



A Field Analysis of Cosmopolitan Taste: Lessons from the Netherlands

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Abstract

Most field analyses have overlooked the geographical range of cultural preferences and tastes, adopting an implicitly national focus. This paper takes advantage of detailed questions on preferences of Dutch respondents for music, films and books from various geographical areas to show that taste for cosmopolitan items is multi-faceted and associated with three major cultural divisions. Firstly, more cosmopolitan orientations are associated with wider cultural engagements, whereas exclusively Dutch references are more commonly found amongst those who are relatively culturally disengaged. Secondly, the more 'highbrow' Dutch are pre-disposed towards European forms of culture. American culture appeals to the younger and better educated who engage in popular cultural forms. Thirdly there is a distinction between those attracted to specifically non-Dutch, and Dutch culture. This field analysis of cosmopolitanism taste shows how it operates in several different registers which cannot helpfully be captured through a unitary approach.

Keywords

Americanization, cosmopolitanism, cultural capital, Dutch cultural consumption, multiple correspondence analysis

Introduction

Over the past decade, sociological concerns have come to focus on the question of cosmopolitanism (see variously Beck, 2005, 2009; Beck and Grande, 2010; Calhoun, 2003, 2010; Gilroy, 2005, 2010; Hannerz, 1996; Papastergiadis, 2012). It has been argued that

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national cultural boundaries are increasingly eroded, that symbols and cultural forms are increasingly mobile (Appadurai, 1996) and that this is leading to new forms of transnational cosmopolitan culture. Numerous writers see this as associated with a welcome critique of methodological nationalism, in which the possibility of new modes of connectivity and communication are recognized as part of a new concern with 'mobile sociology' (Beck, 2005; Urry, 2003). Others, however, take a more sceptical stance, seeing it as either re-embedding forms of imperialist culture (Gilroy, 2005) or new kinds of class domination (Calhoun, 2003).

Within this debate, Bourdieu's concept of field has proven to be an important critical tool in insisting on the way that cosmopolitan currents do not simply erode national boundaries, but may actually create new stakes which differentiate within nations (see notably Fligstein, 2008). This argument has become central to our understanding of the possible reconstitution of the contemporary cultural field in which the traditional opposition between highbrow and lowbrow cultural distinction is supplemented or possibly even replaced by that between cosmopolitan, transnational modes of appreciation, and those limited to national fields of appreciation (see Prieur and Savage, 2011). However, most empirical studies on cultural consumption still focus on nationally-based fields, and do not specifically focus on forms of transnational cultural consumption (for a partial exception see Bennett et al., 2009; and especially Savage et al., 2010). This paper seeks to rectify this glaring absence through a field analysis of Dutch cultural consumption, incorporating questions on the geographical range of tastes for music, reading and film.

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 surveys have such detailed questions which ask about interests in the geography of cultural consumption, and we are therefore uniquely well positioned to link questions of cosmopolitanism to the structure of cultural consumption. The Netherlands is a particularly interesting case to use to reflect on the significance of cosmopolitanism as it is a relatively 'open' country with a long tradition of foreign trade and (cultural) import. Its relatively small population makes local production expensive; and cultural goods, particularly books, television programmes and films in the Dutch language are difficult to export unless translated or subtitled, making subtitling foreign television programmes and films common practice (Kuipers, 2011). Therefore, the import rate of cultural goods is likely to be higher than in other countries and we might expect its cultural field to be more marked by cosmopolitan tendencies.

We begin by introducing the theoretical issues involved in our analysis of cosmopolitan cultural taste in the Netherlands, before discussing our data and methods, specifically our use of multiple correspondence analysis (MCA). The third section reports the three main axes on our MCA, all of which reveal subtle ways in which a liking for national or for cosmopolitan tastes are associated with cultural preferences and distinction. The conclusion broadens out our analysis into a reflection on how best to conceptualize cosmopolitan cultural capital.

Transnationality and Highbrow Consumption: Eurocentrism and the Remaking of the Cultural Field

Bourdieu's analysis of cultural capital seems implicitly premised on a Eurocentric, indeed more precisely Franco-centric, model of cultural hierarchy. Pascale Casanova (2008) has explored how historically French literature held the upper hand as the central reference point within a global literary field in which writers from all other nations had to accept the writ of Paris. Bourdieu's focus is also fundamentally on the centrality of French cultural reference points. He famously 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), two 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 (*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), two German (*Well Tempered Clavier* and *Art of Fugue* by Bach, *Twilight of the Gods* by Wagner), two Austrian (*Eine kleine Nachtmusik* by Mozart, *Blue Danube* by Strauss Jr.), two Russian (*Firebird Suite* by Stravinsky and *Scheherazade* by Rimsky-Korsakov) 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 2012. They focus on French icons, with the honourable 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, of course, noteworthy. Recent evidence that the geography of cultural capital might be changing can be gleaned from the list of Nobel Prize in Literature winners since 2000: they include two Asians (Gao, Mo Yan), a Trinidadian (Naipaul), two Eastern Europeans (Kertész, Müller), two Africans (Coetzee, Lessing), two Western Europeans (Jelinek, Pinter), a Turk (Pamuk), a South American (Vargas Llosa), and a Scandinavian (Tranströmer). The only French winner, Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio, now lives in Mauritius.

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 Americanization, 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: 250). The *World Culture Report* by UNESCO (2000) 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 (2008) 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).

Might this be read as the decline of national cultural fields and the elaboration of a form of global mass culture? In fact, the situation seems more complex than this. Sapiro (2010) shows that the English language has become prominent in the relatively highbrow field of literature: the proportion of global translations which were from English to other languages rose from 45 per cent to 59 per cent between the 1980s and the 1990s. Yet, she also emphasizes the role of small-scale production in different nations which continues to support a 'catholic' translation strategy. In similar vein Savage et al. (2005) and Savage and Gayo-Cal (2011) argue that in the UK, the younger, more highly educated middle classes are increasingly attracted to 'off beat' American cultural forms, which they see as conveying distinction but without appearing to be snobbish.

As well as the increasing role of complexity of American cultural referents, European culture is being reconfigured and challenged, with the supremacy of French cultural forms being challenged by the enlargement of the European Union (EU).¹ After the enactment of the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), cultural co-operation and preservation among EU member states became a recognized aim of the EU, and Fligstein (2008) shows this has created increasing evidence for the formation of a European field. With these developments and the increasing inclusion of Eastern and Southern European nations in the EU, the meaning and definition of European culture might be changing.

This process is also related to the challenge of cosmopolitan culture from other continents than Europe and North America. The intense post-colonial critique of cultural Eurocentrism over recent decades has led to a growing interest in the championing of cultural forms from other parts of the globe, ranging from world music through to new literary forms (see e.g. Chakrabarty, 2005).

However, alongside these shifts, we also need to be attentive to the reconstitution of national forms of cultural appreciation (see more generally Calhoun, 2010). National particularity remains marked. Schmutz (2009) shows that the German media continue to focus their interest on classical music, whereas the Dutch now focus on popular music. Tensions between people with national orientations and cosmopolitan orientations have deepened (Norris, 2005; Norris and Inglehart, 2009). Berkers (2009) shows that Dutch and German literary journals continue to marginalize ethnic minorities (a notable contrast to the American situation), suggesting that even despite cultural hybridization, there is no simple broadening of the cultural canon of elite culture. There is evidence in some European nations that specifically national forms of cultural appreciation are becoming increasingly important. There is an upward trend in the popularity of domestic music artists since the late 1980s 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 UK, Savage et al. (2010) show that well educated professionals have a greater knowledge and appreciation of

British authors, musicians and painters than other social groups. They also note the increasing appeal of 'quirky' American writers and television programmes and the considerable waning of interest in continental European cultural forms, especially amongst younger age groups. And 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 radical right wing Party for Freedom. And Dutch music is increasingly sung in the native tongue (Achterberg et al., 2011). We thus need to be attentive to the continuation, rather than simple erosion, of national fields of taste as the trend of increasing popularity of Dutch music seems to support the idea of neo-nationalist cultural resistance against cultural globalization rather than homogenization, hybridization or diversification views on cultural globalization.

It is clear, then, that global cultural flows might not only be implicated in the proliferation of forms of mass or popular culture but might also be shaping the dynamics of cultural fields themselves. Cultural capital may involve familiarity with cultural reference points from a wider variety of geographical areas, not just within a particular national culture or from the classical European tradition. Therefore, rather than national fields being simply eclipsed by transnational fields, they co-exist with differing degrees of salience for specific social groups and across various cultural domains. Literature is likely to be different to film, for instance.

Our aim in this paper will therefore be twofold. Firstly, we will examine the structure of cultural taste in the Netherlands to assess to what extent it is possible to observe clear divisions between highbrow and lowbrow cultural forms. Here we will show that Dutch taste, like that in many other nations, is significantly stratified. Secondly, we will explore to what extent appreciation of different geographical tastes is associated with forms of cultural capital as a means of demonstrating the geographical reworking of cultural divisions. We will examine to what extent traditional highbrow and lowbrow cultural activities are related to the consumption of national, European and American music, books and films. We will empirically examine whether national and American flows of consumption are related to lowbrow cultural activities whereas European, or a combination of national and foreign cultural goods, will be clustered with more highbrow cultural activities.

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 5000 Dutch households (comprising 8000 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). 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 = 4785).

Because we want to examine the organization of the Dutch cultural field and are dealing with categorical data, we performed MCA. This is a data analysis technique which provides a geometric representation of positions by points as a means of summarizing relations between categorized variables (for more information see Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004). In sociology, this method was popularized as a means of unravelling the composition of cultural fields by Bourdieu (1984), and has been more recently popularized in the UK by Bennett et al. (2009) and in Scandinavia by Prieur et al. (2008). This study is one of the first to examine cultural participation in the Netherlands using MCA, making the results interesting to compare with previous studies conducted in the UK, France, and Scandinavia.

Given the concerns of this paper, we decided to construct a 'cultural space' involving questions on the extent of consumption for films, books, music and arts, and on whether tastes were specifically for Dutch or foreign cultural forms. 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 those who spend more than the average amount of minutes per week (1) and people who spend less than the weekly average amount of minutes on these activities (0).²

Secondly, we used nine questions about different leisure activities, drawn from the 13 which were asked about on the survey. Given the skew of the questions towards 'high-brow' culture, we experimented with different variables, leaving out some variables which focused on highbrow culture (e.g. attending the opera, going to ballet) in order to achieve the best balance between the maximum range of cultural interests. We recoded the variables, distinguishing between respondents who engaged seldom to often (1) and those who never engaged in these activities (0) in the last 12 months.

Thirdly, and most importantly given our concerns, we added three questions regarding tastes for national or foreign forms of 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 were only attracted to Dutch films, books or music, those who were only interested in foreign forms, those who were interested in both kinds, and finally those who seldom or never took part in these interests (four modalities per cultural form).³ 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 4332. Table 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 only (2.4%)), so these may be more likely to be positioned in extreme locations of the MCA.

Following the approach of Le Roux et al. (2008) and Bennett et al. (2009), we used socio-demographic variables as supplementary, to map onto the cultural space defined by the 15 active variables. 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

Table 1. Distribution of active variables.

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

Source: Liss 2011, N = 4332.

education (*HAVO/VWO*) (11%), intermediate professional education (*MBO*) (22.8%), higher professional education (*HBO*) (22.9%), and academic education (*WO*) (8.0%).⁴

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, though we need to be aware that it does not tap all sociologically relevant issues concerned with ethnicity.

Finally, we also decided to include supplementary variables on additional particular geographical ranges of cultural tastes to further examine the composition of cosmopolitan tastes. Given that we included these variables as part of our active space, we need to explain our reasoning for this. We are able to assess for respondents to what extent they have an exclusive taste for national or foreign cultural goods or a combination of geographical areas, e.g. whether they preferred just Dutch, Dutch and American, or Dutch and other European forms of film. Many of the frequencies for these combinations are too small to be used as active variables, but as supplementary variables they may allow us to provide further insights into the geographical range of cultural tastes.

Accordingly, for each cultural domain, we distinguished 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), 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.

Analysis of Cosmopolitan Preferences in the Dutch Cultural Field

Before looking at the composition of the cultural field, Table 3 shows the number of axes to be interpreted. The eigenvalues show 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 (with 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 space, 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.⁵

Axis 1: Omnivores versus disengaged

Figure 1 displays the cloud of active modalities, which indicates that fundamental patterns regarding cultural participation and taste in the Netherlands are similar to those from many other European nations (e.g. Bennett et al., 2009; Lebaron et al., 2009; Prieur

Table 2. 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 = 4332.

Table 3. (Modified) Eigen values and modified cumulated rates.

| | Axis 1 | Axis 2 | Axis 3 | Axis 4 |
|--------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Eigenvalues | 0.1763 | 0.1175 | 0.0993 | 0.0812 |
| Modified Eigen values | 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 Eigen values and cumulated rates, see Benzécri (1992).

Source: Liss 2011, N = 4332.

et al., 2008). The first axis separates out by volume, with the right-hand side predominantly registering positive activity in most of the cultural areas, and the left-hand side revealing the reverse. Modalities are distinguished between (green) triangles, indicating geographical tastes for reading, films and music; (red) diamonds for minutes listening to radio, TV and DVDs, and (blue) squares for leisure activities. We can immediately see that on the extreme left are the modalities for seldom or never watching films, reading books, or listening to music. 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.

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 1. This similarly conforms to other studies of cultural engagement which invariably demonstrate that TV watching is inversely correlated with other kinds of cultural participation. However, the causal relationship between these is unclear.⁶

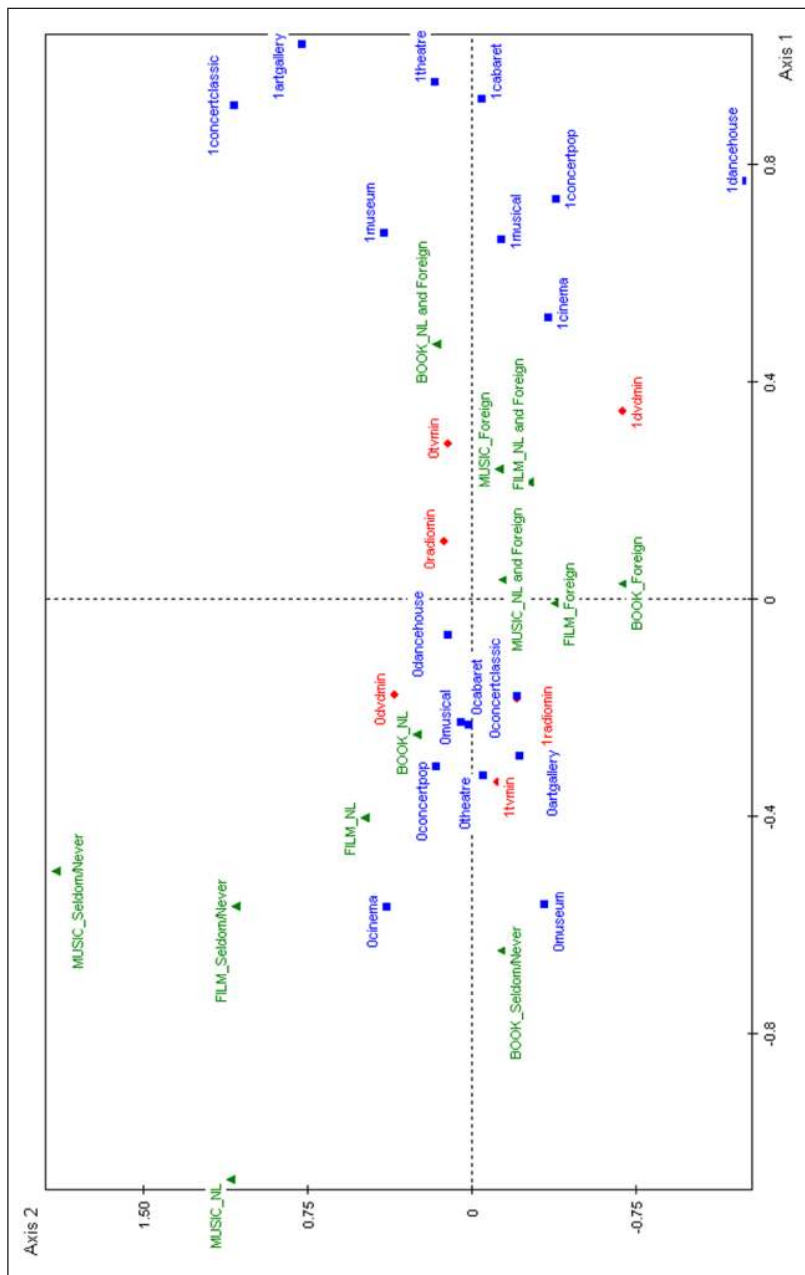


Figure 1. Cloud of active modalities: axis 1-2.

It is striking that the national modalities (concerning films, books and music) are clearly arrayed on this first axis as well, with on the right-hand side a liking for both Dutch and foreign forms of films, books and music. The culturally engaged are attracted to both national and foreign culture. They do not repudiate specifically Dutch cultural forms so much as consume these alongside various foreign cultural forms as well. However, an exclusive taste for Dutch films, books and music is associated with cultural disengagement. To simply have a taste for national cultural forms is hence associated with those lacking any cultural capital. This is clear evidence for Fligstein's (2008) argument that national fields remain important for some groups of the population, even whilst others consume cultural forms from across a wider spectrum.

Axis 2: Highbrow versus emerging cultural capital

The second (y) axis is in many ways more sociologically interesting, and also conforms to findings from other national studies. On the top of axis 2 is a predisposition for 'high culture' – going to classical concerts, art galleries and museums, along with spending considerable time reading books. A taste for 'high culture' does not appear to be associated with specific geographical reference points. On the bottom of axis 2, by contrast, we see interests in 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 'emerging' cultural capital which is characteristic of younger well educated groups, and which valorises physical activity and intense interests in contemporary cultural forms (see Prieur and Savage, 2011). We can also see that those who only like foreign books and films are located on this area, suggesting some affiliation between more popular forms of culture and a predisposition to foreign cultural forms, though this is not very marked.

Axis 3: Dutch versus non-Dutch

We now turn to the third axis of this space, which demonstrates a striking pattern (Figure 2). Here, we do not see leisure modalities stand out, but at the top of axis 3 we see a taste for foreign films, books and music standing out. This is clearly different from a taste for foreign and Dutch films, books and music (which is towards the centre of this third axis) and an exclusive taste for 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 native Dutch and other cultural products is linked specifically to this third axis and has this effect 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 engage in Dutch cultural forms altogether and those who partake of Dutch culture, located at the bottom of the third axis.

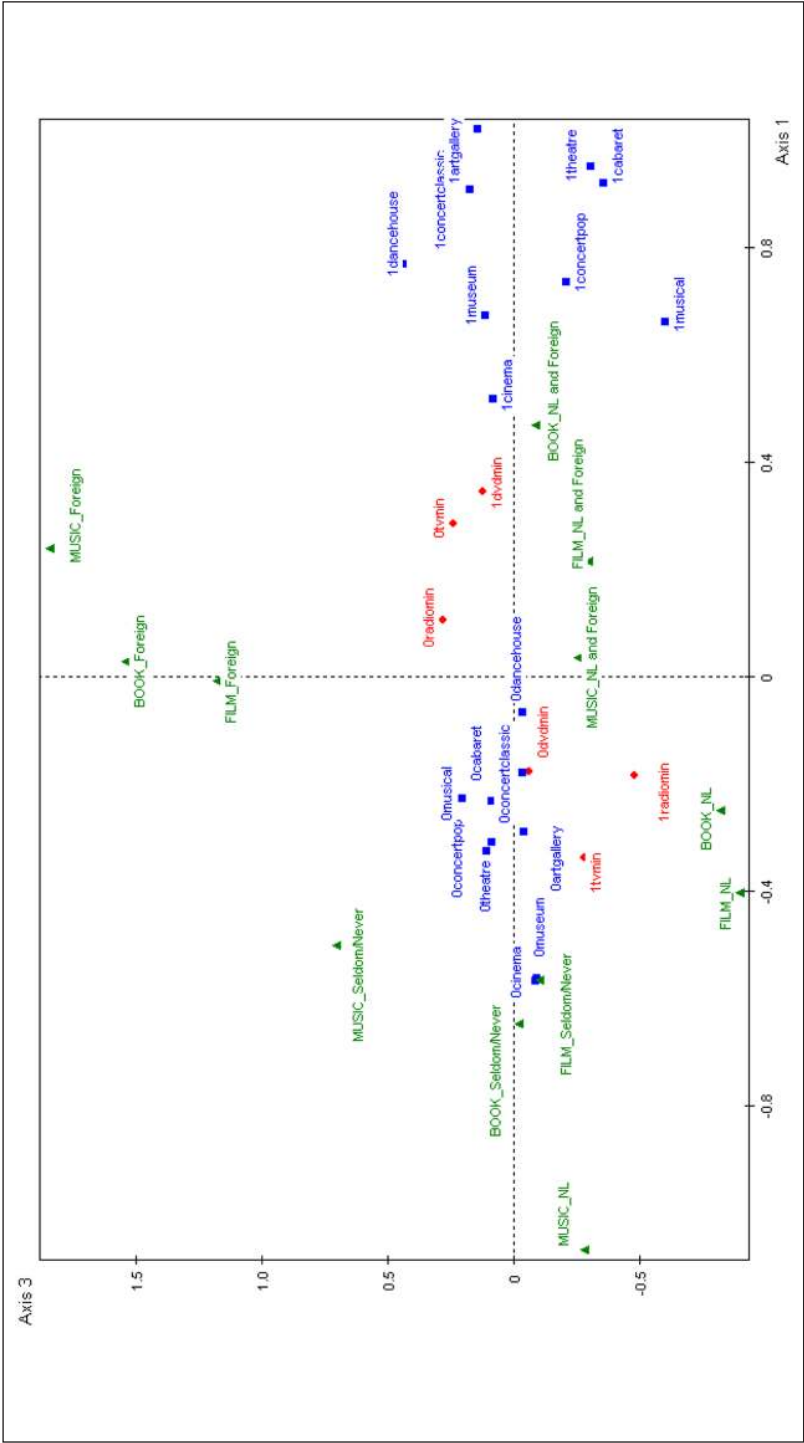


Figure 2. Cloud of active modalities: axis 1 – 3.

Cloud of supplementary socio-demographic modalities

The interpretation of these three axes is reinforced by superimposing supplementary variables (see Figure 3). Here we can assess the association of cultural tastes and practices revealed in Figure 2 with respondents' educational qualifications, age, sex and ethnicity. 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. This analysis helps us to unravel the forms of privilege and advantage associated with these two axes to assess how far they are socially structured. Figure 3 shows that level of education is strongly associated with axis 1, with the better 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 less education are much more likely to be disengaged. Age, by contrast, is loaded closely onto the second axis, with younger people being likely to be associated with popular culture and music and older people more drawn to established highbrow culture. This is also completely 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 engaged in highbrow cultural forms than non-natives (of whom at least one of the parents is not born in the Netherlands), who are more engaged in popular culture.

Figure 4 demonstrates, surprisingly, that the third axis is not closely linked to standard socio-demographic variables. Although the higher educated seem to be somewhat more likely to be engaged in 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, 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. Respondents' ethnicity is somewhat differentiated by axis 3, as we would expect, with non-natives located towards those less engaged in Dutch culture.

Unpacking Cosmopolitanism

We have found out so far that there are different geographical dimensions clearly loaded onto two of our three axes, indicating that cosmopolitan taste is not a unitary phenomenon but appears to be associated with differing structuring factors. The first axis contrasts people with a geographically varied cultural taste (on the right) from those inclined to few cultural forms which are predominantly Dutch (on the left). The third axis distinguishes those attracted to Dutch culture, at the bottom, and foreign, non-Dutch culture, at the top. There is a hint that the second axis is also geographically dispersed, with those interested in foreign cultural forms being more likely to exhibit emerging popular rather than established cultural capital tastes.

In this section we probe the suggestion that cosmopolitan taste is therefore multifaceted, by using additional, more refined supplementary modalities on preferences for different national and regional cultural forms to allow us to pull out further nuances on the way that the cosmopolitan disposition is associated with the three axes we have explored.

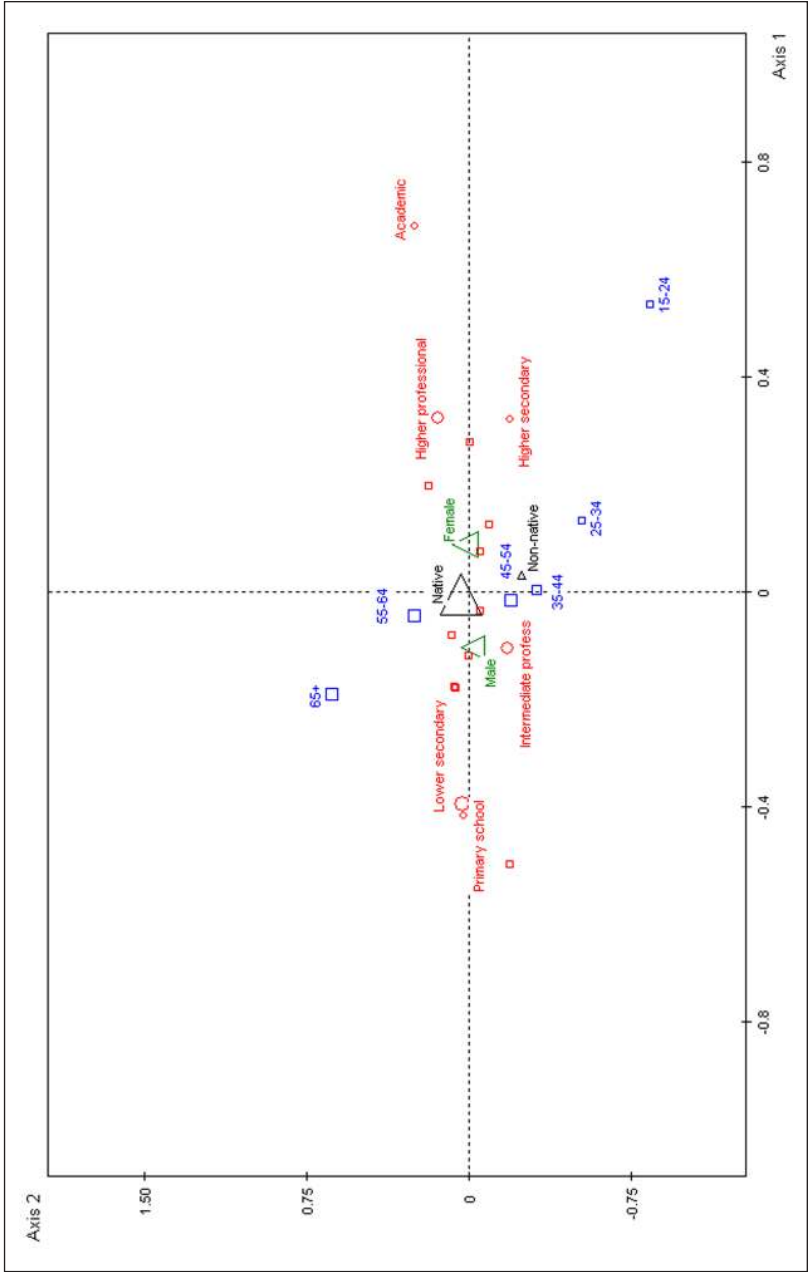


Figure 3. Cloud of supplementary socio-demographic modalities: axis 1-2.

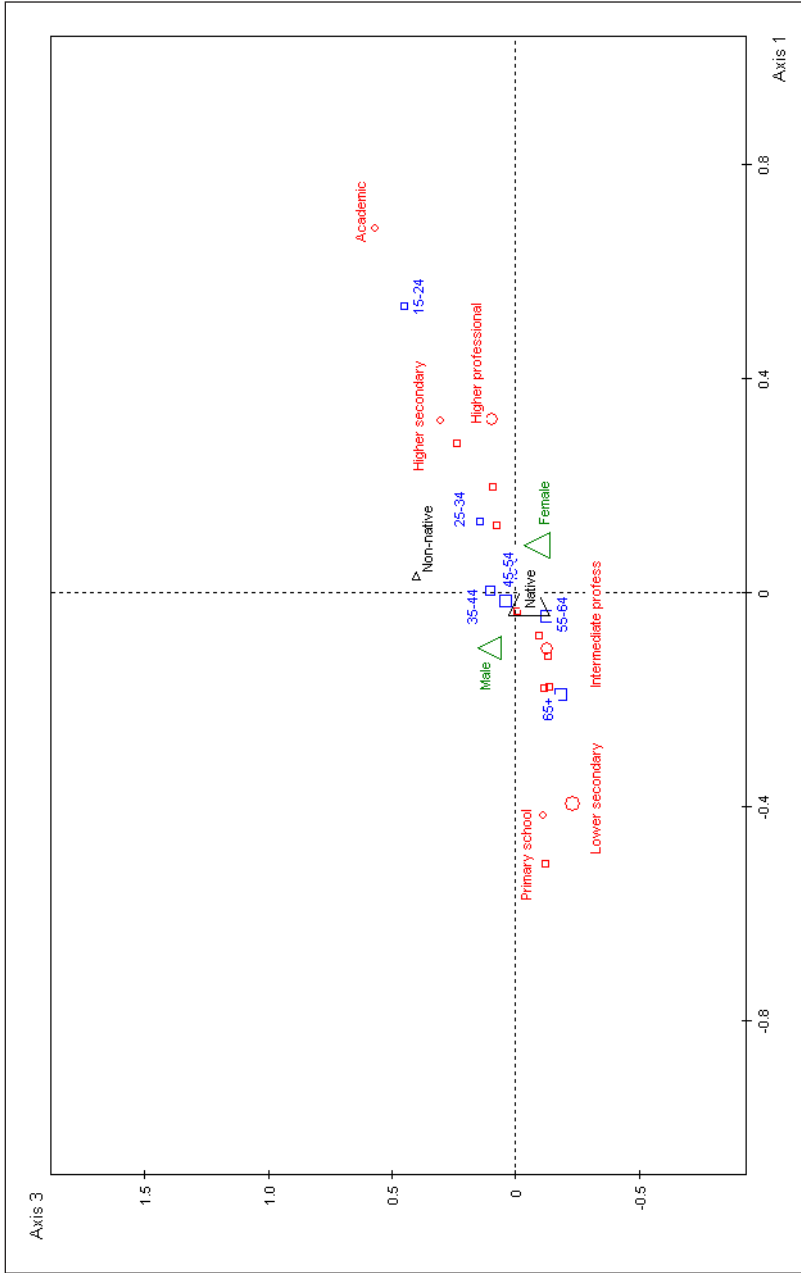


Figure 4. Cloud of supplementary socio-demographic modalities: axis 1-3.

This is especially important in allowing us to distinguish preferences for American and European (non-Dutch) cultural tastes, so that we can make our results bear on the analysis of cultural capital which we introduced earlier.

Film taste

Figure 5 shows the consumption of films, distinguishing between (a combination of) Dutch, European, American, and films from other areas. Here we have also 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_nleurlusa other'). As we would expect, the range of tastes 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. But we can also distinguish a very clear geographical divide on the second axis – which was not so apparent in Figure 1. Those drawn specifically to American films (in various combinations) are on the bottom of axis 2. By contrast, those who are drawn specifically to European or Dutch films (or both of these together) are at the top. This is evidence that a taste for American films, associated with the younger and better educated, is a marker of emerging cultural capital.

Figure 6 shows that the third axis is entirely stratified in terms of whether respondents like Dutch films in various combinations (at the bottom of axis 3) and various combinations of non-Dutch 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 non-Dutch consumption.

Reading taste

Films are a cultural form where American influences have been strong worldwide for many decades. Figure 7 reveals the findings for book readership, which is a relatively highbrow pastime (as revealed by the large square for never or seldom reading). Here again, we see on the first axis a familiar differentiation between those who never read (on the left) compared to the omnivorous 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 'emerging' cultural capital at the bottom of axis 2 tend towards American reading (in combinations with other areas). Perhaps surprisingly, the most 'disengaged' readers are drawn to American, as well as Dutch, books. However, these patterns are less marked than for film.

Figure 8 reveals subtle patterns on the third axis. At the bottom are those who read only Dutch books (or Dutch books along with those from outside Europe and America). At the top are those who read various combinations of European and American books, and in the middle are the omnivores who read Dutch along with European and American books.

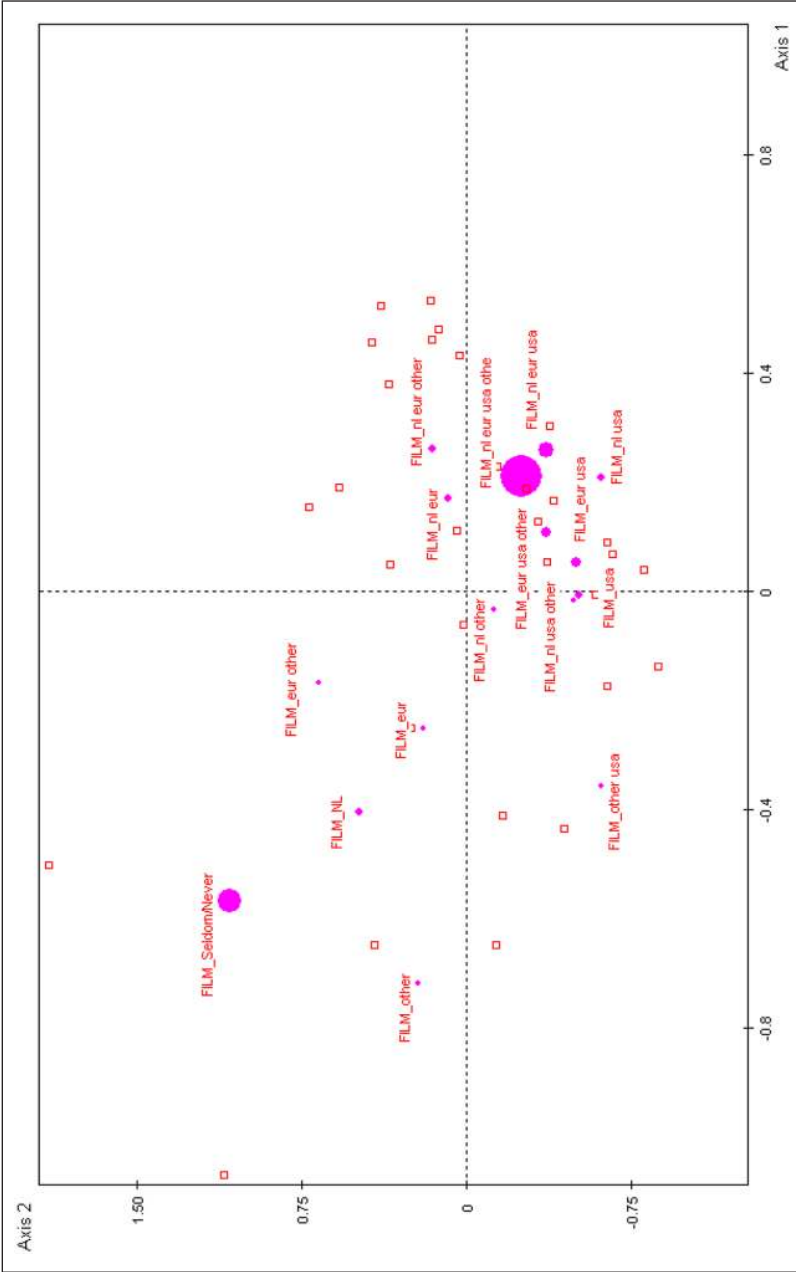


Figure 5. Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of film taste: axis 1-2.

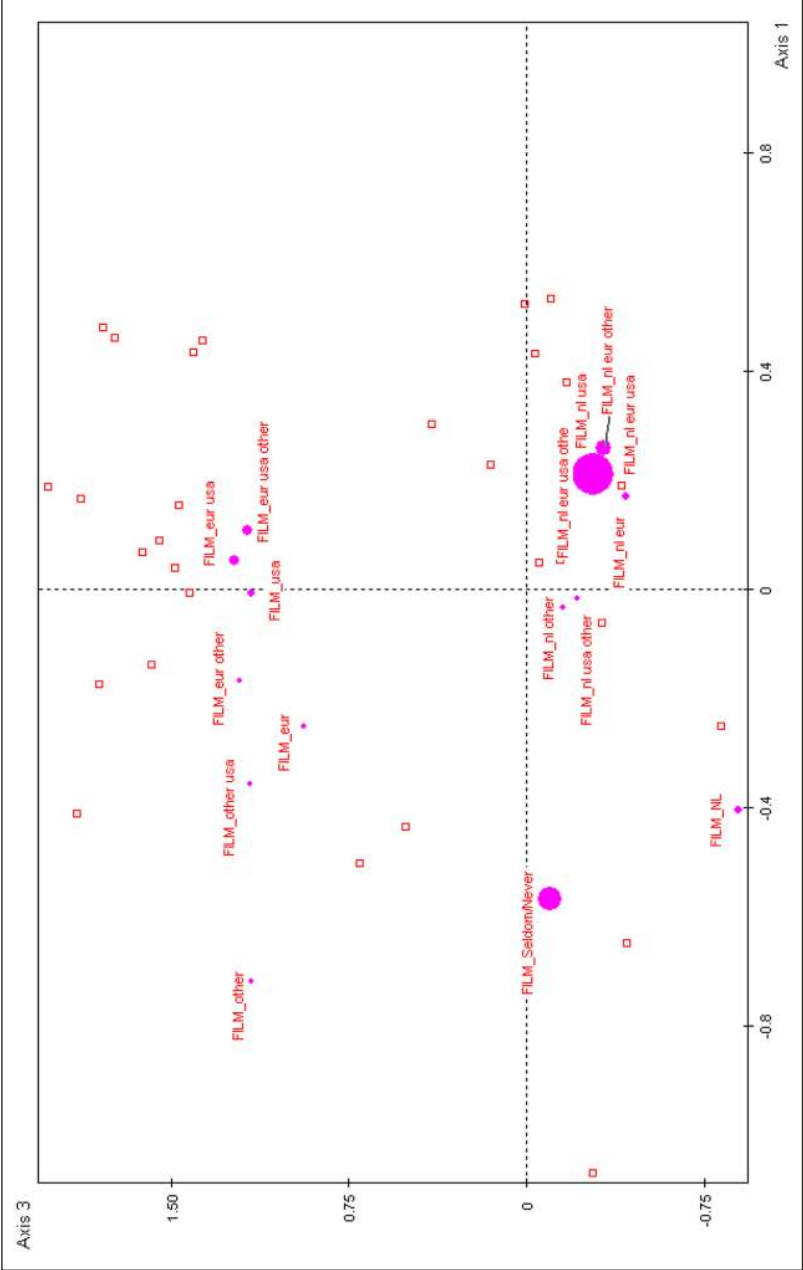


Figure 6. Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of film taste: axis 1-3.

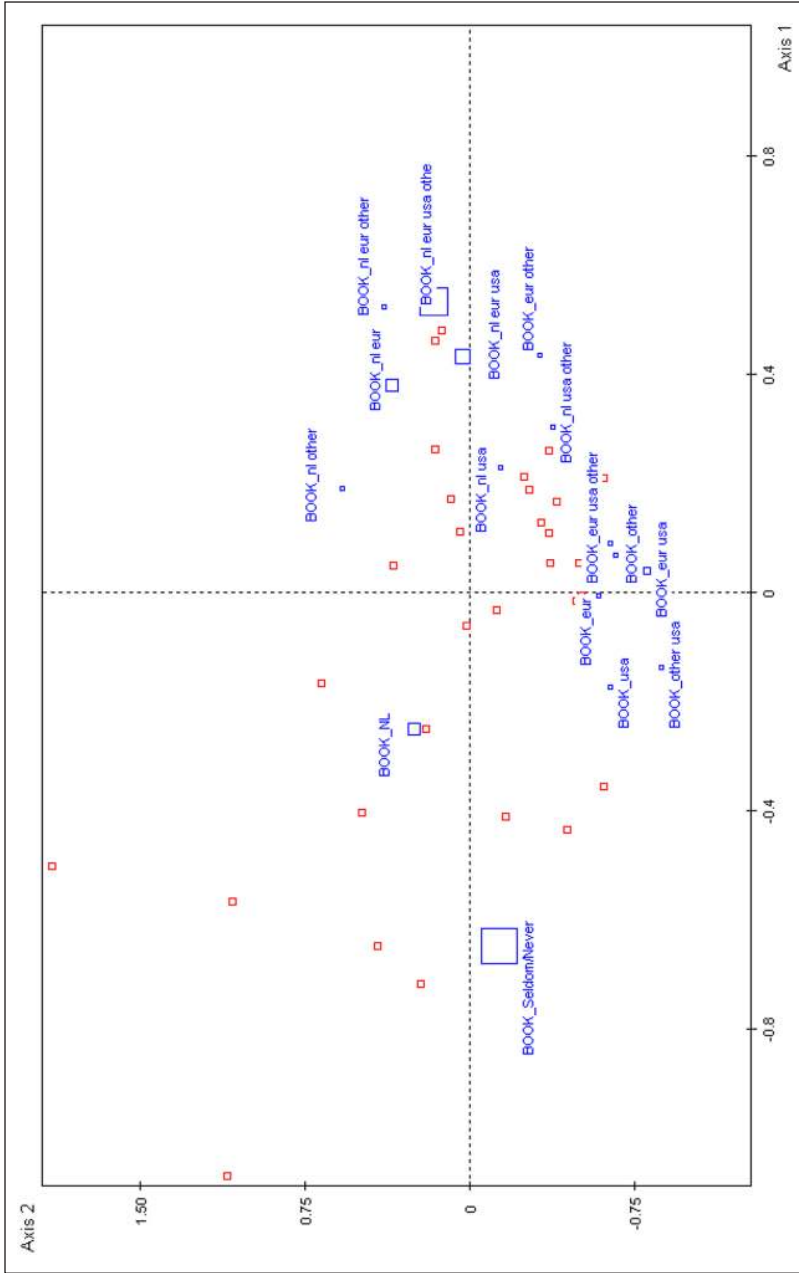


Figure 7. Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of reading taste: axis 1 -2.

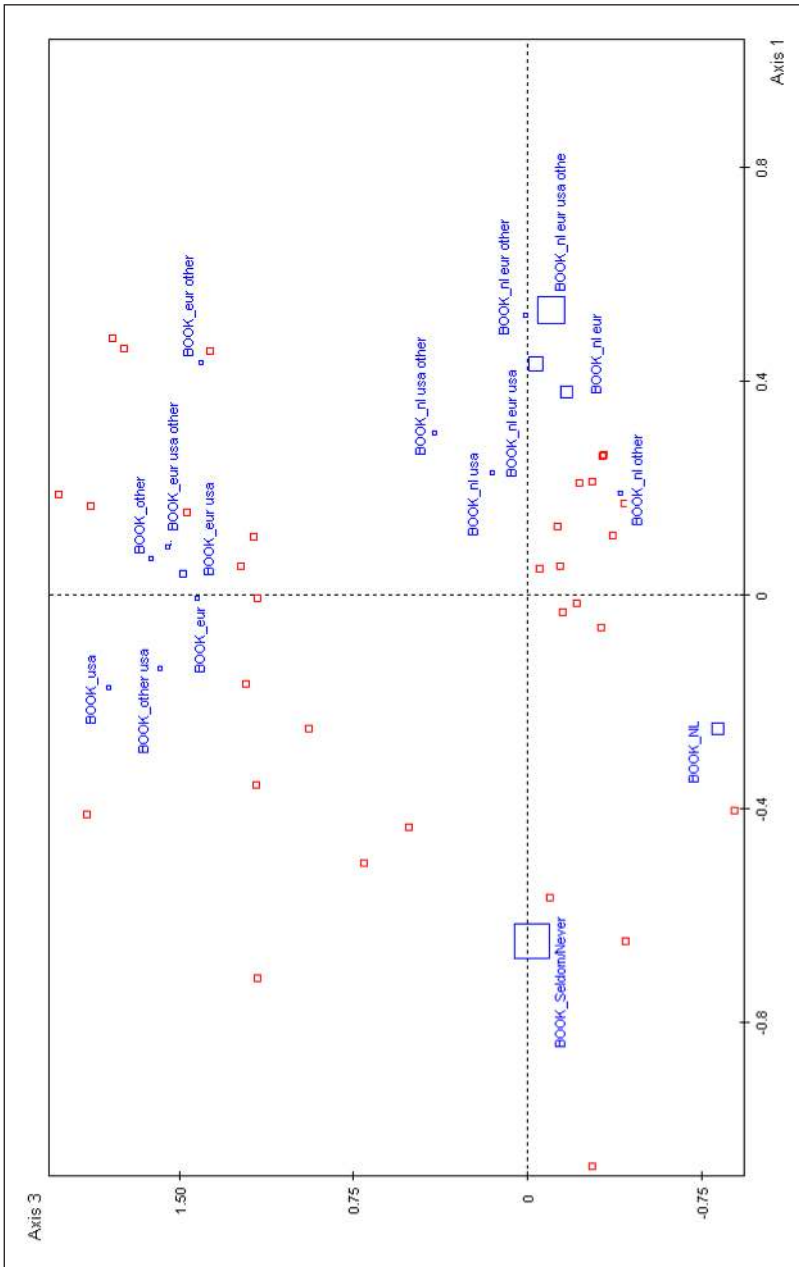


Figure 8. Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of reading taste: axis 1-3.

Musical taste

Figure 9 looks at the consumption of music, distinguishing between Dutch, European, Anglo-American and other music. In line with our finding above, a liking for Dutch music alone or in association with European music is strongly linked to disengagement, as they are positioned on the extreme left of axis 1, whereas liking 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 associated with the highbrow quadrant of the active space. This is perhaps evidence for a certain kind of Eurocentric cosmopolitan cultural capital. By contrast, a liking for Anglo-American (sometimes combined with Dutch and European) music is linked to more popular tastes at the bottom of axis 2. We are once again reminded that a taste for Dutch cultural consumption is not confined to established tastes (and an older population) but is also appealing to younger tastes when it is combined with interests in Anglo-American music.

Finally, Figure 10 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.

Links between cosmopolitan tastes and the cultural field

Figures 5–10 allow us to demonstrate that there are additional, more subtle differentiations which are not apparent from Figures 1–4, which used simpler geographical variables. Table 4 summarizes the main findings, demonstrating the multi-faceted way in which cosmopolitan tastes are linked to the cultural field. This shows that the first division is between engagement in various cultural activities (omnivores) and the more disengaged. Cultural engagement was associated with higher education (and social class) and consumption from a broad range of geographical areas, whereas lower social strata and consumption of Dutch goods are associated with cultural disengagement. Secondly, we differentiate between tastes for more traditional highbrow forms of culture and a taste for what we term ‘emerging’ cultural capital. The first was related to older age groups and a more European-oriented cultural taste, whereas the latter was associated with an American-oriented cultural taste among younger age groups. Finally, the third major cultural division appeared to be between Dutch and non-Dutch cultural tastes. Although not very marked, the higher educated and non-natives are associated with non-Dutch culture. The geographical correlates show little distinction between the specific geographical areas (European, American, other) as long as tastes are not combined with Dutch culture.

Conclusions

In this paper we have gone beyond the simple recognition that the well-educated tend to appreciate various foreign cultural goods and that this might be a marker of ‘cosmopolitan/multi-cultural capital’ (Bennett et al., 2009; Bryson, 1996; Prieur et al., 2008; Prieur and Savage, 2011; Savage et al., 2011; Woodward et al., 2008). We have been able to

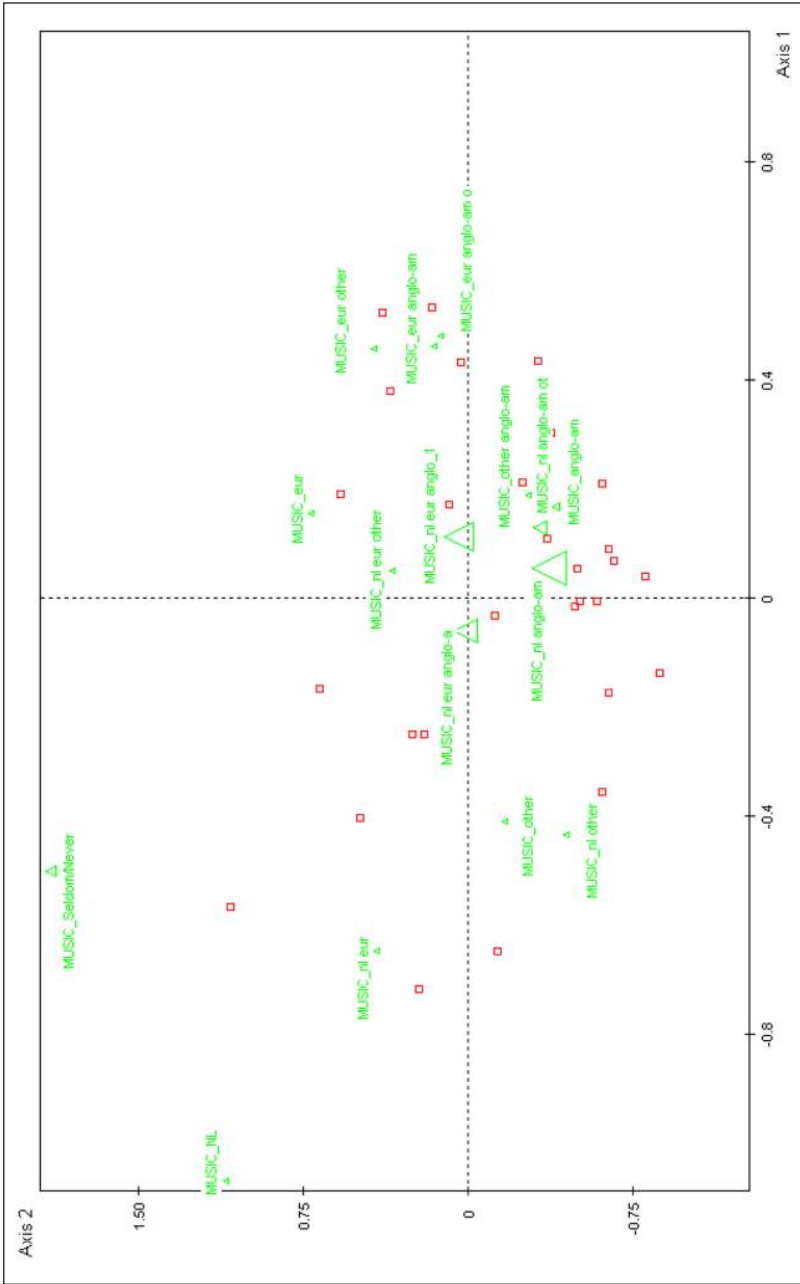


Figure 9. Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of musical taste: axis 1-2.

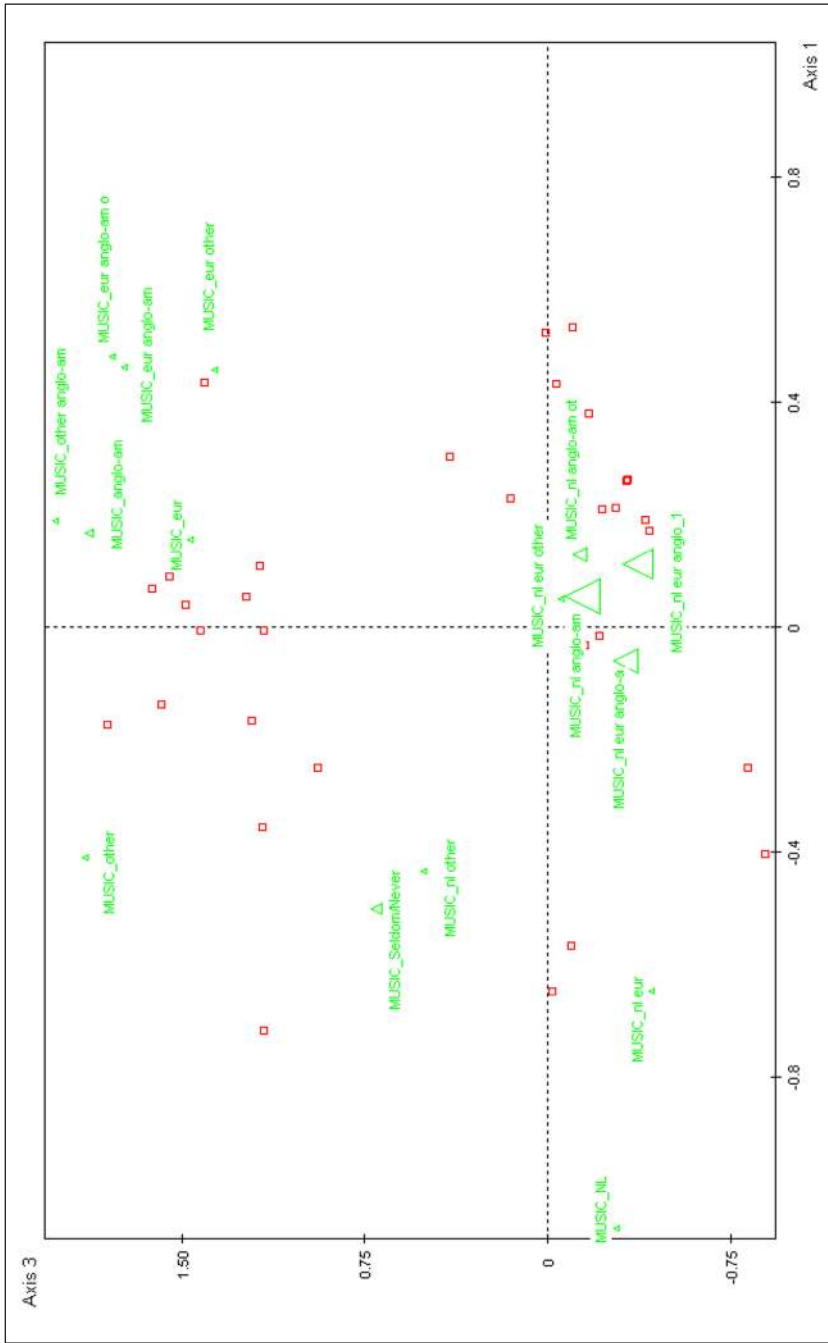


Figure 10. Cloud of supplementary modalities for detailed geography of musical taste: axis 1-3.

Table 4. Summary of MCA findings.

| | Axis 1 | Axis 2 | Axis 3 |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|--|
| Major cultural divisions | Omnivores vs disengaged | Highbrow vs emerging cultural capital | Dutch versus non-Dutch |
| Socio-demographic correlates | Education, class | Age | Education, native (slight) |
| Geographical correlates | All parts of the world vs Dutch | European oriented vs American oriented | Dutch (and combinations) vs non-Dutch (and combinations) |

pursue this question in a much more specific and focused way through arraying preferences for different kinds of geographical tastes within an analysis of the Dutch cultural field, and have demonstrated that tastes for cosmopolitan items are arrayed with no less than three different processes, each operating independently of each other, and each conveying slightly different meanings.

Our fundamental point here is to insist on the need to place cultural consumption within a wider field analysis. It is unhelpful to claim that the mere act of consuming cultural forms originating from outside the Netherlands has generic ‘cosmopolitan’ qualities. Rather, it is necessary to place these acts within the wider palette of individuals’ cultural consumption. Such an exercise reveals much more nuanced findings. Firstly, and most significantly, corresponding to the first axis of Figure 3, the well-educated do indeed tend to appreciate a combination of Dutch and foreign culture. By contrast, those who are solely drawn to Dutch culture tend to be disengaged and also socially disadvantaged. This axis confirms Fligstein’s (2008) views that the emerging European field is differentiating national populations along class lines, and that it is the well-educated middle-classes who are able to participate in ‘international’ culture. Those with less cultural capital, focused on national cultural forms, might hold more negative views, preferring to protect and preserve their national culture from the influence of cultural globalization with neo-nationalist ideas.

Secondly, corresponding to the second axis, those who are more highbrow tend to be more drawn to cultural forms from Europe (and other parts of the world apart from the US), rather than American tastes. This confirms that there is indeed an association between ‘legitimate’ high culture and a form of Eurocentric appreciation, though this is also being extended to an interest in culture from other parts of the world. By contrast, respondents with a taste for popular cultural forms, the younger cohorts, are more drawn to American cultural forms, often in association with Dutch forms. This finding has significant implications. It recognizes the appeal of American culture to younger generations as not residing simply in its popular qualities but also in appealing to the well-educated. It also appears that the kind of canonical European high culture that was the focus of Bourdieu’s work does appear to be the province 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.

Thirdly, we finish with something of a puzzle. The third axis is not strongly associated with any socio-demographic group, but differentiates between those disengaged from

Dutch cultural forms and those who partake of them. This appears to be some kind of ‘nativist’ axis. It does not distinguish between social classes, and only marginally between different educational groups or between immigrants and natives.

In conclusion, our findings demonstrate that the idea of cosmopolitanism is currently used too loosely to do much analytical work in cultural sociology. There are numerous ways of exhibiting ‘cosmopolitan’ tastes, and we need to understand better the specific stakes attached to particular geographical cultural interests (whether these be national, European, American, or from other parts of the world) rather than use the loose cosmopolitan label as a conceptual catch-all. There are also subtle differences between cultural forms, with reading exhibiting less diverse national tastes than music. Our findings strongly accord with the critics of Beck (e.g. Calhoun, 2010) who insist on the need for contextualized and focused understandings of how national and international forces intertwine in subtle yet powerful ways.

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Notes

1. 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). 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.
2. We experimented with different codings of these variables, including those with these variables broken into quintiles, but the experiment led to a horseshoe effect on axis 1–2.
3. Unlike the categorization of leisure activities, we decided to group people who seldom participated in national or foreign cultural forms together with people who never engaged in these activities, to avoid small frequencies.
4. We have tested also for the power of a variable for social class as supplementary modalities. However, our analysis shows that it acts similarly to that for educational attainment and, for reasons of parsimony, we do not report it here.
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. See Putnam (2000) for a well-known argument that TV watching reduces the propensity to be socially engaged.

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