences and as a postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Sociology. Currently, she is employed as Assistant Professor at the Department of Sociology/ICS at the Radboud University Nijmegen.

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