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Social Change and Musical Classification Systems:  
The US, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, 1955-2005

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An abstract of  
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Emory University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
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## Abstract

### Social Change and Musical Classification Systems: The US, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, 1955-2005 By Vaughn C. Schmutz

This dissertation addresses the relationship between broad dimensions of social change and the ways in which music is classified in four countries from 1955 to 2005. In particular, the substantive chapters examine the impact of globalization, commercialization, and social heterogeneity and inequality on the relative position of classical and popular music in each country, the cultural legitimacy of various actors and music genres, and the extent of hierarchy and differentiation in the musical field. Drawing extensively on content analysis of newspapers in the four countries in reference years between 1955 and 2005, this dissertation shows that popular music has gained considerable cultural legitimacy in the four countries, although the extent and timing of this trend varies. In addition, this dissertation demonstrates that the four countries demonstrate a greater international orientation to popular music actors, while remaining highly focused on the affluent centers of music production in popular music and more oriented to domestic and European actors in classical music (see chapter 2). Trends toward greater commercialization in cultural production are shown to occur alongside the growing autonomy of music critics and a greater tendency to adopt a critical, evaluative perspective on popular music (see chapter 3). Chapter 4 represents a rare attempt to empirically test Paul DiMaggio's influential theory of artistic classification systems. The chapter indicates that social heterogeneity and inequality have both expected and unexpected relationships to the extent of differentiation and hierarchy evident in the musical classification systems of the four countries. In general, the dissertation builds on cross-national comparative research to add to our understanding of the relationship between social change and processes of cultural legitimacy and classification.

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As a sociologist of culture, I embrace the truism that art is a collective enterprise. By corollary, I view research as a fundamentally collaborative effort as well. In that spirit, I wish to acknowledge a few among the many who contributed in a variety of ways to my successful navigation of graduate school and to the completion of this dissertation.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### **Introduction: Social change and musical classification systems**

Scholars have used a variety of labels to denote broad social and cultural changes characteristic of Western societies since the 1950s, such as postmodernism, consumerism, individualization, and globalization, to name only a few. Accompanying such broad changes, scholars also contend that traditional cultural hierarchies (i.e. “high culture”) have been eroded by the “massification of elite culture” (Lash 1990), as well as through declining cohesiveness among elites (DiMaggio 1991, 1992) and increasing eclecticism in their cultural preferences (Peterson and Kern 1996). Meanwhile, the concomitant commercialization of cultural fields, including those that deal in high culture (e.g. symphony orchestras), has been associated with factors ranging from the growing market orientation of arts professionals (Peterson 1986; DiMaggio 1986, 1991) to the rise of consumption practices as a source of individual and collective identity (Featherstone 1991, Zukin and Maguire 2004). In addition to declining hierarchy and commercialization of the arts, others point to the rapid expansion in the volume and variety of cultural goods available in the global marketplace, which has altered global cultural flows (Appadurai 1996; Tomlinson 1999).

The changes described above have consequences for cultural classification systems, by which I mean the ways that societies classify cultural products and develop associated norms and practices. As a result of such changes, as I elaborate below, cultural classification systems in Western societies have apparently become less hierarchical, more differentiated, more weakly bounded, less universally shared, more market-oriented, and more international since the 1950s. Yet at the same time,

comparative research suggests that the timing of such shifts and the degree to which cultural hierarchies have diminished varies considerably cross-nationally. In the chapters that follow, I seek to expand on comparative research on social change and cultural classification systems by focusing on media coverage of music in the US, Germany, France, and the Netherlands from 1955 to 2005. In particular, I focus on how broad aspects of social change, such as globalization, commercialization, inequality and heterogeneity, are associated with cultural classifications in the four countries.

In his theory of artistic classification systems, DiMaggio (1987) suggests four dimensions along which such systems differ at the societal level as well as several social structural factors that might affect each dimension. For one, artistic classification systems can vary in their *differentiation*, or the degree to which genres are institutionally bounded<sup>1</sup>. Second, artistic classification systems can vary in the degree to which genres are ranked by prestige, which is an indicator of *hierarchy*<sup>2</sup>. A third dimension of variation is *universality*, or the degree to which there is agreement among members of a society in the ways they recognize and classify genres. Finally, artistic classification systems can vary in their *boundary strength*, or the degree to which genre boundaries are highly ritualized and difficult to transgress. Although much cited, DiMaggio's (1987) theory of artistic classification systems has largely escaped systematic analysis and cross-national comparison. Focusing on musical classifications, this dissertation seeks to measure levels of differentiation, hierarchy, and universality in the US, Germany, France, and the Netherlands at different points in time since 1955. In addition, it seeks to examine how well social structural factors (e.g. social inequality and heterogeneity) at the

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<sup>1</sup> Art worlds that are highly segmented with many identifiable genres are highly differentiated.

<sup>2</sup> In more hierarchical systems, genres diverge widely in prestige and command unequal resources.

national level predict changes over time and cross-national differences in the relevant dimensions of musical classification systems. Chapter 4 represents a rare attempt to operationalize such factors and to estimate their relative impact on systems of cultural classification.

A related point of interest concerns the extent to which popular music has gained in cultural status within such systems and perhaps acquired the honorific designation of art, a process that some label “aesthetic mobility” to indicate movement up the classification hierarchy. Because classification systems are always subject to change, DiMaggio (1987) suggests that each of the four dimensions must continually reenact both its organizational and its cognitive components. In considering the factors that enable cultural forms to gain legitimacy, sociologists have paid particular attention to the role of social change in creating an *opportunity space* for ascendant art forms (DiMaggio 1992; Peterson 1994) and to the *institutionalization of resources* by actors within a cultural field (Becker 1982). Such research tends to accentuate the organizational components of aesthetic classification systems relative to their cognitive ones. Somewhat less empirical research has focused on the role of a *legitimizing ideology* in articulating and circulating claims to artistic worth (Baumann 2001, 2007). Chapter 3 calls attention to the relationship between the highly commercialized field of popular music and the degree to which media coverage and critical discourse has contributed to the cultural legitimacy of popular music.

Music provides an interesting case with which to explore broader changes in cultural classification systems because it is a field of cultural production that has experienced considerable transformations during the study period. Among other changes,

scholars suggest that this period has witnessed an increased mixing of musical styles (Erlmann 2003, Stokes 2004), a proliferation of musical genres (Negus 1997), a decline in the honorific status of classical music (DiMaggio 1991, 1992; Dowd et al 2002), the widespread acceptance of jazz music as a legitimate art form (Lopes 2002), as well as the globalization and valorization of popular musical forms like rock 'n' roll and rap (Regev 1994, 1997; Mitchell 2001). However, the degree to which certain popular musical forms have become widely accepted as having artistic merit differs across time and space (Phillips and Owens 2004; Bevers 2005). Chapter 2 considers the extent to which globalization has created a global popular music field and the degree to which it has changed the international orientation of each of the four countries. In addressing issues related to globalization, commercialization, and artistic classification systems, a key premise of the chapters that follow is that critics, as intermediaries in cultural fields, are an important source and indicator of the legitimacy of diverse musical forms.

### **Critical discourse and cultural legitimacy**

Legitimacy is a widely used concept that has been defined in numerous ways. A common characterization comes from Suchman (1995) who defines legitimacy as “a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (574). Drawing on this and a number of other definitions in the sociological literature, Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway (2006) conceive of legitimacy as a social process whereby an innovation becomes locally validated, then diffused more broadly, and eventually achieves general validation or widespread acceptance. From this perspective, legitimacy is a multidimensional, gradual, and processual phenomenon. In

several ways, critics can be seen as relevant to the stages identified in this general process of legitimation.

For one, critical attention itself can be an indication that a particular innovation is legitimate. Consider, for example, that when relatively new American firms conduct initial public offerings, the number of reviews the firm receives is positively associated with its stock price regardless of the tenor of such reviews (Pollock and Rindova 2003). The longer-term success of a firm, however, requires continued attention and favorable evaluations from securities analysts (Zuckerman 1999). Thus, critical recognition itself can be an important source of initial validation, but sustained attention is required to achieve general validation. As a cultural form moves from local to general validation, critics often play a role in formalizing and diffusing the criteria by which the objects of their attention are classified and evaluated. Ferguson (1998) details how an “expansive culinary discourse” formalized the gastronomic field in France and diffused its accepted products, values, and conventions. In the process, culinary texts brought general validation to gastronomy and secured its prestigious position in the French cultural hierarchy. Thus, critics in a wide variety of organizational and cultural fields can play a significant role at each stage in the legitimation process.

A basic assumption of this dissertation, then, is that media attention can be an important source and indicator of cultural legitimacy (Deephouse and Suchman 2008). Media discourse signals the appropriateness and legitimacy of aesthetic and social categories, thereby reinforcing the broader classification system and its symbolic boundaries (Zuckerman, 1999). In particular, “prestige” media outlets are appealing indicators of legitimacy as they are produced by and for an elite readership and often set

the agenda for other media outlets (Boyle 2001, Gans 1979). Thus, newspaper coverage provides an especially appealing basis for obtaining comparative information about musical classification systems and the legitimating ideology that sustains them. As Peterson suggests (2005), it represents a plentiful and accessible data source for making longitudinal, cross-national comparisons. Furthermore, newspaper coverage is a relatively visible and widely circulated venue for music discourse, which indicates a degree of general validation relative to the more local sources of validation found in specialty publications about jazz (Lopes 2002) or rock music (Regev 1994, Macan 1997) that initially articulated claims of artistic worth for such genres.

Many have suggested that the influence of critics is likely to be more pronounced in elite art worlds in which their role is more highly institutionalized relative to non-elite art worlds (Lang 1958; Bourdieu 1984; Greenfield 1989; Shrum 1991, 1996) and where their standing and expertise is reinforced through academic programs at institutions of higher education (DiMaggio 1982; Bauman 2001). However, researchers have recently highlighted the impact of critical discourse in the apparent aesthetic mobility of some popular cultural forms in the United States. In his seminal study, Baumann (2001) shows that the intellectualizing discourse of film critics, who over the years increasingly drew on terminology (e.g. art, genius) and reviewing techniques (e.g. director is named and compared with other directors) associated with high culture, contributed to the valorization of film in the US. That is, their discourse increasingly treated film as an art form rather than as mere entertainment. Likewise, television reviews appear to have become more intellectual and to have increasingly drawn on “high art” discourse in recent years (Bielby, Moloney, and Ngo 2005). Similar arguments have been put forward



about the role of rock critics in creating a legitimating ideology for popular music (Regev 1994, Macan 1997), which have been followed up recently with some empirical substantiation. Below, I briefly review findings from research that suggests both the extent of critical discourse and the content of such discourse can have a legitimating impact.

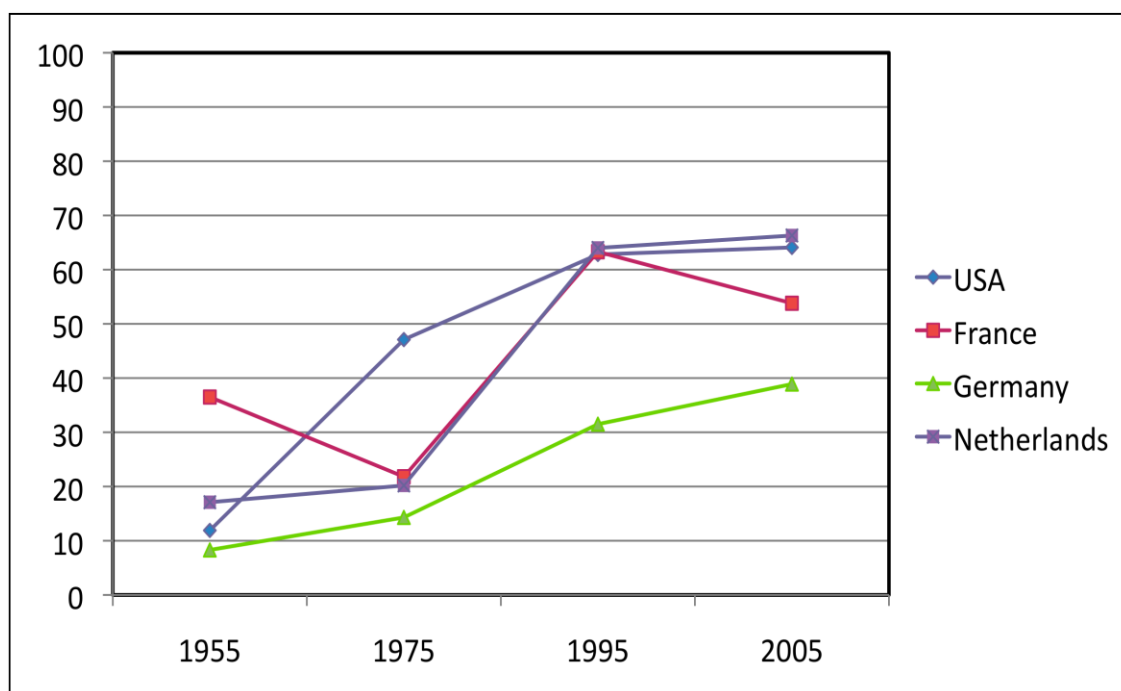
*The extent of media attention for popular music*

A growing number of organizational studies use the extent of media attention as an indicator of legitimacy (for a review, see Schneiberg and Clemens 2006, Deephouse and Suchman 2008). In the valuation of stock prices, Zuckerman (1999) shows how new American firms that fail to receive critical reviews from securities analysts who specialize in their product category are subject to an “illegitimacy discount.” His findings suggest that this devaluation has less to do with the actual tenor of the reviews, but simply that -- in the absence of such media coverage -- a firm’s position within the industry’s classification system remains ambiguous. Thus, by legitimating both the cultural actor or object and the category to which it belongs, media attention sustains and clarifies the classification system. Additional studies support the notion that the amount of media attention is associated with the legitimacy of firms (Bansal and Clelland 2004; Deeds et al. 2004; Pollock and Rindova 2003), organizational practices (Lamertz and Baum 1998), and management techniques (Abrahamson and Fairchild 1999). Indeed, the extent of media coverage can be a more straightforward predictor of legitimacy than the content or favorability of the coverage (Pollock and Rindova 2003; Zuckerman 1999), especially given that negative or critical attention was found to boost the reputations of some Dutch firms (Meijer and Kleinnijenhuis 2006).

In a forthcoming article, my colleagues and I show that the extent of attention to popular music in elite newspapers from the four countries has risen considerably since 1955 (Schmutz et al. forthcoming). We argue that this is an indicator of the increasing cultural legitimacy of popular music and of its ascendant position in the cultural hierarchy. At the same time, however, there is considerable variation in the timing and extent to which popular music coverage appears in the four countries' newspapers.

Figure 1 gives a basic illustration of the relative amount of space given to classical music and popular music in the US, France, Germany, and the Netherlands from 1955 to 2005.

**Figure 1.**  
**Percent of newspaper space devoted to popular music relative to classical music**



As Figure 1 shows, classical music dominated newspaper coverage of music in 1955 in all countries. By 1975, the US newspapers had greatly increased their attention to popular music, devoting nearly equal attention to classical and popular music, while classical music remained dominant in the European countries. By 1995, however, the

US, France, and the Netherlands all gave more newspaper space to popular music than classical music, which remained true in 2005. While Germany lagged behind the other three countries in attention to popular music, it gradually increased coverage over time. In sum, although the countries varied in the timing and extent of media attention to popular music, it is clear that it had gained cultural legitimacy over time, particularly when compared with 1955 (for further details, see Schmutz et al. forthcoming).

*The content of media discourse about popular music*

Much like the film critics who put forward a legitimating ideology for perceiving film as art (Baumann 2001), Regev (1994) argues that rock critics drew on the ideology of the autonomous artist to legitimate rock music as art. In a study of album reviews in the US, Germany, and the Netherlands, van Venrooij and Schmutz (forthcoming) demonstrate, on one hand, that popular music reviewers do draw on “high art” discourse; on the other hand, they also show that the prevalence of “high art” versus “popular” aesthetic criteria varies considerably across countries. Thus, it appears that the role of critics in legitimating popular music may differ in each country and is likely associated with broader cultural classifications and hierarchies. Nonetheless, the content of critical discourse can be an important source of cultural legitimacy for the popular music field at large, as well as for specific musicians and productions within the field.

Research on consecration in the field of popular music, for example, shows that critical evaluations are generally the strongest predictors of what albums become considered the “greatest” of all time (Schmutz 2005, Schmutz and Faupel forthcoming). The early rock critics that Regev (1994) credited with articulating and circulating legitimating claims about rock music were particularly influential in predicting what

albums continued to be counted among the greats many decades later (Schmutz 2005). Yet contemporary critics continue to have a pronounced impact on the likelihood that a particular music album is recognized, or consecrated, in this way (Schmutz and Faupel forthcoming). Furthermore, critics draw extensively on the types of intellectualizing and “high art” criteria described by Baumann (2001) in justifying the consecration of popular music albums (Schmutz and Faupel forthcoming) and this type of language becomes even more prevalent after an artist achieves consecrated status (Faupel and Schmutz forthcoming). In sum, both the extent and content of critical discourse are relevant to issues of cultural legitimacy. The aim of this dissertation is to consider how broad social changes – globalization, commercialization, social inequality and heterogeneity – affect musical classifications and shape the legitimacy of certain objects and actors in the musical field.

### **Commercialization and globalization**

The related commercialization and globalization of cultural fields has been widely discussed and its effects debated among social scientists. Tensions between art and commerce, on the one hand, and between local and global cultures, on the other, have produced parallel debates about the negative outcomes that commercializing and globalizing forces potentially produce in fields of cultural production. The strong boundaries constructed between art and commerce (DiMaggio 1982; Bourdieu 1984; Gans 1974) as well as between local and global cultures (Tomlinson 1991) have arguably been altered, perhaps weakened, by these two related developments. Commercial principles have become more pronounced in nearly every cultural domain, including those that were previously somewhat shielded from market forces, such as public

television (Powell and Friedkin 1986; Grindstaff and Turow 2006), museums (Alexander 1996), university presses (Powell 1986), news media (Jencks 1986; Bagdikian 2000; Croteau and Hoynes 2001), symphony orchestras (Glynn 2002), and so on. This appears to be the case even in countries (e.g. France) that have a strong tradition of state support for the arts (Toepler and Zimmer 2002). Likewise, although scholars disagree about its specific consequences, they generally agree that globalization has impacted virtually all forms of arts and culture (Crane 2002; Adams 2007). At the same time, research continues to suggest the influence of commercialization and globalization differs pronouncedly across countries.

An obstacle that faces those who seek to valorize popular cultural forms is the potent divide that separates art from commerce (Gans 1974). The mass culture critique characteristic of the Frankfurt School generally derided the culture industries for transferring “the profit motive naked onto cultural forms” (Adorno 1975, 13) and specifically scorned popular music for the “conventionality and triviality” of its market-based appeal to a mass audience (Adorno 1990 [1941]). Arguments in this tradition tend to assume that an emphasis on profit reduces quality and diversity in cultural fields. In the case of popular music, this concern has produced a sizable body of research and a vibrant debate about the impact of industry concentration on the diversity of musical products in the US. For instance, Peterson and Berger (1975) argued that when a small number of firms dominate the commercial music industry, innovation declines and musical homogeneity increases; however, further research suggests that the link between concentration and diversity is not so straightforward, with several factors mediating the relationship between the two (Dowd 1992, 2000, 2004; Dowd and Blyler 2002; Dowd,

Liddle, and Blyler 2005; Lopes 1992; Peterson and Berger 1996). Concerns about commercialization also lead some to cast doubt on the independence and authenticity of popular music performers. Thus, in order to elevate the status of rock 'n' roll, Regev (1994) argues that critics had to frame rock musicians as autonomous artists who were unmotivated by commercial considerations.

A comparable objection is raised against globalization, which is often assumed to produce cultural homogeneity and to threaten local cultural autonomy. From this perspective, globalization is often referred to as cultural imperialism and seen as an invasion of local cultures by Western or American ones (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997). Building on world-systems theory, globalization is seen as the domination of weak (i.e. peripheral) countries whose cultures are remade in the image of more powerful (i.e. core) nations, which has the general effect of subduing cultural diversity (Tomlinson 1991). The homogenizing tendency is further reinforced by the transnational capitalist class, which promotes a "culture-ideology of consumerism" throughout the world that sustains the global spread of capitalism (Sklair 2001). In popular music, this characterization is supported by those who point to the tendency for global media conglomerates to focus on artists from English-speaking countries and to exclude those from other countries (Negus 1996).

Others counter the cultural imperialism thesis by pointing to the complexities of globalization that produce syncretic tendencies referred to as hybridization (Appadurai 1990, 1996), glocalization (Robertson 1992, 1995), or creolization (Hannerz 1990), to name a few. Such a view is bolstered by scholars who argue that "globally successful sounds may now come from anywhere" (Frith 2000, 213), from case studies that

highlight the complexities of musical globalization (for a review, see Stokes 2004) and by those who suggest that globalization may enhance musical diversity (Regev 1997, Mitchell 2001).

Although settling such debates is beyond the scope of this study, the impact of commercializing and globalizing forces on critical discourse about music is an issue worth considering. While commercialization and globalization have likely impacted musical classifications in each country the influence of such forces is likely to differ across social contexts. For one, the accepted distance between art and commerce continues to diverge cross-nationally. French publishers, for example, tend to discuss books in terms of aesthetic value and cultural hierarchies, whereas their American counterparts are more likely to refer to marketing categories or commercial success (Weber 2000). The degree to which critics distance themselves from commercially successful musical products and producers in one country versus another is a question that can be addressed through this project. On one hand, the growing commercialization of cultural products and mass media outlets would seem to require newspaper critics to increasingly focus on commercially successful musical products. On the other hand, if the cultural status of popular music has increased, we might expect newspaper critics to gain more autonomy from market considerations in deciding what types of music they cover (Bourdieu 1993).

Likewise, to the extent that popular music has become a global cultural field, we might expect to find increasing homogeneity over time in the ways music is classified and evaluated by critics across countries. However, Robertson suggests that countries are often selective in the degree to which they adopt a global orientation (Robertson 1992)

and Crane (2002) argues that they use a variety of strategies to preserve, protect, and even enhance their own cultural products and resources in response to cultural globalization. Similarly, Regev (2007) argues that the interplay of the global field of popular music and the national cultural field simultaneously produces an “aesthetic cosmopolitanism” (i.e. a disposition of openness to other cultures) alongside strong claims to national cultural uniqueness. National media institutions, such as newspapers, may operate as a key site where engagement with and responses to cultural globalization are played out. Thus, a contribution of the project is to consider the extent to which popular music coverage has become more or less internationally oriented across the four countries and whether this has created more or less homogeneity in musical classifications over time.

### **Data and methods**

#### *Newspaper coverage of music*

While the specific methods of analysis will be described in the individual chapters that follow, a central source of data for this dissertation is content analysis of newspaper coverage of music in the US, Germany, France, and the Netherlands in reference years between 1955 and 2005, which is drawn from the “Cultural Classification Systems in Transition” project (see Janssen 2002). The reference years in which newspaper samples were collected in each of the countries are 1955, 1975, 1995, and 2005. In each country, two newspapers were selected, each of which has national (or at least supra-regional) circulation, relatively large and elite readerships, and is commercially available over the course of the entire study period. The newspapers selected for content analysis are: the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* in the US; *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and



*Suddeutsche Zeitung* in Germany; *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* in France; and *Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad* in the Netherlands.

To control for potential variation in newspaper coverage by day of the week and by season, a stratified sample of four constructed weeks was generated (i.e. a Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday paper in each quarter of the reference year). As such, the sample size exceeds the two constructed weeks Riffe et al. (1993) suggest is sufficiently representative of one year's newspaper content.

Although the larger database contains information on every article or advertisement relevant to arts and culture from the sample editions, I use a subset of the data that focuses on editorial content about music that contains over 4,000 articles. Because the codebook used by our team of 14 coders is quite large, I will describe the measures of particular relevance in each of the subsequent chapters.

Thus, the data on newspaper coverage of music, in each year, offer a snapshot of the range of musical genres and the range of musical actors that are seen as legitimate, or at least worthy of media attention, in each country. The way newspapers classify and report on different types of music represents a key site where cultural classifications are publicly articulated and disseminated. Further, the amount of space devoted to various genres and to various actors indicates the relative value placed on different types of music and people within a classification system. The country of origin for the musical actors featured provides an indicator of the degree to which a country is internationally oriented or focused on its own domestic cultural products. Likewise, the mainstream success of the actors receiving newspaper attention signifies the extent to which critics in each country tend to focus on commercially successful products and musicians. The

newspaper coverage is also used to create measures of DiMaggio's theorized dimensions of classification systems. In sum, data on newspaper coverage provide a useful basis for addressing many of the research questions posed in this study and for constructing measures for the various dimensions of the classification systems. Additional data sources are described in the individual chapters. Below, I offer a brief outline of the chapters and the main research questions addressed in each.

### **Overview**

Drawing from data on newspaper coverage of music, chapter 2 focuses on the relationship between globalization and the degree to which each of the countries becomes more or less internationally oriented toward music produced in foreign locales. In particular, it focuses on the distribution of newspaper attention to domestic and various foreign actors in the classical and popular music fields. Thus, given the growing attention to popular music relative to classical music, it addresses the extent to which this change is associated with a more or less international focus in each of the countries. The central research questions can be stated as follows:

1. To what degree has classical and popular music coverage become more internationally oriented over time?
2. Does globalization appear to have led to greater homogeneity in the classical and musical field in terms of who receives attention in newspapers?
3. To what extent has a global field emerged with culturally legitimate musical forms and actors receiving newspaper coverage across countries?

Chapter 3 focuses more directly on popular music, exploring the degree to which it has achieved some degree of autonomy and obtained cultural legitimacy even in a highly commercialized field. More specifically, this chapter examines the overlap between critical and popular acclaim over time in each of the countries as a way to get at the

impact of commercialization on the popular music field and of popular music criticism.

Thus, this chapter raises the questions:

1. How have the perspectives of popular music critics changed over time as well as the types and subjects of articles they produce?
2. Does the character of popular music coverage appear to have become more critical and evaluative in its approach?
3. Have popular music critics in each country become more or less guided by the popularity or commercial appeal of a musical genre or performer during the study period?

Finally, chapter 4 offers an attempt to empirically evaluate DiMaggio's (1987) theory of artistic classification systems using the data on newspaper coverage to construct measures of differentiation, hierarchy, and universality. The level of social inequality and social heterogeneity over time in each country are used as social structural predictors of change in the dimensions of music classification systems. As such, it represents a unique attempt to operationalize and move toward an empirical test of this influential theory. Specifically, the chapter addresses the following questions:

1. To what extent does newspaper coverage suggest each country has become more or less differentiated, hierarchical, and universal over time?
2. Do inequality and social heterogeneity have the impact on differentiation, hierarchy, and universality that DiMaggio's (1987) theory predicts?
3. What additional factors might attenuate or intensify the predicted relationship between social structure and artistic classification?

Following the substantive chapters, I briefly conclude with some comments that highlight the implications of the findings as well as directions for future research.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **Globalization and musical hierarchy in the US, France, Germany, and the Netherlands**

#### **Introduction**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, scholars have called attention to an array of social and cultural changes in Western societies since the 1950s that have arguably contributed to both the erosion of traditional cultural hierarchies and the weakening of national boundaries and cultures. In the case of cultural hierarchies, which have historically privileged the forms of “high culture” favored by an elite taste public (Gans 1974), Lash (1990) argues that the postmodern “massification of elite culture” has diminished its exclusiveness and led to a more flexible classificatory system less reliant on hierarchical distinctions. Likewise, others point to declining cohesiveness among elites (DiMaggio 1991, 1992) and a growing eclecticism in their cultural preferences (Peterson and Kern 1996), which undermines universalistic claims to “high” cultural status. This process is furthered by the commercialization of cultural fields, including those that deal in high culture (e.g. symphony orchestras), which has been associated with a range of both production and consumption factors. On the production side, for example, scholars point to the growing market orientation and managerialism of arts professionals (Peterson 1986; DiMaggio 1986, 1991; Glynn 2002), while the general rise of consumption practices as a source of individual and collective identity reinforces such trends from the audience side (Featherstone 1991, Zukin and Maguire 2004).

Alongside the declining hierarchy and growing commercialization of the arts, others call attention to the rapid expansion in the volume and variety of cultural goods available in the global marketplace, which has destabilized global cultural flows

(Appadurai 1996; Tomlinson 1999). For Appadurai (1996), the intensified cultural flows create fluidity in the global landscape and “deterritorialize” modern society to an unprecedented extent. Although cultural globalization is not a recent phenomenon, the diffusion, reception, and blending of cultural products across national borders gained considerable momentum in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The impact of the heightened pace and reach of globalization on fields of cultural production remains a topic of debate in the social science literature. Some argue that globalization primarily serves to “relativize” national boundaries and strengthen a sense of belonging to a world society (Robertson 1992, Meyer et al 1997). In the process, the boundaries between “local” and “global” cultures become less potent (Tomlinson 1991) and the interplay between the two produces syncretic tendencies, referred to as “hybridization” (Pieterse 1995, Appadurai 1996), “glocalization” (Robertson 1992, 1995), “transculturation” (Chan 2002), or “creolization” (Hannerz 1992), to name but a few. Others argue that this international flow is better described as cultural imperialism, an asymmetrical imposition of cultural goods and media products from the US and other affluent countries on the non-Western world, a process that threatens local cultures and produces cultural homogeneity (Ritzer 1993, Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997, Hamm and Smandych 2005).

Yet amid this vibrant debate, a growing body of comparative research shows that there is considerable cross-national variation in both the degree of change in cultural hierarchies as well as in the extent and impact of cultural globalization (Janssen et al. 2008, Lamont and Thévenot 2000). Thus, the consequences of cultural globalization are not nearly as uniform or straightforward as some commentators suggest. Furthermore, while the globalization of cultural fields has attracted extensive attention from scholars,

most comparative studies focus on a single country or on a single point in time (Janssen and Peterson 2005). By focusing on changes in the musical field in four countries from 1955 to 2005, my aim in this chapter is to build on cross-national comparative research that addresses how cultural hierarchies change over time and, in particular, to explore what relationship such changes have on the degree of international orientation to musical actors.

Music provides an interesting case with which to explore broader changes in cultural classification systems – the ways that societies classify cultural products and develop associated norms and practices that sustain them -- because it is a field of cultural production that has experienced considerable transformations during the study period. One key dimension of such classification systems is the degree to which its cultural categories, or genres, are hierarchically ranked relative to one another (DiMaggio 1987). Cross-national research on the musical field suggests that the musical field has experienced considerable “de-hierarchization” since 1955, as indicated by the fact that the status of classical music has waned relative to popular music, although to different degrees across the four countries considered in this chapter (Schmutz 2009, Schmutz et al. forthcoming). Furthermore, media scholars routinely suggest that music is among the most easily transportable cultural forms due to its lesser reliance on shared language, relative to literature or film, for instance (Croteau and Hoynes 2003, Crane and Janssen 2008).

Using media coverage in elite newspapers in the four countries from 1955 to 2005 as an indicator, this chapter considers whether there is an increasingly global orientation to musical actors over time in the US, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. If so, to

what extent has this occurred and how is such attention distributed? Is there a greater attention to 'non-Western' countries in newspaper coverage of music? Are such changes related to the amount of attention given to classical or popular music in each country? National newspapers are a highly visible site where the impact of cultural globalization plays out and they provide a good data source for longitudinal, cross-national comparisons (Peterson 2005). Furthermore, media discourse provides an important source of legitimacy for the cultural goods and producers to which it devotes attention (Baumann 2001, Janssen 1999). Indeed, Schneiberg and Clemens (2006) review a number of studies in which institutionalists use content analyses of media coverage as a direct measure of legitimacy. In addition to indicating something about global cultural flows, newspaper coverage also provides insight into the direction and degree of exposure and awareness of foreign culture among its elite readership. Additional factors (e.g. the rise of the Internet) may also influence the international orientation of the musical field in each country. Thus, I also consider whether the diffusion of Internet technology has enhanced or accelerated a global orientation in newspaper coverage of music.

By exploring such questions, I aim to address the relationship between cultural classification systems and cultural globalization, as indicated by the distribution of media attention to musical actors from various parts of the world. I begin by considering the relationship between musical hierarchies, which have traditionally privileged classical music, and processes of globalization. I propose competing hypotheses regarding the degree to which media coverage of the classical music field has remained international in its focus or if it has changed in any ways in the four countries over time. Next, I turn to

competing perspectives on popular music and globalization, and present competing hypotheses regarding the degree of international orientation in the popular music coverage of the US, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Finally, I consider how other changes (e.g diffusion of Internet technology) might influence newspaper attention to foreign musical actors in the popular music field.

### **Classical music and globalization**

Most debates about the impact of globalization on cultural fields generally focus on popular cultural forms. Thus, relatively less consideration has been given to the internationalization of the classical music field. The apparent decline in musical hierarchy – associated, for instance, with the aesthetic mobility of popular music – is one of the changes in the musical field that may have a pronounced affect on the level of attention to foreign musical actors. As Schmutz et al. (forthcoming) show, the privileged position of classical music declined considerably between 1955 and 2005 in the four countries, although to varying degrees. In 1955, the vast majority of newspaper space in all four countries is devoted to classical music, whereas popular music occupies a majority of newspaper space in all countries, except Germany, in 1995 and 2005 (Schmutz et al. forthcoming). There are a number of reasons to expect that the diminished status of classical music would increase attention to musical actors from a wider range of countries, all else remaining equal.

For one, Weber (1958) argues that the social and technical foundations of the classical music that became valorized in Europe and the US were uniquely Western phenomena. The crux of Weber's (1958) complex and somewhat technical analysis of these developments is that the rationalization of music theory, the implementation of



tonal systems, and the standardization of musical instruments only occurred to a significant degree in the West, which made it possible to preserve and re-perform musical works through written notation. The rise and proliferation of publishing, copyright law, and performance venues also contributed to the creation of music as an “object” that could move beyond the location of its initial creation (Roy and Dowd 2010). Such processes of technical rationalization, among others, were necessary conditions for the rise of the individual composer, the virtuoso performer, and the large symphony orchestra (Weber 1958). Likewise, DeNora (1995) highlights how shifting patterns of elite patronage in the Viennese musical field between 1792 and 1803, changing conventions of concert performance, critical discourse, and related factors contributed to the rise of Beethoven as a quintessential musical “genius.” This notion of musical greatness that was espoused by elites of Beethoven’s day succeeded in creating a hierarchical distinction between “serious” and “light” music as well as in securing the longstanding reputation of certain individuals and works (DeNora 1991, 1995, 2002)<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, it was not until the 1800s in Europe that it became common practice to laud the canonical musical works of past composers (Weber 1984, 1992).

It was this understanding of “high culture” that was subsequently imported from Europe to the United States, although the lack of a patronage system in the US meant that elites had to find different organizational soil in which the high culture concept could take root. The non-profit organization would prove to be fertile ground for such a task. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century US, classical music was not highly differentiated from or ranked above other musical forms (Levine 1988, DiMaggio 1982). Through nonprofit arts

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<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting, however, that this distinction between “serious” music and “lighter,” commercial fare was itself a short-lived strategy for maintaining elite status; however, the notion that certain music was superior and should be canonized, which originated in Vienna, remained intact (DeNora 1991).

organizations, like the Boston Symphony Orchestra, urban elites imported and successfully sacralized European classical music and distinguished “high” culture from its “lesser” relatives (DiMaggio 1982). As the non-profit organizational form spread to other cultural forms and other American cities, the boundary separating “high” culture from “lowbrow” popular culture gained potency and widespread endorsement by the 1920s (DiMaggio 1991). Similar to the development of a musical canon in Europe, the spread of non-profit orchestras in the US was associated with an increasing focus on a limited number of revered musical works. Curricula at elite colleges further reinforced the privileged position of high cultural forms like classical music (DiMaggio 1982). As part of this process, Middleton (2000) contends that non-Western musical styles and practices became devalued as the “low-other” counterpart to “legitimate” Western music. Thus, where classical music holds privileged status in the musical hierarchy there may be more concentrated attention to musical actors from the US and Europe.

Furthermore, Zolberg (1980) argues that the structure of performed music itself is less likely to produce innovation than displayed art because it is more reliant on classical forms and styles. She writes: “In contrast to the tendency of art museums to view the whole world and all of time as a reservoir on which to draw for exhibitions and collections, the prevailing pattern for orchestras is to limit both time and space as the source of music” (Zolberg 1980, 222). In making such a claim, Zolberg (1980) echoes the laments of composers and the findings of scholars that point to the tendency of American symphony orchestras to perform the compositions of a relatively small number of composers (see Dowd et al 2002; Glynn 2002; Kremp 2010)<sup>4</sup>. To the extent that

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<sup>4</sup> In a similar way, East German orchestras exhibited a considerable degree of stability in their functioning even amidst large social upheavals as the country entered into and emerged from socialism in 1945 and

media coverage reflects such a tendency, it would be reasonable to expect that newspaper attention to classical music is associated with greater attention to American and European musical actors and less attention to musical actors from other parts of the world. Of course, it is important to note that there is not a perfect correlation between the programming decisions of non-profit symphony orchestras on the production side and the editorial decisions made by for-profit newspapers regarding what they will cover in their pages. This is illustrated, for example, by the fact that newspaper attention to classical music has declined since 1955 in all four countries (see Chapter 3 of this dissertation, Schmutz 2009), but this has not necessarily been accompanied by a decline in the number of symphony orchestras. Nonetheless, the actions of the members of symphony orchestras as well as other classical music actors in the field are likely to be evident in media coverage of the field.

*Hypothesis 1a: Media attention to classical music, over time and across countries, is associated with greater attention to musical actors from the US and Europe.*

Another possibility, however, is that an emphasis on classical music is associated with greater attention to domestic musical actors. Wherever its roots were located, classical music became an important element of national cultures and the construction of national identity during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. As Bohlmann (2004: 35) demonstrates in his work, “the histories of the modern European nation-state and the emergence of modern European music run remarkably parallel courses.” Likewise, Curtis (2008) describes the role of music in the construction of the modern nation through

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1991, respectively (Allmendinger and Hackman 1996). Although Allmendinger and Hackman (1996) do not directly address issues related to the content of the orchestral repertoire, their findings imply that German orchestral culture is highly institutionalized and maintains its traditions in the face of external shocks. Similarly, Glynn (2002) finds that amidst considerable turmoil, the content of musical programming remained quite stable before and after a strike by Atlanta Symphony Orchestra musicians.

an analysis of nationalist composers, the most famous example being Wagner in Germany (on classical music and Germany national identity, see also Applegate and Potter 2002). Similarly, Kelly (2008) analyzes the role of music the development of French national identity between 1870 and 1939, including the state's glorification of the French composers Gounod, Saint-Saëns, and Fauré, while Hart (2008) focuses attention on the ascendant position of the symphony in French musical culture in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Although the US and European countries often differ in their approach to cultural policy, they all provide some form of support for national cultural institutions, including symphony orchestras and other groups that perform classical music. Thus, we might expect attention to classical music to be associated with a focus on national musical actors.

*Hypothesis 1b: Media attention to classical music, over time and across countries, is associated with greater attention to domestic musical actors.*

On the other hand, DiMaggio (1991) notes that the non-profit organizational form that was instrumental in helping to institutionalize high culture and the classical music canon also created openings for eventual change and perhaps even its own demise. Indeed, DiMaggio (1992) suggests that the boundaries of high culture, which had achieved institutional endorsement and widespread agreement by the early 1900s, were beginning to erode by the middle of the century. Dowd et al.'s (2002) seminal research on the repertoires of US symphony orchestras from 1842 to 1969 both confirms and qualifies this argument, finding that the works of new composers were indeed more often finding their way into orchestral performances in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, but also showing that this trend had already been underway for some time. In particular, the increased

performance capabilities of symphony orchestras, expanded resources for new music, and the proliferation of music programs in American higher education were all associated with the introduction of new composers into orchestral repertoires (Dowd et al. 2002). While the content of orchestral programming remains relatively stable amidst ongoing tensions between aesthetic and managerial concerns – a characteristic conflict in non-profit cultural organizations (see DiMaggio 1986) – there continues to be room in symphony orchestras for some innovation in musical content (Glynn 2002). In concert with the expanding reach and pace of globalization, such trends could be associated with expanding boundaries -- including geographic ones -- in the classical music field in the four countries. Thus, it may be that attention to classical music in the US, France, Germany, and the Netherlands has become more open to foreign musical actors outside of the US and Western Europe over time.

*Hypothesis 1c: Over time, media attention to classical music exhibits greater attention to foreign musical actors from outside the US and Europe.*

## **Popular music and globalization**

### *Cultural imperialism in the world cultural system*

As mentioned previously, discussions of the impact of globalization on music primarily focus on popular music. In contrast to the apparent stability of the classical music field and its canon, the field of popular music has certainly had a dynamic half-century. Among other things, scholars suggest that this period has witnessed an increased mixing of popular musical styles (Erlmann 2003, Stokes 2004), a proliferation of popular musical genres (Negus 1997), the widespread acceptance of jazz music as a legitimate art form (Lopes 2002), the globalization and valorization of popular musical

forms like rock 'n' roll and rap (Regev 1994, 1997; Mitchell 2001), the creation of a "world music" or "world beat" musical category (Taylor 1997, Frith 2000a), and a shift to online music distribution and consumption (McCourt and Burkhart, 2003; Peterson and Ryan, 2004; Lee and Peterson, 2004). Although the degree to which certain popular musical forms have become legitimated, or widely accepted as having artistic merit, differs across time and space (Phillips and Owens 2004; Bevers 2005), popular music clearly occupies a central place in contemporary global cultural flows.

For some, the global reach of such cultural flows produces cultural homogeneity and threatens local cultural autonomy (Ritzer 1993). Echoing refrains from Horkheimer and Adorno's (1972) mass culture critique, Ritzer (1994) sees globalization as a process that secures the growing dominance of imperialistic nations and corporations through the spread of a culture lacking distinctive content (i.e. the "globalization of nothing"). Its homogenizing tendencies are further reinforced by the transnational capitalist class, which promotes a "culture-ideology of consumerism" throughout the world that sustains the global spread of capitalism (Sklair 2001). From a similar perspective, globalization is referred to as cultural imperialism and seen as an invasion of local cultures by Western or American ones (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997). As Jameson (1998:64) argues, the "unchallenged primacy of the USA and thus the 'American way of life' and American mass media culture" are leading to the US domination of world culture (see also Beck et al. 2003, for various perspectives on the Americanization of global culture). The global diffusion of popular cultural products from the US in the form of films, television and popular music is particularly viewed as increasing American influence at the expense of local and national cultures.

Drawing on world systems theory (Wallerstein 1974), a similar conceptualization is offered by De Swaan (1995; see also Janssen et al. 2008) who argues that globalization has produced a “cultural world system” in which certain countries (e.g. the US) dominate the production, distribution, and consumption of cultural products. Countries at the cultural “core” of the system are able to use their position to extract profits and exploit the resources of countries on the cultural periphery. The control of four large multinational firms, headquartered in affluent countries, over most of the world’s music production is often presented as evidence of the economic and cultural dominance of the US and other core countries as well as its homogenizing impact on music (Barnet and Cavanagh 1994). In 2006, for example, the four major recording firms -- France-based Universal Music Group; Sony BMG, a joint Japanese and German venture; British-owned EMI Group; and US-based Warner Music Group – controlled about 72% of the global market share for recorded music sales (Laing 2009)<sup>5</sup>.

This characterization is supported by those who argue that English is the dominant language in the world cultural system (de Swaan 2001), as evidenced, for example, by the relative paucity of book publications in the US that are translations (Heilbron 1999). In the music industry, this view of core dominance is supported by those who point to the tendency for global media conglomerates to focus on musicians from the United States and other English-speaking countries to the detriment of those from other countries (Negus 1996). In the early 1990s, Barnet and Cavanagh (1994) reported that the lyrics in about 70% of the songs on Brazilian radio, 80% of the popular music sold in Germany, and about half of the music sold in Japan are in English. Such

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<sup>5</sup> More specifically, Universal Music Group had about 26%, Sony BMG 25%, EMI Group 11%, and Warner Music Group 10% of the global market share in recorded music sales (Laing 2009).

observations regarding the prevalence and popularity of English language popular music around the world are often assumed to have a homogenizing or Americanizing impact on the popular music field.

It has been argued that even the category of “world music,” which was essentially created by music industry personnel as a way to market non-Western music to Western consumers (Frith 2000a), primarily benefits musicians and recording firms in core countries. As Taylor (1997) points out, the World Music charts – established by *Billboard* in 1990 – became dominated by western European and North American musicians who worked for major record companies within a few years after its appearance. Likewise, Théberge (2003) suggests that musicians from the core routinely appropriate sounds and samples from the periphery without remunerating the musicians that create them. From this view, rather than promoting a general openness to foreign musical actors, greater attention to popular music is more likely to be associated with an increased focus on musical actors from the United States or perhaps other affluent or English-speaking countries.

*Hypothesis 2a: Greater media attention to popular music over time and across countries is associated with greater attention to musical actors from the United States.*

*Hypothesis 2b: Greater media attention to popular music over time and across countries is associated with greater attention to musical actors from English-speaking countries.*

*Hypothesis 2c: Greater media attention to popular music over time and across countries is associated with greater attention to musical actors from the affluent countries where the major recording firms are headquartered<sup>6</sup>.*

*Cultural imperialism reconsidered*

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<sup>6</sup> The four countries included in the present study are good examples of affluent centers of music production. Among the dominant multinational recording firms are Warner Music Group in the US; Philips in the Netherlands, particularly until Universal Music Group broke away, only to later merge with French media conglomerate Vivendi to form Vivendi Universal; and the joint Japanese and German venture, SonyBMG (see van de Kamp 2009).



By contrast, many scholars counter the notion of cultural imperialism on a variety of grounds. As part of his extensive critique, Tomlinson (1991) argues that cultural flows since the 1960s are much less coherent than implied by the cultural imperialism thesis, and that globalization generates cultural insecurities in all nations. As a result of this insecurity, there are countervailing trends toward localization in countries at all levels of development. In response to this uncertainty, countries are often selective in the degree to which they engage with globalization and foreign cultural forms (Robertson 1992). In addition, reception studies indicate that responses to global cultural products are highly varied (Crane 2002) and suggest that they can even be altered and appropriated for use in the construction of national or local musical fields, as in the cases of rock and rap music permutations in several countries (Regev 1997, Bennett 2004).

While countries respond in different ways to such uncertainties, cultural policy is likely to influence the degree to which countries are internationally oriented (see Crane et al. 2002). Although there has been some evidence of convergence in the cultural policy approaches of the US and western Europe, considerable differences remain (Toepler and Zimmer 2002). Whereas the US tends to favor the free trade of cultural imports, cultural policies that support and protect national cultural products are more common in European countries (Beale 2002, Janssen et al. 2008). At the same time, there is considerable variation in the political institutions and cultural policies of European countries with respect to cultural goods. Both France and the Netherlands set cultural policy at the national level and have taken measures to protect national cultural industries, but France has more extensively pursued a “cultural exception” to neoliberal trade policy (Crane and Janssen 2008), while the Netherlands is generally more open to foreign, including

American, cultural products. Although German cultural policy is determined at a more local level than is French cultural policy, the educational curricula in music and art tends to emphasize national culture and classical music in both countries relative to the Netherlands where there is more emphasis on popular and foreign music (Bever 2005).

Such general tendencies in cultural policy and educational curricula are also evident within the popular music field. To defend domestic music from cultural globalization, France passed a law in 1994 mandating that at least 40% of the popular music programming on French radio stations should include Francophone songs (Hare 2003). Although it has not used quotas in this way, the Dutch government has promoted domestic music culture by offering substantial support to popular musicians in the Netherlands since at least the 1970s (Rutten 1993). By comparison, German cultural policy gives less attention to popular music, but reinforces national identity through extensive support for classical music, a global field in which it holds a more central position (Applegate and Potter 2002). Nonetheless, thriving rock and popular music scenes have emerged in Germany accompanied by a German music press that takes popular music seriously (van Venrooij and Schmutz forthcoming; Schmutz et al. forthcoming). Furthermore, Yoffe and Collins (2005) argue that in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, popular music joined classical music as a catalyst in the development and revitalization of nationalism. Thus, the globalization and international diffusion of popular music may contribute to a response that seeks to emphasize the national musical field. Therefore, greater attention to popular music may be associated with a stronger focus on domestic musical actors.

*Hypothesis 3a: Greater media attention to popular music over time and across countries is associated with greater attention to domestic musical actors.*

Another dimension of Tomlinson's (1991) critique of cultural imperialism focuses on its tendency to reify national culture. For Tomlinson, equating national identity and cultural identity in this way raises problems related to specifying 'national culture' because cultural identifications do not perfectly coincide with national boundaries and national identity is only one among many potential sources of cultural belonging. Thus, whether a nation is being culturally 'invaded' or is a cultural 'invader,' it is difficult to identify a unified national cultural identity. Beyond the problem of specifying a common national identity, Tomlinson argues that the discourse of nationality obscures the dynamic nature of culture by generally overlooking the historical development of national culture, which involves constant changes, cultural borrowing across national boundaries, and deliberate cultural inventions of the state.

This view of globalization resonates with others who argue that globalization "relativizes" national boundaries and strengthens a sense of belonging to world society (Robertson 1992, Meyer et al 1997). In the process, the boundaries between "local" and "global" cultures become less potent (Tomlinson 1991) and the interplay between the two produces syncretic tendencies referred to as hybridization (Appadurai 1990, 1996), glocalization (Robertson 1992, 1995), or creolization (Hannerz 1992), to name a few. Much like Tomlinson (1991), who views globalization as a disorganized cultural process, Robertson (1992) refers to the latest stage of globalization since the 1960s as the "uncertainty phase." From this perspective, global cultural products take on new forms and meanings as they interact with local cultural styles and forms, and non-Western cultural goods often provide substantial "reversed cultural flow" to Western countries

(Wu and Chan 2007). In the case of music, such tendencies are thought to increase musical diversity as new musical genres and styles emerge from the interaction of disparate musical traditions (Regev 1997, Mitchell 2001). The “ethnicization” of mainstream popular music forms (e.g. rock music) creates an assortment of styles and generates new networks of production and distribution that challenge the dominant position of historically privileged actors (Guilbault 2006). Such a perspective also resonates with musicologists who describe a ‘postnational’ turn in musical identities and even in the marketing practices of recording firms in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Corona and Madrid 2008).

Thus, even as globalization tends toward the creation and widespread adoption of “standardized models,” it also centers on the cultural distinctiveness of individual and national identity, which typically directs attention to aspects of expressive culture and cultural heritage (Meyer 2000). As Regev (2003) puts it, the global diffusion of the “rock aesthetic” creates shared conventions throughout the world, but also promotes countless local variants as its universal principles become particularized in local contexts. In other words, mainstream popular musical forms like rock music can be seen as part of “the culture of world society, comprising norms and knowledge shared across state boundaries” (Lechner and Boli 2005: 6), in the process becoming more or less disconnected from its roots in Western society and culture. From this perspective, globalization generates countervailing pressures toward standardization and diversification. Thus, a shift in attention toward popular genres may be accompanied by a shift away from traditional hierarchies rooted in national culture and a greater openness to musical actors from foreign countries.

*Hypothesis 3b: Greater media attention to popular music over time and across countries is associated with greater attention to musical actors of foreign origin.*

Finally, many argue that the pace of globalization and declines in musical hierarchies have been greatly accelerated by the rise of Internet technology. Among other things, it is often suggested that Internet and digital technology have democratized the recording, production, and distribution of music (Peterson and Ryan 2004), creating a situation in which “globally successful sounds may now come from anywhere” (Frith 2000b, 213). Because the Internet allows digital content to be instantly distributed around the globe, the range of choices expands tremendously for those who have access to this technology as music far beyond their local or national scenes becomes readily available (Marshall 2001). As a result, Peterson and Ryan (2004) find a preliminary relationship between greater Internet use and greater range, or eclecticism, in individual music tastes (i.e. “omnivorousness”). On the other hand, in previous work (see Schmutz 2009), I have found that the diffusion of the Internet had a negligible impact on the way that newspapers covered music along a number of dimensions (e.g. amount of space for popular music, genres covered, or gender of actors featured). Yet despite its limited effects on such dimensions, it is possible that Internet technology is more relevant and has a bigger influence on the international orientation of newspaper coverage of music due to the reasons suggested above. Therefore, the growing prevalence of Internet technology between 1995 and 2005 in the countries under consideration may be associated with increased attention to foreign musical actors, particularly from regions outside traditional channels of music distribution (i.e. countries outside of the US and Europe).

*Hypothesis 4: Due to the rise in Internet technology between 1995 and 2005, media coverage of music will give greater attention to foreign musical actors, particularly those from regions beyond the US and Europe.*

### **Data and methods**

Media attention to music was measured through detailed content analysis of newspapers in the US, France, Germany and the Netherlands in four sample years: 1955, 1975, 1995 and 2005. Newspaper coverage provides an especially appealing basis for obtaining comparative information about musical classification systems and the legitimating ideology that sustains them. As Peterson suggests (2005), it represents a plentiful and accessible data source for making longitudinal, cross-national comparisons and data from this project has been effectively put to the task by several colleagues (Janssen 2006, Janssen et al. 2008, Berkers et al. forthcoming). The newspapers selected are widely circulated at a national or supra-regional level and were in print from 1955 to 2005. In the European countries, the two newspapers with the average largest paid circulation during the study period were sampled: *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* in France; *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Suddeutsche Zeitung* in Germany; in the Netherlands, *NRC Handelsblad* and *de Volkskrant*. For the US, the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* are the papers sampled. To control for seasonal variation, the sample is stratified by quarter with one edition selected at random for each day of the week in each quarter, producing four constructed weeks per sample year.

The 14 coders who participated in the project coded all articles related to many forms of arts and culture, but this chapter is based on the 4,038 articles in the sample that are related specifically to music. However, because the primary concern of this chapter is the national origin of the musical actors that receive newspaper coverage, the analysis in

this chapter refers to the 3,766 articles for which the nationality of the primary actor of each article could be determined.<sup>7</sup> Each article was measured in square centimeters, which is the primary indicator of newspaper space used in this paper. The music articles were also coded as being either about classical or popular music and were classified into a variety of subgenres as well<sup>8</sup>. Table 2.1 displays the number of classical and popular music articles by country and sample year, the mean size of the articles (in square centimeters), as well as the overall proportion of newspaper space occupied by classical versus popular music in each year and country. The main actor in each article was recorded and the nationality of the main actor was included.

In assessing hypotheses regarding the prevalence of attention to European musical actors, I collapse into one variable the 35 categories used to code actors from Europe.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, when considering the prevalence of music from English-speaking countries, I include England, Scotland/Wales/Northern Ireland, Ireland, the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that this measure is slightly different from a direct measure of English-language popular music as it does not capture music sung in English by performers from non-Anglophone countries (e.g. ABBA from Sweden or Björk from

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<sup>7</sup> In a few cases, the national origin of the primary actor in the article is not known; however, most of the articles excluded were short articles without a clearly identifiable actor.

<sup>8</sup> Codes for classical music and popular music were imposed by the coders. Classical music included solo instrumental or vocal performances, operas and operettas, symphonic and chamber music, choral music, and modern classical music. Popular music included jazz and other improvised music, blues and country, various forms of rock and pop music, world and folk music, and other popular music (e.g. easy listening, local/regional genres, film music).

<sup>9</sup> The following codes were used for European countries: England, Scotland/Wales/Northern Ireland, Ireland, France, (West) Germany, Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Turkey, Yugoslavia (including Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia), Albania, East Germany, Poland, Czech/Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Soviet Union, Russia, Estonia/Latvia/Lithuania, Ukraine/Moldova, Belarus, other Europe (Andorra, Liechtenstein, Malta, Monaco).

<sup>10</sup> Although there are, of course, many other countries with English as an official language or with significant English-speaking populations, arguments about the English language dominance of popular music focus on American and British dominance of the music industry, along with Canada, Australia, and others to a lesser degree.

Iceland). Thus, this measure may tend to underestimate the overall prevalence of English-language popular music in the international arena. For the hypothesis regarding the prevalence of musical actors from affluent countries, I use membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as a proxy for affluence. OECD members are generally highly developed, high income countries and are regularly used in studies of “affluent” countries (see, for example, Kenworthy 2003). In terms of OECD countries, I include the 20 countries who initially signed the Convention on the OECD in 1960 (Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and United States) as well as the four countries that were added before the subsequent reference year (Japan in 1964, Finland in 1969, Australia in 1971, and New Zealand in 1973). Several additional countries joined between 1994 and 2010, but I did not code them as OECD countries in this paper because they were not members during most of the study period.<sup>11</sup>

For the sake of analysis, I also calculated a “domestic ratio” in each country by dividing the proportion of total space devoted to music that features a domestic musical actor by the total share of music space that features a foreign musical actor. Thus, a higher domestic ratio signifies greater attention to domestic musical actors. When the domestic ratio is greater than 1, this indicates that a majority of the musical space is occupied by domestic musical actors.

### **Table 2.1**

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<sup>11</sup> The countries that joined OECD later include: Mexico (1994), Czech Republic (1995), Hungary (1996), Poland (1996), Republic of Korea (1996), Slovakia (2000), Chile (2010). There is no indication that musical actors from any of these countries received a boost in newspaper coverage after joining OECD.



**Number of articles, mean size, and total distribution of classical and popular music space by country and year**

	<b>Year</b>	<b>1955</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2005</b>
<b>USA</b>	Classical music articles	377	209	147	120
	Mean cm <sup>2</sup>	75.3	113.0	248.6	367.4
	Total % of music space	<b>87.6%</b>	<b>53.2%</b>	<b>37.0%</b>	<b>37.2%</b>
	Popular music articles	83	144	290	255
	Mean cm <sup>2</sup>	48.5	144.1	215.1	292.0
	Total % of music space	<b>12.4%</b>	<b>46.8%</b>	<b>63.0%</b>	<b>62.8%</b>
<b>FRA</b>	Classical music articles	47	78	109	89
	Mean cm <sup>2</sup>	85.9	112.3	127.6	201.6
	Total % of music space	<b>61.9%</b>	<b>76.6%</b>	<b>38.3%</b>	<b>47.2%</b>
	Popular music articles	27	21	189	113
	Mean cm <sup>2</sup>	91.9	127.2	118.4	177.5
	Total % of music space	<b>38.1%</b>	<b>23.4%</b>	<b>61.7%</b>	<b>52.8%</b>
<b>GER</b>	Classical music articles	64	92	115	135
	Mean cm <sup>2</sup>	124.5	215.6	265.7	311.9
	Total % of music space	<b>91.3%</b>	<b>86.3%</b>	<b>67.8%</b>	<b>61.3%</b>
	Popular music articles	7	19	77	96
	Mean cm <sup>2</sup>	107.8	165.5	188.5	277.4
	Total % of music space	<b>8.7%</b>	<b>13.7%</b>	<b>32.2%</b>	<b>38.7%</b>
<b>NL</b>	Classical music articles	108	122	98	117
	Mean cm <sup>2</sup>	96.9	216.1	233.7	221.4
	Total % of music space	<b>89.9%</b>	<b>79.4%</b>	<b>38.2%</b>	<b>33.6%</b>
	Popular music articles	10	49	143	216
	Mean cm <sup>2</sup>	117.6	139.2	259.2	236.5
	Total % of music space	<b>10.1%</b>	<b>20.6%</b>	<b>61.8%</b>	<b>66.4%</b>

## Results

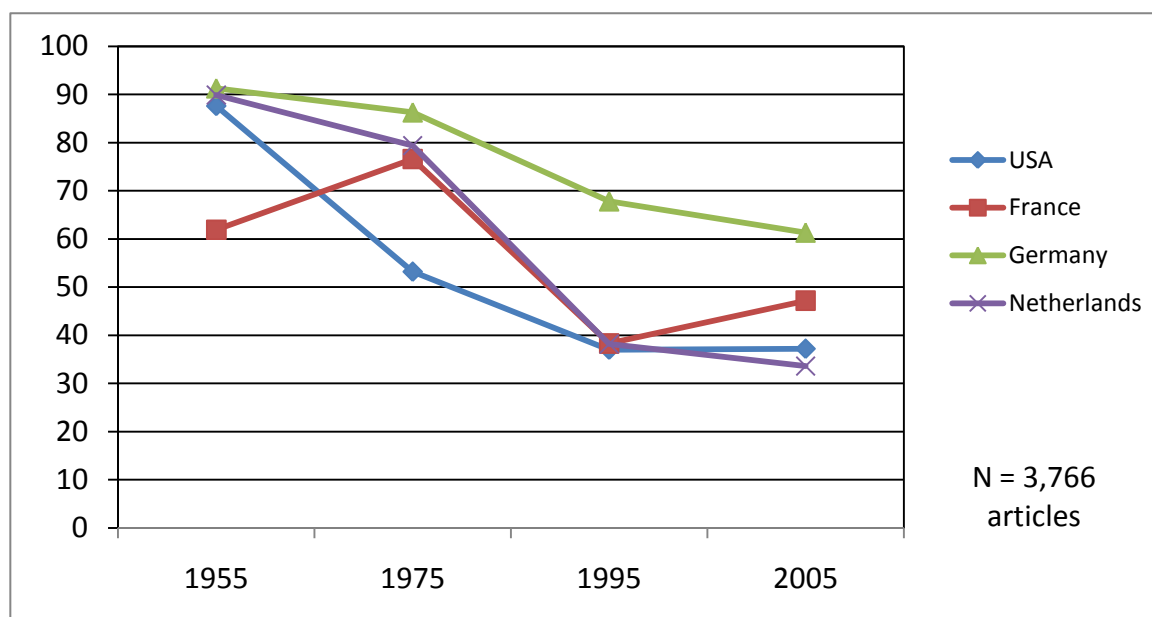
### *Classical music*

As illustrated in Figure 2.1, there has been a general decline since 1955 in the amount of newspaper space devoted to classical music relative to popular music.

However, the timing and extent of this trend varies across countries. For one, France stands apart as the least focused on classical music in its newspaper coverage in 1955, although it still attracts the majority of the space (62.1%). While France subsequently increases its attention to classical music in 1975 (to 76.6%), nearly putting it on par with

the Netherlands and Germany (79.4% and 86.3%, respectively), the US makes the most pronounced move away from classical music toward popular music (from 87.6% in 1955 to 53.2% in 1975). By 1995, the US, France, and the Netherlands all give less space to classical music relative to popular music (between 37.2% and 38.3%), while Germany continues to devote most of its newspaper space to classical music (67.8%). In 2005, the German papers give only slightly less attention to classical music relative to 1995 (61.3%), the US and Dutch papers stay fairly stable (37.2% and 33.6%, respectively), and the French papers increase their attention to classical music (47.2%).

**Figure 2.1**  
**Percent of music newspaper space devoted to classical music**



In terms of how such trends in classical music coverage relate to the international orientation of the coverage in each country, it appears that classical music coverage remains relatively stable in its attention to foreign musical actors amidst both globalization and declining attention to classical music. Table 2.2 reports domestic ratios

for classical and popular music in each country by reference year. Note that higher domestic ratios indicate greater attention to domestic musical actors relative to foreign musical actors. In contrast to wide fluctuations in the domestic ratios for popular music, the domestic ratios for classical music are quite consistent – staying between 1.2 and 2.2 in the US; 0.7 to 1.1 in France; 0.7 to 1.2 in Germany; and 0.8 to 1.4 in the Netherlands.

**Table 2.2**  
**Domestic ratios for classical and popular music coverage, by country and year**

	<b>Year</b>	<b>1955</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2005</b>
<b>USA</b>	<i>Classical music</i> Domestic ratio	1.7	2.2	1.7	1.2
	<i>Popular music</i> Domestic ratio	17.5	1.5	5.5	3.9
<b>FRA</b>	<i>Classical music</i> Domestic ratio	0.7	1.1	0.7	0.9
	<i>Popular music</i> Domestic ratio	2.1	3.7	0.5	1.0
<b>GER</b>	<i>Classical music</i> Domestic ratio	0.7	0.7	1.2	1.2
	<i>Popular music</i> Domestic ratio	1.7	0.7	0.4	0.4
<b>NL</b>	<i>Classical music</i> Domestic ratio	1.4	0.8	0.9	0.8
	<i>Popular music</i> Domestic ratio	4.9	0.8	0.3	0.6

In 1955, the country that gives the most attention to classical music (Germany) and the country that gives the least attention to popular music (France) have the same domestic ratio (0.7), which is lower than the US and the Netherlands. By contrast, when the US stands apart as giving the least attention to classical music in 1975, it has the highest domestic ratio by far in its classical music coverage (2.2). In fact, although it declines slightly over the last three reference years, the US is the most focused on

domestic classical music actors among the four countries in every year. The domestic ratio in France rises and falls along with its amount of attention to classical music, but only slightly. Classical music coverage in Germany becomes slightly more focused on domestic musical actors in 1995 and 2005 (1.2) relative to 1955 and 1975 (0.7). Finally, Dutch newspaper coverage became somewhat less focused on domestic musical actors from 1955 to 1975, but then remained stable after that point. Thus, there does not appear to be a systematic increase in attention to domestic musical actors in classical music coverage, contrary to hypothesis 1b, except in the case of Germany. Interestingly, this is the one country among the four that has historically occupied a dominant position in the classical music field.

Table 2.3 provides additional insight into the general trends in the international orientation of musical coverage by showing the number of different countries represented and, to control for the amount of attention given to classical versus popular music, a ratio indicating how many different countries are represented per 1000 square centimeters of newspaper space. In the US, the number of different countries represented in classical music coverage steadily declines over time. While this would be expected due to the general decline in attention to classical music relative to popular music in the US newspapers, the number of countries per 1000 cm<sup>2</sup> of newspaper space declines as well. Thus, the slight decline in attention to domestic actors in the US is concentrated in a smaller number of countries over time.

**Table 2.3**  
**Number of countries receiving newspaper coverage in classical and popular music by country, year**

	Year	1955	1975	1995	2005
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<b>USA</b>	<i>Classical music</i>				
	Total # of countries	30	24	25	21
	Per 1000 cm <sup>2</sup>	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.5
	<i>Popular music</i>				
	Total # of countries	9	14	19	27
	Per 1000 cm <sup>2</sup>	2.2	0.7	0.3	0.4
<b>FRA</b>	<i>Classical music</i>				
	Total # of countries	17	16	23	23
	Per 1000 cm <sup>2</sup>	4.2	1.8	1.7	1.3
	<i>Popular music</i>				
	Total # of countries	2	6	28	23
	Per 1000 cm <sup>2</sup>	0.8	2.2	1.3	1.1
<b>GER</b>	<i>Classical music</i>				
	Total # of countries	13	19	22	22
	Per 1000 cm <sup>2</sup>	1.6	1.0	0.7	0.5
	<i>Popular music</i>				
	Total # of countries	4	6	13	14
	Per 1000 cm <sup>2</sup>	5.3	1.9	0.9	0.5
<b>NL</b>	<i>Classical music</i>				
	Total # of countries	14	22	17	22
	Per 1000 cm <sup>2</sup>	1.3	0.8	0.7	0.8
	<i>Popular music</i>				
	Total # of countries	3	6	18	30
	Per 1000 cm <sup>2</sup>	2.6	0.9	0.5	0.6

In France, the total number of countries appears to increase slightly over time, but when controlling for the amount of space, it gradually declines as in the US. This suggests that, although attention to domestic musical actors remains fairly stable in France over time, its classical music coverage also becomes more concentrated in fewer countries. The same holds true for Germany – the number of countries increases slightly over time but the number of countries per 1000 cm<sup>2</sup> gradually declines. Finally, the Netherlands does not follow a similar pattern, but the number of countries per square centimeters remains the same from 1975 to 2005. Overall, this does not suggest a steadily growing international orientation in the classical music coverage of the four countries.

To further illuminate these trends in classical music coverage, Table 2.4 provides information about the amount of space devoted to domestic, American, and European musical actors. The overall picture is again one of relative stability as the vast majority of attention to classical music centers on musical actors from the US and Europe. In only 2 out of 16 cases does the percentage of space devoted to US-based and European classical music actors fall below 90% (France in 1975 and 1995: 85.3% and 89.7%), while the highest concentration occurs in the Netherlands in 1995 (98.8%). It should also be noted that, in the European countries, classical music actors from the US never attract more than one-tenth of the newspaper space, which is consistent with expectations based on centrality within a field of cultural production. Although the amount of attention to musical actors outside of the US and Europe is generally higher in later reference years relative to 1955, it reaches its modest peaks in France, Germany, and the Netherlands in 1975 (14.7%, 9.6%, and 3.1%, respectively), and declines somewhat thereafter. It is interesting, however, that France and Germany – where traditional cultural hierarchies are often thought to be more intact -- give noticeably more attention to classical music actors outside of US and Europe relative to the US and Netherlands in every reference year.

**Table 2.4**  
**Distribution of classical music space among various foreign and domestic actors by country, year**

	<b>Year</b>	<b>1955</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2005</b>
<b>USA</b>	<i>Domestic ratio</i>	<i>1.7</i>	<i>2.2</i>	<i>1.7</i>	<i>1.2</i>
	USA	63.2%	68.5%	62.6%	55.5%
	Europe	35.0%	26.8%	33.0%	38.8%
	Non-US, non-European	1.8%	4.7%	4.4%	5.7%
	English speaking	68.8%	70.5%	68.6%	62.0%

	Non-English speaking	31.2%	29.5%	31.4%	38.0%
	OECD country	88.5%	82.2%	81.2%	87.0%
	Non-OECD country	11.5%	17.8%	18.8%	13.0%
<b>FRA</b>	<i>Domestic ratio</i>	<i>0.7</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>0.7</i>	<i>0.9</i>
	USA	6.6%	0.3%	9.4%	2.4%
	Europe	84.3%	85.0%	80.2%	89.7%
	<i>France</i>	<i>41.6%</i>	<i>52.7%</i>	<i>42.1%</i>	<i>46.1%</i>
	Non-US, non-European	9.1%	14.7%	10.3%	7.9%
	English speaking	6.6%	4.1%	20.1%	4.2%
	Non-English speaking	93.4%	95.9%	79.9%	95.8%
	OECD country	81.3%	73.6%	82.2%	79.7%
	Non-OECD country	18.7%	26.4%	17.8%	20.3%
<b>GER</b>	<i>Domestic ratio</i>	<i>0.7</i>	<i>0.7</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>1.2</i>
	USA	3.7%	6.8%	6.0%	9.6%
	Europe	96.1%	83.6%	88.7%	83.5%
	<i>Germany</i>	<i>41.1%</i>	<i>39.8%</i>	<i>53.8%</i>	<i>54.3%</i>
	Non-US, non-European	3.5%	9.6%	5.3%	6.9%
	English speaking	3.4%	8.7%	16.5%	15.6%
	Non-English speaking	96.6%	91.3%	83.5%	84.4%
	OECD country	90.1%	84.2%	89.0%	91.6%
	Non-OECD country	9.9%	15.8%	11.0%	8.4%
<b>NL</b>	<i>Domestic ratio</i>	<i>1.4</i>	<i>0.8</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>0.8</i>
	USA	6.1%	4.6%	4.0%	3.3%
	Europe	92.4%	92.3%	94.8%	93.7%
	<i>Netherlands</i>	<i>58.4%</i>	<i>44.5%</i>	<i>48.4%</i>	<i>43.4%</i>
	Non-US, non-European	1.5%	3.1%	1.2%	3.0%
	English speaking	8.1%	10.0%	6.5%	6.1%
	Non-English speaking	91.9%	90.0%	93.5%	93.9%
	OECD country	92.4%	80.9%	83.5%	83.0%
	Non-OECD country	7.6%	19.1%	16.5%	17.0%

In sum, there appears to be considerable support for hypothesis 1a, which predicted a strong association between classical music coverage and attention to musical actors from the US and Europe. Even during an era associated with cultural globalization and declining cultural hierarchies in the four countries, classical music coverage remained highly consistent in its focus on European musical actors and, to a lesser extent, on those from the US. There is not, however, general support for increased attention to domestic actors in the face of globalization as hypothesis 1b predicted. The US, France,

and Netherlands remain relatively stable or even decline in their attention to domestic actors, but this tends to primarily boost attention to other actors in Europe. Furthermore, as Table 2.3 showed, this tends to become concentrated among fewer countries over time, when accounting for total cm<sup>2</sup>. Germany is the only exception here, as it does give more space to German musical actors in 1995 and 2005 relative to 1955 and 1975, which implies modest support for hypothesis 1b. Finally, there is some indication of an increase in attention to classical music actors outside of the US and Europe as hypothesis 1c predicts. However, the biggest jump in such attention occurs from 1955 to 1975, but then levels off or even declines thereafter, which is not consistent with the idea that cultural hierarchies and national boundaries continued to erode in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, support for hypothesis 1c is minimal.

### *Popular music*

In contrast to classical music coverage, the international orientation of popular music coverage appears to fluctuate much more over time and vary cross-nationally to a greater extent. As shown in Table 2.2, the domestic ratios for popular music coverage rise and fall much more drastically than is the case for classical music coverage. In 1955, all countries focus a majority of their popular music coverage to domestic actors and to a much larger degree than is the case with classical music coverage. The US and France tend to remain more focused on domestic actors in popular music relative to foreign actors and in comparison to classical music coverage. By contrast, Germany and the Netherlands give more attention to foreign popular music actors than domestic actors in all reference years after 1955. Likewise, they are less focused on domestic actors in popular music relative to classical music after 1975. As with classical music, the US



exceeds the other countries in its attention to domestic popular music actors in all years (with the exception of France in 1975). After a steep decline between 1955 and 1975, the US devotes 5.5 and 3.9 times as much space to domestic actors relative to foreign ones in 1995 and 2005, respectively.

As Table 2.3 shows, popular music coverage enlarged the range of countries receiving newspaper coverage to a greater degree over time than did classical music coverage, although to differing degrees across countries. Much like classical music coverage, however, the growing number of countries receiving some attention did not typically keep pace with the expanding space devoted to popular music. For example, although the US went from covering popular music actors in 19 countries in 1995 to actors in 27 countries in 2005, there was only a tiny increase in countries per 1000 cm<sup>2</sup> (0.3 to 0.4). For all countries but France, which peaked in 1975, the ratio of countries to square centimeters of newspaper space peaked in 1955. In general, this does not suggest a rapidly growing international orientation in the popular music field. However, Table 2.5 provides further details about changes in popular music coverage across countries and over time.

**Table 2.5**  
**Distribution of popular music space among various foreign and domestic actors by country, year**

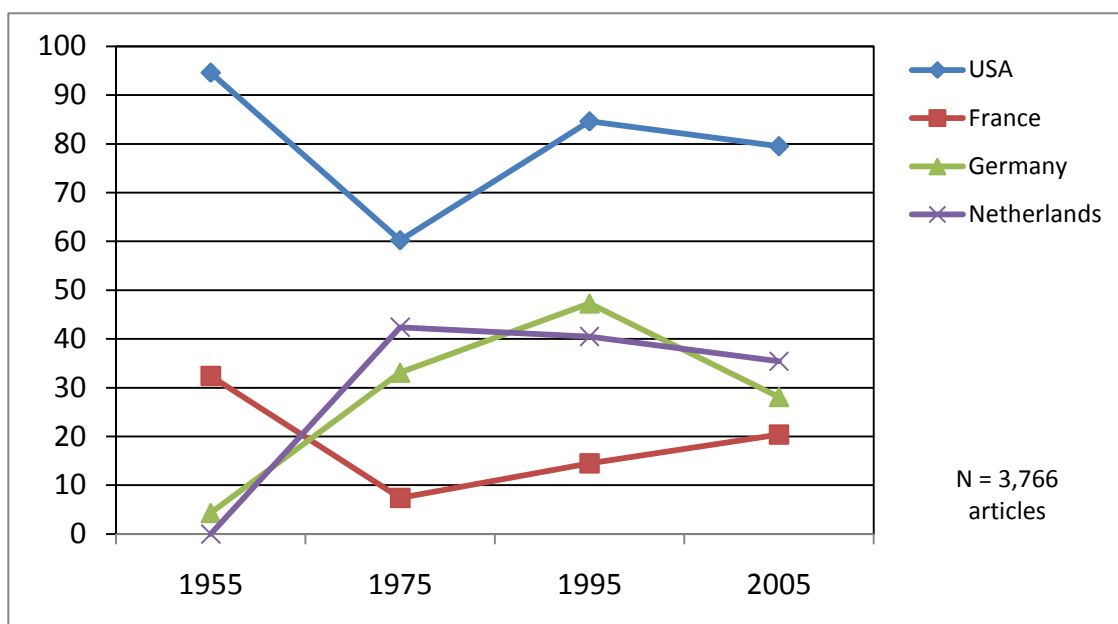
	<b>Year</b>	<b>1955</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2005</b>
<b>USA</b>	<i>Domestic ratio</i>	<i>17.5</i>	<i>1.5</i>	<i>5.5</i>	<i>3.9</i>
	USA	94.6%	60.2%	84.6%	79.5%
	European	3.8%	29.4%	6.3%	7.9%
	Non-US, non-European	1.6%	10.4%	9.0%	12.6%
	English speaking	94.8%	96.8%	90.2%	88.0%

	Non-English speaking	5.2%	3.2%	9.8%	12.0%
	OECD country	98.7%	98.9%	91.4%	91.8%
	Non-OECD country	1.3%	1.1%	8.6%	8.2%
<b>FRA</b>	<i>Domestic ratio</i>	<i>2.1</i>	<i>3.7</i>	<i>0.5</i>	<i>1.0</i>
	USA	32.4%	7.4%	14.5%	20.4%
	Europe	67.6%	91.2%	64.8%	63.0%
	<i>France</i>	<i>67.6%</i>	<i>78.9%</i>	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>49.3%</i>
	Non-US, non-European	0%	1.4%	20.7%	16.6%
	English speaking	32.4%	12.8%	44.2%	33.3%
	Non-English speaking	67.6%	87.2%	55.8%	66.7%
	OECD country	100%	98.6%	84.5%	88.2%
	Non-OECD country	0%	1.4%	15.5%	11.8%
<b>GER</b>	<i>Domestic ratio</i>	<i>1.7</i>	<i>0.7</i>	<i>0.4</i>	<i>0.4</i>
	USA	4.3%	33.1%	47.3%	28.1%
	Europe	86.9%	57.9%	41.6%	65.8%
	<i>Germany</i>	<i>63.3%</i>	<i>39.8%</i>	<i>27.9%</i>	<i>26.9%</i>
	Non-US, non-European	8.8%	9.0%	11.0%	6.0%
	English speaking	4.3%	35.1%	52.6%	62.9%
	Non-English speaking	95.7%	64.9%	47.4%	37.1%
	OECD country	91.2%	91.0%	90.6%	95.8%
	Non-OECD country	8.8%	9.0%	9.4%	4.2%
<b>NL</b>	<i>Domestic ratio</i>	<i>4.9</i>	<i>0.8</i>	<i>0.3</i>	<i>0.6</i>
	USA	0%	42.4%	40.5%	35.4%
	Europe	100%	55.0%	56.0%	54.1%
	<i>Netherlands</i>	<i>83.2%</i>	<i>45.4%</i>	<i>24.9%</i>	<i>37.6%</i>
	Non-US, non-European	0%	2.6%	3.5%	10.5%
	English speaking	0%	51.7%	61.4%	46.1%
	Non-English speaking	100%	48.3%	38.6%	53.9%
	OECD country	100%	97.4%	97.1%	87.6%
	Non-OECD country	0%	2.6%	2.9%	12.4%

Table 2.5 offers mixed support for the prediction that popular music coverage is associated with more attention to actors from the United States (hypothesis 2a). To begin with, the US actually experiences a sharp decline in attention to popular music actors from the US from 1955 to 1975 (94.6% to 60.2%), and then rises in 1995 but never returns to the same level as in 1955. Meanwhile, France initially gives more attention to popular music actors than the other European countries (32.4% in 1955, compared to 4.3% in Germany and none in the Netherlands), but then sharply reduces its attention to

US actors in 1975 (7.4%). Although French newspaper attention to popular music actors in the US steadily rises thereafter it never again surpasses its European counterparts on that measure. Indeed, after giving virtually no attention to American popular music actors in 1955, Germany and the Netherlands give 33.1% and 42.4% of their popular music space to US actors in 1975. In Germany, attention to US actors rises to 47.3% in 1995, while it begins to level off and slightly declines in the Netherlands in 1995 and 2005. However, Germany greatly reduces its attention to US actors in 2005 to 28.1%, nearly approaching France's relatively low level of 20.4%.

**Figure 2.2**  
**Percent of popular music coverage devoted to actors from the United States**

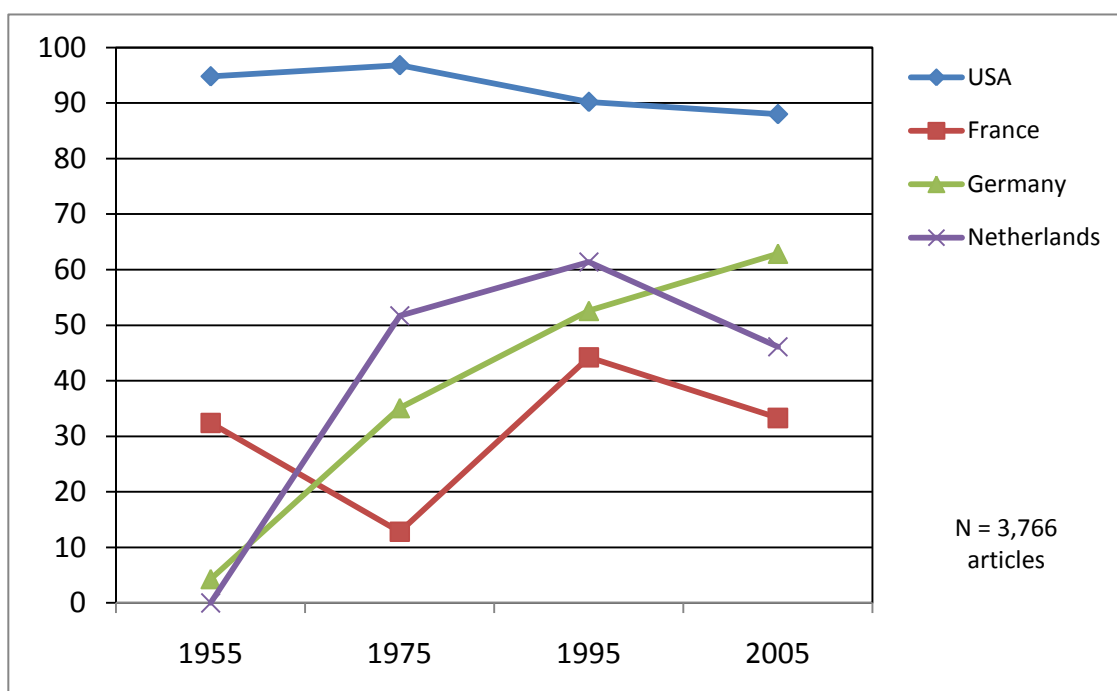


Thus, as illustrated in Figure 2.2, there is considerable support for the idea that popular music coverage is associated with increasing attention to American actors in Germany and the Netherlands, with the caveat that Germany does withdraw some of that attention in 2005. However, France draws the strongest boundary against actors from the US from 1975 to 2005 after being the most open European country to American popular music actors in 1955. Likewise, the US papers give somewhat less attention to domestic actors relative to 1955, although the levels remain quite high throughout the time period.

France's apparent move away from US popular music actors, however, does not seem to equate to a wholesale rejection of popular music in English (see Figure 2.3). Although attention to actors from the US and other English speaking countries is minimal in 1975, the amount of space devoted to the latter increases substantially in 1995 (to 44.2%, only about one-third of which is given to actors from the US). Although American actors make up a bigger share of the 33.3% of popular music space given to actors from English speaking countries in 2005, there is still a sizeable space given to other Anglophone popular musical actors. By comparison, German newspapers steadily increase the amount of attention they give to popular music actors from English speaking countries in every reference year. By 1995, more than half of popular music space in Germany is for Anglophone actors and it increases to 62.9% by 2005. Thus, even as the attention to US actors declines in Germany, even more space is devoted to actors from other English speaking countries. Likewise, attention to English speaking actors comprises more than half of Dutch popular music coverage in 1975 and rises to 61.4% in 1995 before slightly declining to 46.1% in 2005. By contrast, the US does not show nearly as much openness to foreign language popular music with almost all space

devoted to actors from English speaking countries (88.0% to 96.8%). Thus, there is fairly strong support for hypothesis 2b in that nearly all popular music space in the US, a little more or less than half of the space in Germany and the Netherlands, and one-third of the space in France is devoted to actors from English speaking countries in 1995 and 2005. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, this may actually underestimate the prevalence of English-language music because it does not include music performed in English by musicians from non-Anglophone locales.

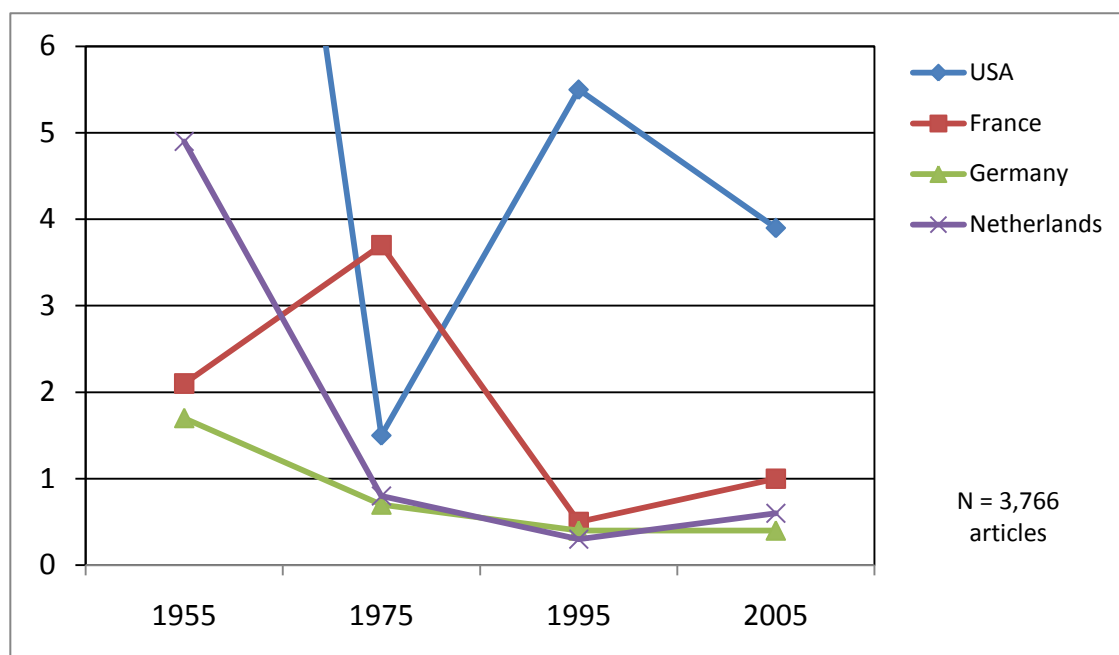
**Figure 2.3**  
**Percent of popular music coverage devoted to actors from English-speaking countries**



Hypothesis 2c predicts that popular music coverage will become increasingly dominated by the affluent countries where the production and consumption of popular music are centered. In general, Table 2.5 shows that popular music actors from OECD countries do, in fact, dominate popular music coverage in the four countries. However,

the prevalence of OECD actors actually declines somewhat over time, though it increases modestly in France and Germany between 1995 and 2005. For France, even this slight increase keeps the amount of attention to OECD actors below its levels in 1955 and 1975. Germany, on the other hand, does peak in its attention to actors from OECD countries in 2005 at 95.8%, which is higher than any other country in that reference year. Thus, the general trend is toward an increase in attention, albeit modest, to popular music actors from non-OECD countries, although Germany may provide some minimal support for hypothesis 2c.

**Figure 2.4**  
Domestic ratios of popular music coverage, by year and country



Taken together, there is little support for the notion that popular music coverage becomes more associated with domestic musical actors, except perhaps in the US. As Figure 2.4 illustrates, the three European countries all generally reduce their attention to domestic popular music actors over time, which is contrary to hypothesis 3a. Thus, there

is more support for hypothesis 3b among the European countries, which predicts that popular music is associated with greater attention to foreign actors over time.

Furthermore, as Figure 2.5 shows, there is a modest but slowly growing amount of attention to musical actors from outside of the US and Europe. Also, this trend appears stronger when compared to classical music coverage, which remains much more domestically oriented and relatively more stable over time in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. By contrast, the US sees wide fluctuations in its attention to domestic actors in popular music, but remains much higher in its domestic ratios relative to the European countries (with the exception of 1975). Thus, there is some support for hypothesis 3a in the US, particularly when compared to classical music coverage in the American newspapers, which is less domestically oriented and becomes gradually less so over time.

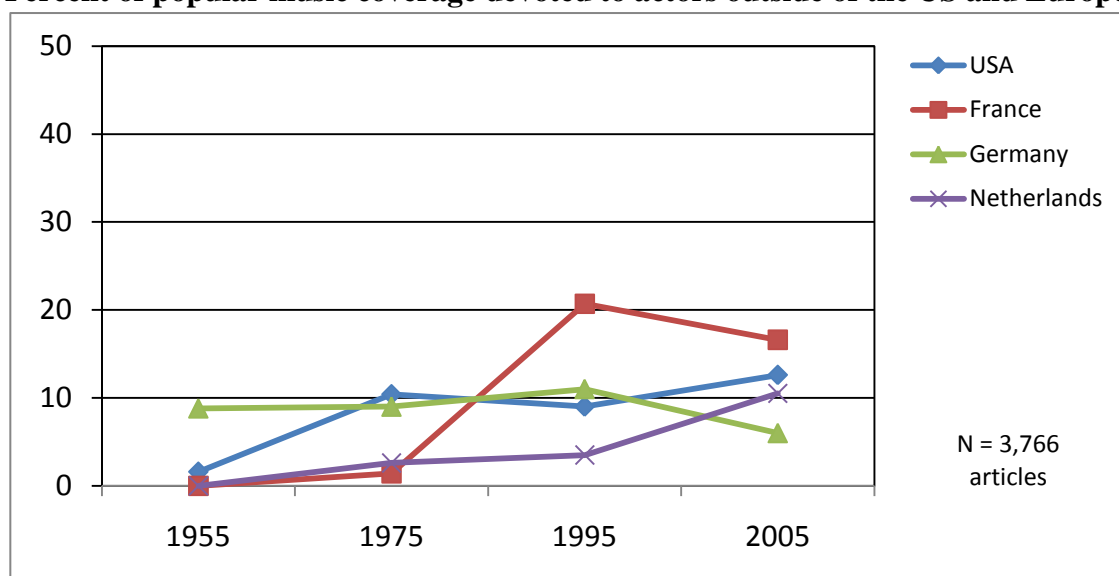
**Table 2.6**  
**Rates of Internet use, 2000-2005**

	<b>USA</b>	<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>GERMANY</b>	<b>NETHERLANDS</b>
	% Internet users	% Internet users	% Internet users	% Internet users
<b>2000</b>	43.6%	14.3%	30.1%	44.0%
<b>2002</b>	59.6%	30.2%	49.0%	61.0%
<b>2004</b>	65.7%	39.4%	61.0%	71.5%
<b>2005</b>	69.0%	43.2%	65.0%	79.0%

Finally, hypothesis 4 predicts that the heightened pace and scope of globalization associated with the diffusion of Internet technology will expand the focus of popular music coverage beyond its typical boundaries in the US and Europe. Table 2.6 provides rates of Internet use in the four countries from 2000 to 2005 with data from the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), which is commonly used by scholars of Internet diffusion (Guillén and Suárez, 2005). Most notably, France lags well behind the

other three countries in the proportion of the population that uses the Internet, with less than half the population online in 2005. However, as Figure 2.5 shows, France devotes more popular music space to actors outside the US and Europe than does any other country in 1995 and 2005, which seems contrary to hypothesis 4. In general, only a small proportion of popular music coverage is devoted to actors outside of the US and Europe in every reference year and country. On the other hand, there is a modestly upward trend in attention to popular music actors from outside of the US and Europe in every reference year and country. On the other hand, there is a modestly upward trend in attention to popular music actors from outside of the US and Europe, except in Germany where attention to such actors remains fairly stable and even declines slightly from 1995 to 2005. Thus, amid the diffusion of Internet technology between the last two reference years, France and Germany slightly decrease attention to actors outside of the US and Europe. In the Netherlands and the US, where Internet use is the highest in 2005, there is a modest increase in attention to popular music actors from outside the US and Europe relative to 1995, but this appears to be part of a longer term trend in the Netherlands. Overall, support for hypothesis 4 is minimal.

**Figure 2.5**  
**Percent of popular music coverage devoted to actors outside of the US and Europe**





## Discussion

During an era of globalization, coverage of classical music in elite newspapers remained surprisingly resilient to change. In general, the classical music field remained highly focused on musical actors in Europe – or the US and Europe in American newspapers – even amid a modest shift to foreign musical actors in the US, France, and the Netherlands. Thus, any decline in attention to domestic classical music actors is likely to accrue to European musical actors. This is consistent with the view that performed music tends to focus on classical forms (Zolberg 1980) and with the tendency for symphony orchestras to play the canonical works of a relatively small number of composers (Dowd et al. 2002). Likewise, it suggests that the classical music field and its culture are institutionalized to an extent that promotes considerable stability even in the face of external shocks (Allmendinger and Hackman 1996). Germany is the only country where there was a general shift towards more attention to domestic actors in its classical music coverage, which may be partially explained by Germany's consistently central position in the field (Applegate and Potter 2002).

As a result of the relatively stable focus on European actors in classical music coverage, attention to classical music actors outside of the US and Europe remains highly limited even during a period associated with heightened globalization and a decline in the cultural status of the field. Somewhat unexpectedly, France and Germany give more attention to such actors relative to the US and Netherlands, though it remains slight. Likewise, the US papers increase attention to classical music actors from outside the US and Europe to some extent, but it is even more minimal than in France and Germany. On one hand, this may indicate a slightly greater openness to foreign music and culture than

we might expect from France and Germany (see Bevers 2005), but it may be better understood as a byproduct of the global diffusion of European classical music to other parts of the world. For instance, several Asian countries were only just beginning to establish orchestras at the beginning of the time period (mid 1950s), but more recently Asian musicians as well as European and American musicians of Asian descent (e.g. Vanessa-Mae, Yo-Yo Ma) have found widespread acclaim and fame in the US, Europe, and Asia (Yang 2007). Consistent with such an interpretation, newspaper coverage of classical music shows that actors from China, Japan, and Korea began to attract attention from all four countries in the latter time periods (1995 and 2005), but rarely appeared before that time.

By contrast, the popular music field appears to be in much greater flux since 1955. One consequence of the rapidly increasing attention to popular music in newspapers is an increasing focus on actors from the United States. For both classical music and popular music, the US is the least internationally oriented in its newspaper coverage, which is consistent with findings from other cultural fields (Crane and Janssen 2008). Germany and the Netherlands greatly increase attention to popular music actors from the United States, which seems consistent with a “cultural world system” argument and the centrality of the US in the popular music field. France, on the other hand, drastically reduces attention to US actors in 1975; although it gradually increases thereafter, it does not reach the same level as the other two European countries. One likely explanation for this difference is the cultural policy approach in France, particularly quotas on foreign cultural products and limits on radio airplay for non-Francophone popular music (Hare 2003). Another contributing factor to the apparent

differences among the three European countries in their openness to US musical actors may be the types of popular music that receive the most attention in the three European countries. In particular, rock music is one of the top two popular genres in terms of newspaper space in Germany and the Netherlands from 1975 on, while rock does not receive much attention in French newspapers until 1995 and still receives relatively less attention in 2005 (Schmutz et al. 2010). Thus, the French case could represent a response against the US, a response against rock music, or some of both. In any case, it suggests that arguments about American (and British) dominance of popular music should take into account the role of cultural policy as well as the contingent character of their presumed position in the field, which may not extend to all popular genres.

Another factor that complicates the picture is the fact that even in France, which is least open to musical actors from the US, there is a substantial increase in attention to actors from other English speaking countries. Likewise, although Germany slightly declines in its coverage of American musical actors in 2005, it continues to devote more space to those from Anglophone countries. This lends somewhat stronger support for the claim that the largest media conglomerates, who expanded their market share of global music production in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, tend to focus on English language popular music at the expense of musicians who do not perform in English (Negus 1996). Taken together with the consistent dominance of actors from affluent OECD countries in newspaper coverage of popular music, it would seem that global popular music flows are more decentralized than the Americanization thesis typically implies, with multiple sites of musical production around the world concentrated in the wealthy countries where large recording firms operate.

As a consequence, in all countries but the US there is a general decline in attention to domestic musical actors and a corresponding increase in attention to foreign musical actors. From 1975 on, the three European countries give more newspaper space to foreign popular musical actors than to domestic musical actors. However, the range of countries included does not keep pace with the increase in newspaper space devoted to popular music, so the attention to foreign musical actors remains heavily concentrated in a relatively small number of countries, almost all of which are affluent OECD countries, especially the US and other Anglophone countries. It is worth noting that this somewhat complicates the claims of media scholars that suggest music is an easily transportable medium due to its lesser reliance on language.

At the same time, however, there are some modest increases in attention to popular musical actors from outside of the US and Europe as well as from non-OECD countries. Contrary to the hypothesis that Internet technology would “democratizing” impact on the popular music field, however, attention to non-OECD actors and those outside of the US and Europe peaked in 1995 in all countries except the Netherlands and then declined in 2005. Thus, such changes in newspaper coverage of popular music in the later reference years are not explained by the globalizing impact of Internet technology. Rather, the fluctuations in the extent of international orientation and the shifting focus of attention evident in newspaper coverage of popular music appear to be consistent with a view of globalization as a largely disorganized process that generates unpredictable outcomes (Tomlinson 1991, Robertson 1992). Nonetheless, a focus on newspaper coverage also gives a picture of the global field of popular music as one that remains centered in affluent countries – especially the US and other English-speaking

countries – but that also features considerable “reversed cultural flow” that appears to be gaining strength, albeit slowly. Thus, the findings pose a challenge to claims of Americanization and cultural imperialism in the popular music field, while also calling into question the most optimistic claims that “globally successful sounds may now come from anywhere” (Frith 2000b, 213). Relative to the perpetual focus on the European centers of classical music in newspaper coverage, however, popular music coverage exhibits more potential for shifting attention toward musical actors outside of the typical centers of the cultural world system. Thus, whereas a strong articulation of the cultural imperialism thesis would expect that attention to actors outside of the core would decline as the global music industry becomes controlled by fewer firms in fewer countries, the slowly mounting attention to non-Western actors in the elite newspapers of the US, France, Germany and the Netherlands stands as evidence that complicates such arguments.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **Commercialization and legitimacy in the field of popular music**

#### **Introduction**

Cultural and organizational scholars have focused on the mechanisms by which a variety of objects, practices, people, and fields attain legitimacy of at least two different types. Such objects and actors may become economically legitimate as a business activity and they may achieve cultural legitimacy as a creative enterprise. Some cultural forms (e.g. soap operas) secure economic legitimacy but do not obtain widespread aesthetic legitimacy (Scardaville 2009), while others (e.g. Hollywood films) acquire both economic and cultural legitimacy (Baumann 2001, 2007). While the production of popular music has long been an economically legitimate activity, in the introductory chapter and elsewhere, I have argued that the increasing amount of newspaper space devoted to popular music relative to classical music is a sign of its ascendant cultural legitimacy as well (Schmutz 2009, Schmutz et al. forthcoming).

By contrast, some scholars see the antecedents of economic legitimacy (e.g. popularity and profitability) as being opposed to or even potentially threatening to cultural legitimacy. In this view, commercial appeal is seen as distinct from the symbolic forms of capital that confer cultural legitimacy (Bourdieu 1993) and, in its stronger formulations, is seen as entirely incongruous with the determinants of aesthetic quality (Adorno 1975). From this perspective, increased coverage of popular music in elite newspapers is less likely an indicator of cultural legitimacy than it is a reflection of the growing commercialization of newspapers and other print media. Indeed, coverage of

popular music may be driven more by its popularity and by its association with entertainment and celebrity than it is by its position in the cultural hierarchy.

Yet if popular music has indeed gained cultural legitimacy and secured an elevated position in the cultural hierarchy, it should be expected to achieve some level of autonomy from commercial influence. Among the key factors deemed essential to artistic legitimation is a legitimating ideology that justifies the symbolic value of a cultural field and its products (Baumann 2007). As a result, many scholars have shown critics to be central intermediaries in shaping the status of diverse cultural forms, including those that went from being regarded as mere entertainment – or even morally suspect – to being perceived as art (Baumann 2001, Bielby et al. 2005, Lopes 2002, Regev 1994). In this view, even in profit-oriented fields of cultural production, professionals and critics may achieve varying degrees of “autonomization” (Bourdieu 1993) from commercial concerns. Thus, the field of popular music can be seen as operating somewhere between one pole that emphasizes profit and economic legitimacy and another that is oriented toward symbolic value and cultural legitimacy.

The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the degree to which the field of popular music and its cultural intermediaries in each of the four countries tend toward one end of the spectrum or the other and how this changes over time. As such, it represents an assessment of the extent to which popular music has gained cultural legitimacy and also contributes to recent scholarship that addresses processes of aesthetic legitimation in highly commercialized fields of cultural production. I begin, however, by defining legitimacy and describing the social process by which it is attained as well as the role of competing forms of cultural legitimacy in shaping its trajectory.

## **Legitimacy**

Legitimacy is a widely used concept that has been defined in numerous ways. An oft-used characterization comes from Suchman (1995) who defines legitimacy as “a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (574). Drawing on this and a number of other definitions in the sociological literature (e.g. Weber 1978 [1924], Zelditch 2001), Johnson et al. (2006) conceive of legitimacy as a social process whereby an innovation becomes locally validated, then diffused more broadly, and eventually achieves general validation or widespread acceptance. Drawing on diverse examples from cultural, organizational, and social psychological domains, they portray legitimacy as a multidimensional, gradual, and processual phenomenon (Johnson et al. 2006). Thus, it is important to clarify the extent to which certain musical forms have achieved legitimacy (e.g. local vs. general validation) as well as the process by which this occurs.

Drawing on cultural sociology and social movement scholarship, Baumann (2007) suggests that the necessary conditions for artistic legitimation include space in the opportunity structure, the mobilization of resources and an ideology that contributes to successful framing of an art world as legitimate. In his study of American film, for example, he shows how changes in the opportunity structure (e.g. increase in higher education, advent of television), resource mobilization (e.g. proliferation of film festivals and film studies programs at universities), and a legitimating ideology propagated by film critics (e.g. auteur theory, intellectualizing discourse) enabled the cultural legitimacy of film (Baumann 2001). To use the language of Johnson et al.’s (2006) depiction of



legitimacy as a social process, we could say that the development of resources and the innovation and institutionalization of certain practices within the field of film supported a local validation of film (i.e. among participants in the art world and a limited portion of the film audience), while the framing of film as art by critics and the widespread circulation of their discourse was key to securing general validation for film. Thus, critics and the way they portray the cultural fare to which they give attention provides can be a key factor in establishing cultural legitimacy.

Yet critical acclaim is not the only form of legitimacy in fields of cultural production. Indeed, previous research has considered critical acclaim to be an indicator of what Bourdieu (1993) referred to as “bourgeois” legitimacy (e.g. Allen and Lincoln 2004, Schmutz 2005, Hicks and Petrova 2006, Schmutz and Faupel forthcoming). However, Bourdieu (1993) also identified two other competing forms of cultural legitimacy – public acclaim is the source of “popular” legitimacy and recognition from professionals within a field bestows “specific” legitimacy. While research in the popular music field has shown the importance of critical acclaim in predicting the works that achieve consecration, certain forms of public and professional recognition are also compatible with this form of cultural legitimacy (Schmutz 2005, Schmutz and Faupel forthcoming). Yet whereas the support of notable status groups – what Gans (1974) would call an “elite taste public” – was vital to establishing and perpetuating the legitimacy of classical music (DiMaggio 1982, DeNora 1991), public support of popular music is often seen as indicative of entertainment or mass culture rather than art. In the next section, I explore the view that the apparent rise of popular music is more a function

of commercial considerations and an indicator of economic legitimacy than it is evidence of greater cultural legitimacy.

### **The impact of commercialization**

Major social theorists have noted that commercial concerns can work against artistic and aesthetic ones (e.g. Benjamin 2001 [1936], Adorno and Horkheimer 1972). As Bourdieu theorized, a “field of large scale production” produces cultural goods (e.g. music) for profit and, therefore, targets the public at large. By contrast, a “field of restricted production” is one in which artists produce work only for other cultural producers. In such fields, cultural producers are not seeking economic capital but symbolic capital; therefore, they operate independently from commercial considerations in what Bourdieu (1993) refers to as an economic world reversed. Such a view is implicit in the work of a variety of scholars that lament the commercialization of mass media and its implications for autonomy, diversity, or aesthetic quality.

For many, a commercial media system is itself incompatible with a vibrant public sphere (Habermas 1991) and corporate media ownership is at odds with its public service function (Herman and Chomsky 1988; McChesney 1999). In his well-known critique of the culture industries, Adorno (1975: 13) argues that the “entire practice of the culture industry transfers the profit motive naked onto cultural forms,” which eliminates the autonomy of works of art. He even calls academics to task for “cowering” in the face of the culture industry’s monopolistic power along with the masses whose conformity is maintained by a culture industry that cheats them out of their autonomy and independent consciousness (Adorno 1975). The end result for Adorno is that this encroachment of commercial concerns on cultural fields is a decline in the diversity and originality of art

and media. Such concerns are echoed by contemporary scholars who fear the growing size and power of media conglomerates, particularly those that provide news information to the public.

Scholars often point to the increasing size and reach of global media conglomerates that control a large share of total media output around the world (Bagdikian 2000, Herman and McChesney 1997, see also Croteau and Hoynes 2006). Often this expansion involves media firms becoming part of much larger companies whose other business operations may lie outside of the media industries. As a result, media production – including news reporting – may fall under the direction of business managers who value profitability above objectivity and other sources of journalistic legitimacy (for example, see Underwood 1993; Croteau and Hoynes 2003). Such trends in corporate ownership are seen as a threat to the autonomy of news producers.

Although conceptions of objectivity have shifted over time (Schudson 2001), the appearance of independence from external sources (e.g. corporate and political interests, commercial appeal) has long been seen as central to legitimacy in the field of journalism (Gans 1979) and to the public service function it is expected by many to fill. Yet critics contend that media workers who operate under the illusion of objectivity are merely serving the needs of powerful interest groups that increasingly dominate media production (Herman and Chomsky 1988). While some research suggests that the press has validated capitalist organizational logics throughout the modern era, many see the commercial imperative as becoming increasingly dominant (Curran 1977).

The commercialization of news media and the broader expansion of consumer culture are often seen as blurring the lines between art and commerce (Jameson 1991),

high culture and low culture (Adorno 1975), and news and entertainment (Thussu 2007a). Terms like “infotainment” (Thussu 2007a) and “tabloidization” (Zelizer 2009) are used to describe a news media landscape that increasingly incorporates entertainment and celebrity news into its repertoire. This tendency is reinforced by the growing consolidation and conglomeration of multinational media firms. As Thussu (2007b) shows in the case of television news in India, the privatization of the airwaves allowed News Corporation – owned by media mogul, Rupert Murdoch – to gain extensive access to Indian television markets. One of the primary impacts of the “Murdochization” of television news in India, which also extended throughout other parts of the media system, was an increase in the amount of attention to entertainment and celebrities from the world of film, music, and sports (Thussu 2007b)<sup>12</sup>.

On the other hand, concerns about commercialization dominating artistic considerations or about corporate influence on the production of art and media are complicated by research that suggests there is substantial variation in how commercial influence plays out in practice. For example, Anheier et al. (1995) show that, in the case of German writers, the Bourdieuan distinction between fields of large-scale and restricted production is far from clear-cut as there is considerable overlap between economic, social, and cultural forms of capital. Likewise, the impact of increasing concentration among major recording firms on musical diversity of various sorts has been shown to be largely contingent on the degree of centralization or decentralization of musical production (Dowd 2004, Dowd and Blyler 2002, Dowd et al. 2005).

Furthermore, cultural forms like film (Baumann 2001) and jazz (DiMaggio 2006)

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<sup>12</sup> Interestingly enough, the introduction of a global media conglomerate – News Corp. – into TV news broadcasting in India decreased attention to international news in favor of local crime and entertainment news (Thussu 2007b).

achieved widespread cultural legitimacy while being firmly entrenched in commercialized fields of production. Thus, previous research suggests that the relationship between commercialization and legitimacy is a complex one that remains an empirical question. The next section explores the autonomization of the popular music field, particularly with regard to the role of critics in enhancing its cultural legitimacy.

### **Autonomy in the popular music field**

Bourdieu's (1993) notion of "autonomization" suggests that, to the extent that cultural field has gained cultural legitimacy, it should also have developed its own sources of symbolic capital that operate relatively independently from the external influence of media firms and commercial considerations. Thus, the evaluations of critics are seen as being more consequential in high culture fields where aesthetic concerns are paramount relative to the realm of popular culture where entertainment is the chief value. Some research has supported such a notion, such as Shrum's (1991) study of the Edinburgh Fringe Festival in which favorable reviews positively affected attendance at highbrow theatre performances but had not impact on attendance at the performances of popular theatre genres. Likewise, Greenfield (1989) finds that critics are more consequential in their reviews of abstract art than in their reviews of representational art, which are more easily interpreted and evaluated by a lay audience. On the other hand, there are many instances in which highly commercialized fields appear to have adopted the aesthetic criteria associated with high art fields and to have developed their own sources of symbolic value. Along with the case of film described above, Bielby et al. (2005) show how critics carved out a similarly autonomous space in the highly commercialized field of American television. Over time, US television critics became

more likely to use criteria associated with film criticism and high art fields, simultaneously evaluating the entertainment value of TV shows alongside assessments of their artistic value and aesthetic quality (Bielby et al. 2005).

Similarly, although popular music is not what Bourdieu (1993) would call a “field of restricted production” in which cultural producers have fully achieved autonomy from external sources of evaluation, it has arguably developed some of its characteristics<sup>13</sup>. Thus, while clearly a “field of large scale production,” the popular music field has also developed an institutional apparatus that traffics in symbolic value and operates in an “economy of prestige” (English 2005). Popular music critics and cultural producers within the field distribute symbolic capital through their evaluation and recognition of exemplary actors and musical works. Additionally, professional academies confer symbolic capital on the popular musical forms and participants they honor. An occasion when this is particularly evident is when academies conduct award ceremonies to honor exemplars in various musical categories. In the US, for example, the National Academy of the Recording Arts and Sciences began giving *Grammy Awards* in 1958 to offer what they saw as recognition “based on excellence rather than merely on popular recognition” (Franks 1996, 167). As Anand and Watson (2004) argue, events like the *Grammy Awards* distribute prestige in a ceremonial fashion intended to attract the attention of the musical field and to enhance the reputation of the genres and actors they recognize.

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<sup>13</sup> The popular music field does not, for example, possess the same degree of ‘pure,’ ‘abstract,’ or ‘esoteric’ qualities Bourdieu (1993: 120) describes in literary fields of restricted production. Understanding and appreciating popular music may not require a purely aesthetic disposition, familiarity with highly specific and differentiated cultural codes, or knowledge of the entire history of the field, but critical discourse about popular music does show evidence of its own aesthetic criteria and often employs somewhat restricted codes and makes tacit references to popular music history (Regev 1994, Frith 1996, Lindberg et al. 2005, Klein 2005, van Venrooij and Schmutz forthcoming).

Thus, reputation building and legitimating practices in popular music are not altogether unlike those of traditional high culture fields.

Indeed, Frith (1996) argues that evaluation in the popular music field is not fundamentally different from evaluation in high cultural fields. Although it is not always recognized as such by high cultural authorities, he argues that “the exercise of taste and aesthetic discrimination is as important in popular as in high culture” (Frith 1996: 11). The aesthetic criteria typically associated with “high art” are evident in newspaper reviews of popular music albums (van Venrooij and Schmutz, forthcoming) and in the legitimating discourse about consecrated musicians in the pop music field (Schmutz and Faupel, forthcoming). Likewise, Regev (1994) argues that rock critics drew extensively on the ideology of the autonomous artist to legitimate rock music as an art form. Comparable to the way auteur theory was adopted by film critics, he suggests that rock critics emphasized the authorial autonomy of rock musicians and created a canon of rock “artists”, thereby legitimating rock as an art form. Furthermore, the rock aesthetic diffused to discourses about other forms of popular music, which contributed to the general cultural legitimacy of popular music (Regev 1997, 2003). Other scholars agree that critics have successfully demonstrated that “popular music may attain the status of at least semi-legitimate culture” (Gudmundsson et al, 59). The evaluations of critics have also been shown to be significant predictors of what artists and albums are “consecrated” as the greatest of all time in the popular music field (Schmutz 2005, Schmutz and Faupel forthcoming).

In addition to highlighting the artistic autonomy of the musicians they write about, popular music critics also put forward considerable efforts to secure and display

the independence of their own evaluations. Indeed, their professional status in the field is tied to their ability to produce evaluations that are unique – though not too deviant -- and appear independent from their peers as well as free of influence from artists and media firms (Janssen 1997, Lena 2009). Establishing autonomy and cultural authority can be a challenge for popular music critics who do not possess the same status as a classical music critic (Frith 2002, Klein 2005). For one thing, it is often assumed that popular culture is easily understood and enjoyed by the public and so its own evaluations are sufficiently authoritative and better predictive of commercial appeal (Gans 1974). However, many scholars and fans generally acknowledge that some popular music critics achieve credibility and critical authority (Lindberg et al. 2005).

Much like the news reporters described above, journalists and critics who write about the arts and culture are concerned with maintaining autonomy as a source of professional legitimacy (Janssen 1997, Lena 2009). At the same time, reviewers are under some pressure to maintain amicable relationships with artists and the media firms that produce their work. Music critics rely on publicists from the record labels to provide them with music to review, which typically comes packaged in “press kits” containing promotional material, information about the musicians and the music, and often reviews from other critics or industry personnel (Klein 2005). While being an industry “cheerleader” or relying too heavily on promotional material from press kits is frowned upon by music critics, it is widely accepted that one of their primary roles is as a guide to consumers (Klein 2005). Likewise, when there is less information available about a writer, such as in the case of a debut novel, literary critics are more likely to review debutant authors from large publishing houses (Janssen 1997). Thus, despite the value



placed on autonomy, critics are not entirely independent from one another, from commercial considerations, or from relationships with media firms.

The aim of the present chapter is to consider the extent to which popular music critics in the US, France, Germany, and the Netherlands appear to have gained some autonomy from commercial influences even within a highly commercialized field. Although studies of consecration in the popular music field indicate that there is some overlap between popular, professional, and critical recognition, this relationship has not been directly addressed (Schmutz 2005, Schmutz and Faupel forthcoming). Previous research has also focused on the amount of popular music coverage in elite newspapers in the four countries (Schmutz et al. forthcoming) as well as the content of newspaper reviews in three of the countries (van Venrooij and Schmutz forthcoming), but this chapter looks at how the attention of critics and journalists corresponds to popular appeal in each country. Thus, I explore the extent to which economic and cultural sources of legitimacy overlap in the fields of popular music in each country and how this has changed over time. As such, this chapter is an attempt to contribute to ongoing debates in the literature regarding the relationship between legitimacy, commercialization, and the autonomization of profit-oriented fields of cultural production.

To the extent that there has been an increase in the commercialization of newspapers and other media outlets as well as in the influence of expanding media companies, we might expect music reviewers to lose autonomy and for commercial appeal and popularity to take priority in shaping both the extent and content of popular music coverage. In particular, we might expect for newspaper coverage to focus less on evaluative content that takes a critical or “artistic” perspective and to focus more on

products, announcements and news that support the music industry. Likewise, we should expect that newspaper coverage increasingly focuses on music and artists that are commercially successful and that the distinction between critical acclaim and popular appeal is diminished. Yet to the extent that popular music and its critical apparatus have gained cultural legitimacy, we should expect popular music critics to achieve greater autonomy and for commercial appeal to have a lessened impact on popular music coverage. In particular, we might expect newspaper coverage to focus more on evaluative content that takes a critical or “artistic” perspective and to focus more on reviews rather than other types of news or announcements. Likewise, we should expect that newspaper coverage becomes less focused on music and artists that are commercially successful and that critical acclaim becomes more decoupled from popular appeal.

### **Data and methods**

The data for this chapter come from multiple sources. First, the chapter uses information on the 4,038 articles about music coded from the eight newspapers in four countries, as previously described. Among the variables coded for each article that are of particular relevance to the present chapter are several items related to the perspective of the article, the article type, and its primary subject and content. In this paper, I report results from coding of articles based on whether they take an “artistic” or an “institutional/contextual” perspective. Articles that take an “artistic” perspective are those that focus on the content of the music itself, typically placing priority on evaluative elements. An “institutional/contextual” perspective indicates that the article focuses on the activities, policies, and viewpoints as well as “gossip” and human interest stories of actors in the musical field. In this paper, I consider an “artistic” perspective to be more

indicative of autonomization in the popular music field as it involves critics making evaluative assessments of musical content as opposed to simply reporting on issues not directly related to content.

Likewise, the subject of each article was coded as being either about a specific product, a festival, an actor/oeuvre, an artistic discipline in general, or the arts in general. As most articles in both classical and popular music are about a specific product, I also consider what type of product such articles cover – either a live performance or an album (i.e. LP or CD)<sup>14</sup>. Articles about an actor/oeuvre and about the discipline in general are seen as indicating autonomization because they take a broader view of the field and have no direct relation to commercial concerns. Each article also was coded by type as either an interview, preview, review, announcement, news, background, opinion, regular column, or primary. The focus for this paper is on the percentage of articles that are reviews, which are the article type that generally contain the most critical, evaluative content. For all variables on the perspective, article subject, and article type, I report percentages over time and across countries, and provide comparisons to classical music coverage as a reference point. In general, review articles provide another indicator – along with an artistic perspective – of autonomization, while non-review articles indicate a more commercially oriented perspective.

In addition to the data on newspaper coverage, I gathered information about commercial appeal for the subset of newspaper articles that are reviews of popular music albums. In the US, the data are based on the *Billboard* album charts as collected in

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<sup>14</sup> These two products – live performances and LPs/CDs – comprise the vast majority of musical products. However, a few articles are about musical products that appeared on television, were featured in a movie, or released on a DVD.

Whitburn (2005). In Germany, the *Hit Bilanz* album charts were used (Taurus Press)<sup>15</sup>. For the Netherlands, van Slooten's (2002) collection of *Albumdossier* charts is used for most years, though later years make use of an online resource for the Dutch charts as well<sup>16</sup>. Unfortunately, I do not have access to equivalent data for France, so they are not reported in the same detail as for the US, Germany, and the Netherlands. Furthermore, the number of album reviews published in each country varies considerably. Nonetheless, every effort was made to gather information about the percentage of albums reviewed that appeared on the popular music charts, the percentage that reached the top position on the charts, the percentage that reached the top ten on the charts, the average peak position of the albums on the charts, and average number of weeks each album remained on the charts, and the percentage of albums reviewed by artists that previously had albums on the charts.

Another source of data comes from yearly polls of popular music critics in the US, Germany, and the Netherlands. For each of the three countries, I collected a sample of the most critically acclaimed albums in each year and data about the popularity of the albums that receive critical recognition using the same sources listed above. In the US, the 20 most critically acclaimed albums is taken from the yearly *Pazz & Jop* poll of popular music critics published by the *Village Voice* in 1971 and every year from 1974 to 2005. A number of periodicals are used in Germany to construct the sample of critically acclaimed albums for each year – *Sounds*, *Musikexpress*, and *Spex*<sup>17</sup> – but due to variations in the polling methods, the number of articles for each year ranges from 5 to 25

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<sup>15</sup> For 2005 in Germany, the website <http://www.charts-surfer.de/> was used, although it does not provide as much detail as the resource used for 2004 and before.

<sup>16</sup> For 2005 in the Netherlands, the Dutch album charts were accessed at: <http://www.dutchcharts.nl/>

<sup>17</sup> *Sounds* and *Musikexpress* have the longest running end-of-year critics lists; in 1983, they merged into *Musikexpress/Sounds*. *Spex* was founded in 1980 and quickly started a critics poll.

and the years covered are 1970-1972, 1975, and 1978-2004. The end-of-year polls in *Oor* provide the 10 to 20 most critically acclaimed albums in the Netherlands for each year, 1973-2001. For each year, the percent of critics picks that appeared on the pop charts in that country, the percent that reached number one, the percent that reached the top ten, the average peak chart position, and the average number of weeks on the charts is reported. To smooth the trend lines, I calculated three-year moving averages for each of the measures of popular appeal. This is used to give a general sense of the degree to which popular music critics' evaluations of albums are more or less autonomous from the commercial success of the albums over time and across countries. Thus, greater attention to widely popular hit albums indicates a high degree of overlap between critical and popular legitimacy, while less attention to commercially successful albums indicates a greater degree of autonomy.

## **Results**

### *Newspaper coverage*

To begin, Table 3.1 reports the perspective taken in the newspaper articles about classical and popular music in each year and country. In the US, both classical and popular music are relatively similar in the percent of articles that take an artistic perspective, although they diverge substantially in 1995 and then converge as classical music articles less often take such a perspective. In France and Germany, an artistic perspective seems to become more common over time in popular music, although to a lesser degree in Germany. By 1975, most classical and popular music articles in the Netherlands take an artistic perspective and this continues through the remaining reference years. While the overall trend is not entirely clear, it seems that there is some

convergence in the artistic perspective in classical and popular music either as popular music becomes more often treated in such a manner (e.g. France and the Netherlands) or as classical music becomes less often covered in such a manner (e.g US and Germany). To the extent that this indicates something about the degree of commercialization and autonomization, it suggests that coverage of popular music has become more autonomous (i.e. more focused on popular music content than on institutional or contextual factors) in France and the Netherlands, while popular music coverage has stayed more stable in the US and Germany, perhaps with classical music coverage becoming more commercialized.

**Table 3.1**  
**Percent of articles about classical and popular music taking an artistic perspective**

		<b>1955</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2005</b>
<b>USA</b>	<i>Artistic perspective</i>	56.8%	79.1%	75.5%	59.8%
	Classical music	47.0%	73.8%	55.5%	47.2%
	Popular music	-9.8%	-5.3	-20.0%	-12.6%
	<i>Difference</i>				
<b>France</b>	<i>Artistic perspective</i>	79.6%	68.9%	70.8%	67.0%
	Classical music	46.4%	76.9%	72.8%	71.5%
	Popular music	-33.2%	+8.0%	+2.0%	+4.5%
	<i>Difference</i>				
<b>Germany</b>	<i>Artistic perspective</i>	54.2%	63.5%	63.1%	56.3%
	Classical music	62.5%*	35.0%	60.8%	49.5%
	Popular music	+8.3%	-28.5%	-2.3%	-6.8%
	<i>Difference</i>				
<b>Netherlands</b>	<i>Artistic perspective</i>	69.2%	72.1%	68.9%	69.5%
	Classical music	46.2%	63.5%	67.1%	62.7%
	Popular music	-23.0%	-8.6%	-1.8%	-6.8%
	<i>Difference</i>				

\*only 8 articles about popular music

**Table 3.2**  
**Percent of classical and popular music articles about a product**

		<b>1955</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2005</b>
<b>USA</b>	<i>Classical music</i>	69.5% (70.1%)	78.1% (83.4%)	67.7% (85.4%)	57.5% (86.2%)
	Performance LP/CD	(26.9%)	(16.0%)	(12.2%)	(11.5%)
	<i>Popular music</i>	50.6% (41.2%)	70.6% (77.6%)	54.5% (51.5%)	48.8% (48.0%)
	Performance LP/CD	(52.9%)	(20.0%)	(40.6%)	(48.9%)
<b>France</b>	<i>Classical music</i>	75.9% (89.4%)	58.9% (78.3%)	69.2% (66.7%)	67.0% (67.6%)
	Performance LP/CD	(8.5%)	(8.7%)	(26.3%)	(25.0%)
	<i>Popular music</i>	50.0% (75.0%)	57.7% (87.0%)	68.4% (53.8%)	71.5% (51.9%)
	Performance LP/CD	(20.0%)	(4.3%)	(38.6%)	(34.6%)
<b>Germany</b>	<i>Classical music</i>	54.9% (94.0%)	49.0% (90.8%)	51.6% (78.2%)	51.4% (75.0%)
	Performance LP/CD	(0.0%)	(0.0%)	(16.1%)	(11.4%)
	<i>Popular music</i>	62.5% (83.3%)	30.0% (90.8%)	45.6% (71.4%)	49.5% (50.9%)
	Performance LP/CD	(0.0%)	(0.0%)	(22.4%)	(47.4%)
<b>Netherlands</b>	<i>Classical music</i>	70.9% (94.7%)	69.1% (84.1%)	66.0% (69.9%)	64.1% (71.8%)
	Performance LP/CD	(0.0%)	(8.4%)	(21.7%)	(20.4%)
	<i>Popular music</i>	46.2% (75.0%)	59.6% (60.0%)	55.3% (42.6%)	62.2% (46.6%)
	Performance LP/CD	(0.0%)	(40.0%)	(49.6%)	(42.0%)

Table 3.2 addresses the issue of how many articles are focused on a specific product and what proportion of such articles focus on a performance versus on an LP or CD. With only two exceptions – France in 2005 and Germany in 1955 – classical music articles tend to focus more on specific products. On closer inspection, it becomes clear

that most classical music articles focus on a live performance about which they are typically giving a review. In 1955, only the US popular music articles on a specific product are more often about an LP relative to a performance. By contrast, the European coverage of popular music tends to be more similar to classical music coverage in that it is typically focusing on a live performance. Although attention to albums (LPs and CDs) increases over time – from 1975 on in the Netherlands, and from 1995 on in France and Germany – the overall proportion of attention to a specific product is fairly stable in each country. There are slight but steady increases over time in France and the Netherlands, but the US and Germany remain consistently less focused on a specific product in their popular music coverage (with the exception of an uptick in the US for 1975). Overall, this table seems to suggest that classical and popular music critics cover products at about the same rate and are fairly stable over time, but there are divergent tendencies in classical music and popular music toward critical reviews of live performances as the norm in the former with critical reviews of recorded albums and the standard in the latter.

Table 3.3 considers the percentage of articles that focus on a particular actor or oeuvre or that discuss the discipline in general (i.e. either classical or popular music). With few exceptions, there are relatively minor differences between classical and popular music in the overall proportion of article that focus on one of these two subjects. While there are no major trends across countries or over time on this variable, the findings suggest no evidence that there is a greater commercial influence on popular music critics than classical music critics or that commercializing forces change popular music coverage over time.



**Table 3.3**  
**Percent of classical and popular music articles about actors, oeuvres, the discipline in general, or arts in general**

		<b>1955</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2005</b>
<b>USA</b>	<i>Classical music total</i>	27.3%	19.6%	29.7%	38.6%
	Actor/oeuvre	23.8%	16.3%	23.2%	33.1%
	Discipline	3.5%	3.3%	6.5%	5.5%
	<i>Popular music total</i>	47.0%	24.9%	43.5%	49.2%
	Actor/oeuvre	42.2%	20.3%	31.2%	37.5%
	Discipline	4.8%	4.6%	12.3%	11.7%
<b>FRA</b>	<i>Classical music total</i>	16.7%	27.8%	25.0%	30.8%
	Actor/oeuvre	11.1%	20.0%	21.7%	28.6%
	Discipline	5.6%	7.8%	3.3%	2.2%
	<i>Popular music total</i>	50.0%	19.2%	24.2%	21.2%
	Actor/oeuvre	50.0%	19.2%	22.3%	17.9%
	Discipline	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%	3.3%
<b>GER</b>	<i>Classical music total</i>	35.2%	35.4%	36.1%	43.7%
	Actor/oeuvre	33.8%	30.2%	29.5%	34.5%
	Discipline	1.4%	5.2%	6.6%	9.2%
	<i>Popular music total</i>	37.5%	55.0%	45.6%	49.5%
	Actor/oeuvre	25.0%	55.0%	41.8%	43.4%
	Discipline	12.5%	0.0%	3.8%	6.1%
<b>NL</b>	<i>Classical music total</i>	28.3%	24.2%	27.2%	28.1%
	Actor/oeuvre	25.6%	17.6%	23.3%	25.8%
	Discipline	1.7%	6.6%	3.9%	2.3%
	<i>Popular music total</i>	38.5%	32.6%	38.6%	28.1%
	Actor/oeuvre	7.7%	28.8%	29.3%	26.2%
	Discipline	30.8%	3.8%	9.3%	6.4%

The types of articles most commonly published about classical and popular music is further considered in Table 3.4. Here we see that in 1955, reviews were not the most prevalent type of article about popular music in any of the countries. By contrast, reviews were the most common type of classical music article in every country and every year, except in Germany in 1955, but only by a narrow margin in that case. By 1975, reviews had become a much more common type of popular music article in every country

**Table 3.4**  
**Most common types of classical and popular music articles by country and year**

	<b>1955</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2005</b>
<b>USA</b>	<i>Classical music</i> Review 56.8% News 47.0% Announ 27.4%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 63.3% News 12.1% Announ 11.6%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 47.4% Back 17.5% News 12.3%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 45.6% News 23.6% Back 17.3%
	<i>Popular music</i> News 48.2% Review 36.1% Announ 6.0%	<i>Popular music</i> Review 54.7% Announ 18.7% Back 13.3%	<i>Popular music</i> Review 30.8% News 23.9% Back 19.3%	<i>Popular music</i> Review 29.9% News 27.1% Back 22.2%
<b>France</b>	<i>Classical music</i> Review 53.7% News 18.5% Announ 18.5%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 37.8% Announ 31.1% News 20.0%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 31.7% Announ 32.5% News 21.7%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 38.5% Announ 18.7% News 18.7%
	<i>Popular music</i> News 50.0% Review 32.1% Announ 10.7%	<i>Popular music</i> Announ 50.0% Review 26.9% News 7.7%	<i>Popular music</i> Announ 49.0% Review 16.5% News 15.5%	<i>Popular music</i> Review 33.3% Announ 31.7% News 15.4%
<b>Germany</b>	<i>Classical music</i> News 41.7% Review 38.9% Back 12.5%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 42.7% News 27.1% Back 15.6%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 47.5% News 23.7% Back 16.9%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 37.6% Back 25.5% News 15.6%
	<i>Popular music</i> Announ 37.5% Back 25.0% Opinion 12.5%	<i>Popular music</i> News 40.0% Review 30.0% Back 15.0%	<i>Popular music</i> Review 35.4% News 26.6% Back 24.1%	<i>Popular music</i> News 32.3% Review 30.3% Back 19.2%
<b>Netherlands</b>	<i>Classical music</i> Review 58.1% News 24.8% Announ 11.1%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 46.7% Announ 22.2% News 17.8%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 57.3% News 22.3% Announ 7.8%	<i>Classical music</i> Review 42.2% Announ 21.9% News 21.1%
	<i>Popular music</i> News 30.8% Review 30.8% Back 23.1%	<i>Popular music</i> Review 44.2% News 26.9% Announ 13.5%	<i>Popular music</i> Review 49.7% News 23.2% Back 10.6%	<i>Popular music</i> Review 42.2% News 24.1% Back 10.8%

\*Interview, preview, review, announcement, news, background, opinion, column

but France, and had become the most common article type in the US and the Netherlands.

With the exception of France in 1995 where announcements were most common and

Germany in 2005 where news articles narrowly won out, reviews became the most

common type of article in popular music as they were in classical music. Although the

overall percentage of popular music articles that were reviews remained steady or even declined over time (e.g. in the US), the fact that they generally became the most common type of article suggests that commercialization did not do away with evaluative content in popular music coverage. Rather, it appears that critical evaluations became more central to popular music coverage while clearly non-evaluative content (e.g. news and announcements) became relatively less prevalent.

### *Album reviews in newspapers*

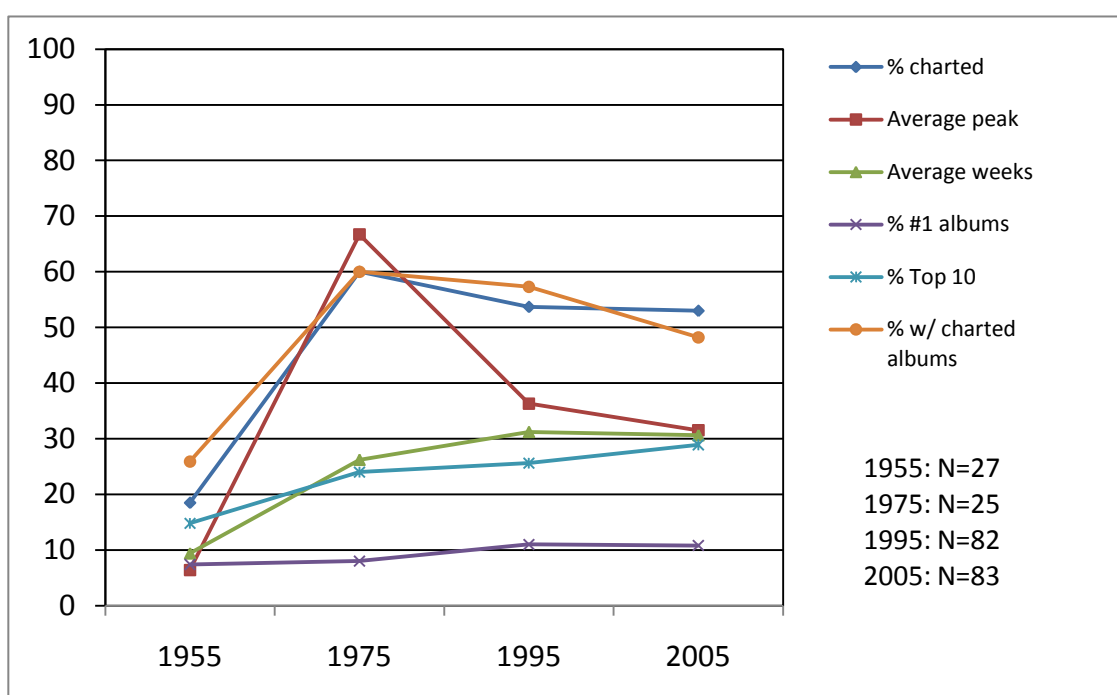
A more direct attempt at getting at the issue of commercialization versus autonomization, however, is the popularity of the albums to which newspaper reviewers gave attention. Figure 3.1 uses album reviews in US newspapers to explore trends in the commercial success of albums that were featured in the New York Times and Los Angeles Times. In terms of the percent of albums that appeared on the charts, there was an increase from 1955 to 1975; however, this trend slightly drops off and levels out thereafter. From 1975 on, a little over half of the albums reviewed appeared on the charts. Likewise, the percent of albums covered that made the top of the charts remains relatively flat over time, while the percent of albums that made the top 10 increases only slightly. For the albums covered that did make the charts, however, they did not climb as high on the charts in 1975, though it increases somewhat in 1995 and 2005<sup>18</sup>. The average number of weeks on the chart does increase slightly over time, but levels off after 1995. Another indicator of the commercial appeal of an album that newspapers might use is how successful a past album by a musician or musical group has been. While the percent of albums covered in the newspapers by an artist or group that appeared on the

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<sup>18</sup> Note that peak position is actually higher when the actual number is lower. So, as the line goes up, it actually signals that the albums did not reach as high a position on the charts and vice versa.

charts previously did increase from 1955 to 1975, it gradually drops off thereafter. By 2005, the newspapers in the US reviewed more albums by artists or groups that had never been on the charts than albums by artists or groups who had previously been successful in that regard. Overall, this provides very little support for the commercialization argument, although it does not straightforwardly support an autonomization process either.

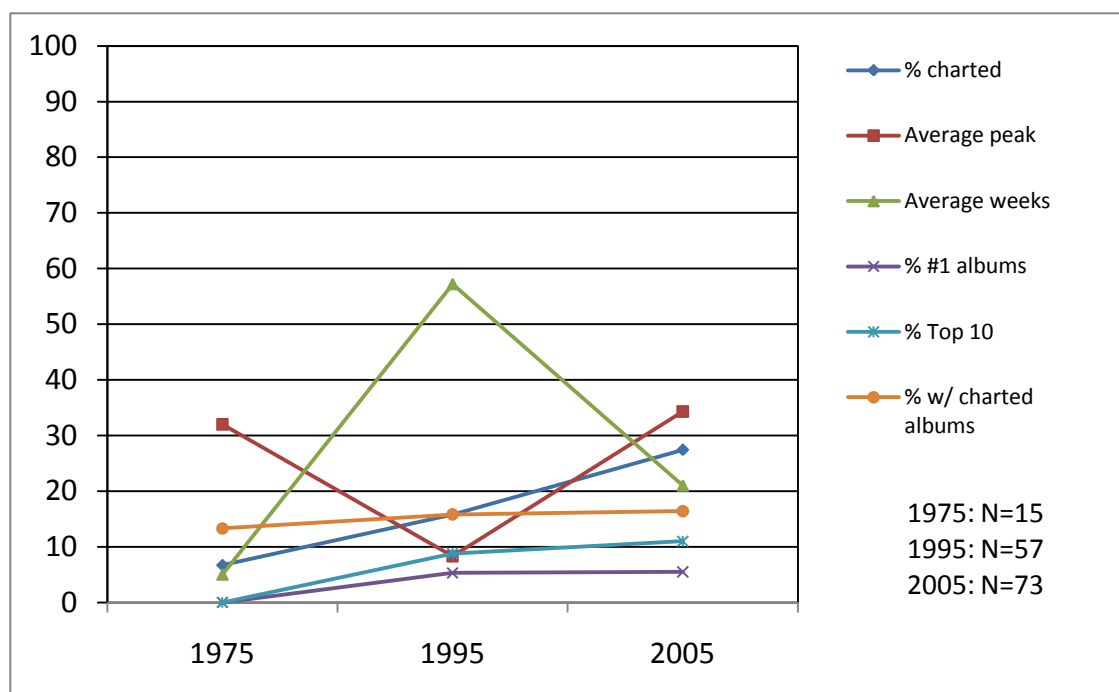
**Figure 3.1**  
**Popularity of albums reviewed in US newspapers, 1955 to 2005**



As for the newspapers in the Netherlands, Figure 3.2 presents a similar picture. Only the reference years 1975, 1995, and 2005 are included because there were no album reviews in the sample for 1955 and the Dutch popular music charts were not yet in existence. In 1975, fewer than 10% of the album reviews featured an album that appeared on the charts; although this percentage increases over time, it is still fewer than 30% in 2005. Likewise, there is a slight increase in the percentage of reviews of chart-

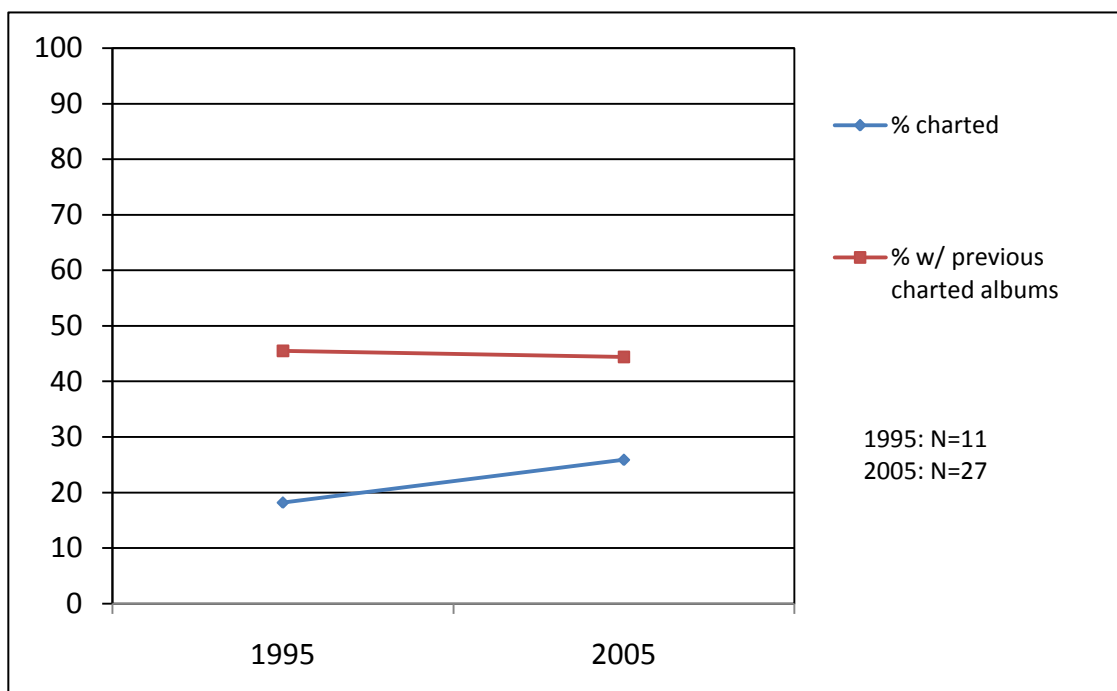
topping or top 10 albums, but it levels off and remains relatively low. Also, the percentage of albums reviewed by artists who had previously appeared on the charts is low and stable across the three reference years. There is a big shift in 1995 when the average chart position increases as does the average number of weeks on the charts, but this returns in 2005 to similar levels as in 1975. As in the US, this provides virtually no support for the commercialization explanation of popular music coverage and it appears that Dutch newspapers have more autonomy from commercial considerations than do the US newspapers.

**Figure 3.2**  
**Popularity of albums reviewed in Dutch newspapers, 1975 to 2005**



In 1955 and 1975, there are no album reviews in the sample of German newspaper articles. Further, the chart information is more limited for the German albums. Nonetheless, Figure 3.3 suggests that a low and stable percentage of albums reviewed appeared on the German album charts, similar to the Netherlands in 1995 and 2005. Relative to the Netherlands, however, a higher percentage of the albums reviewed were by artists that had previously been on the German charts, though it remains stable over time at a little less than half of the albums reviewed. While the data are more limited in the German case, it suggests the level of commercialization in 1995 and 2005 is comparable to that of the Netherlands, which does not suggest support for the commercialization argument.

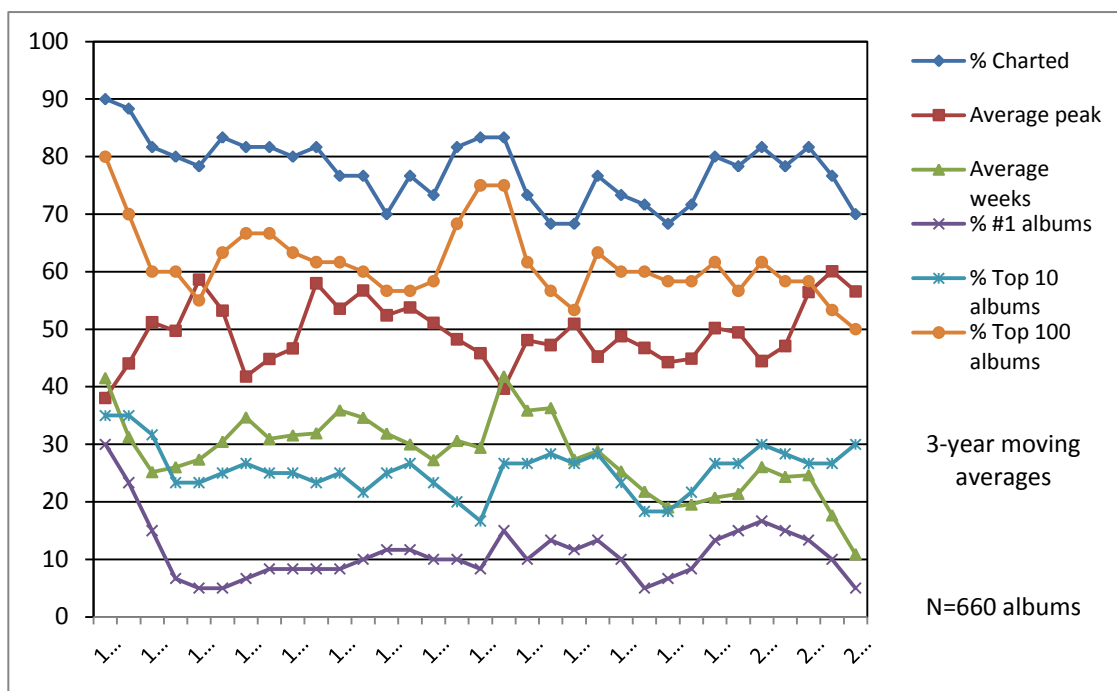
**Figure 3.3**  
**Popularity of albums reviewed in German newspapers, 1975 to 2005**



### Critically acclaimed albums

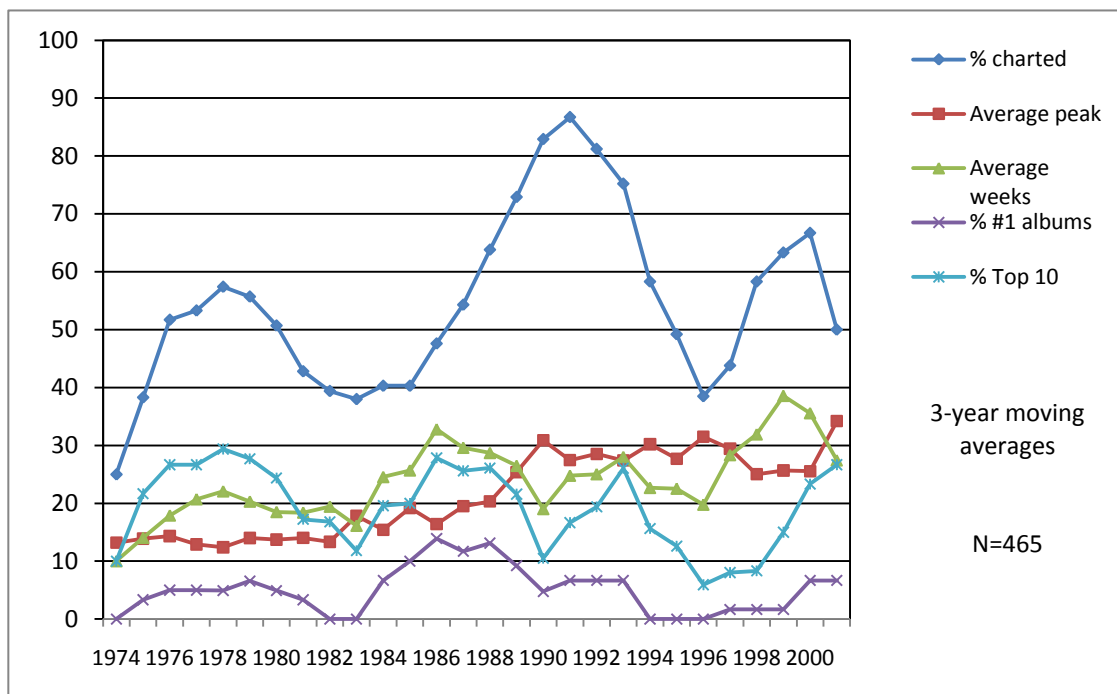
In terms of the relationship between critical acclaim and commercial appeal, Figure 3.4 tracks the popularity of *Village Voice* critics' picks from 1971 to 2005. While most critically acclaimed albums appear on the Billboard charts in the US, it slopes slightly downward over time. The percent of albums that top the charts drops off quickly and then stabilizes with some small spikes and dips, while the percent of top 10 albums is a bit more erratic it never goes about 30% after 1975. The average peak position fluctuates considerably, while the average number of weeks on the charts generally trends downward. Overall, the picture is one of relative stability in the relationship between critical and commercial recognition with some measures pointing to a slight decline in the popularity of critically acclaimed albums.

**Figure 3.4**  
Popular chart success of *Village Voice* critics end-of-year top 20 album picks



In the Netherlands, the picture is similar but with some large spikes in the commercial success of *Oor* critics' picks in the late 1980s and early 1990s (see Figure 3.5). In general, a lower percent of critically acclaimed albums in the Netherlands appears on the pop charts relative to the US, but in the early 1990s it reaches levels similar to the US before declining. The percent of chart-topping albums is generally very low, but does increase in the late 1980s and early 1990s, while the percent of albums in the top 10 is quite erratic with no discernible trend over time. On average, the peak position declines somewhat over time, which suggests that a larger proportion of critically acclaimed albums are appearing on the charts but at generally lower positions – through the 1970s and 1980s the average position is between 10 and 20, but thereafter

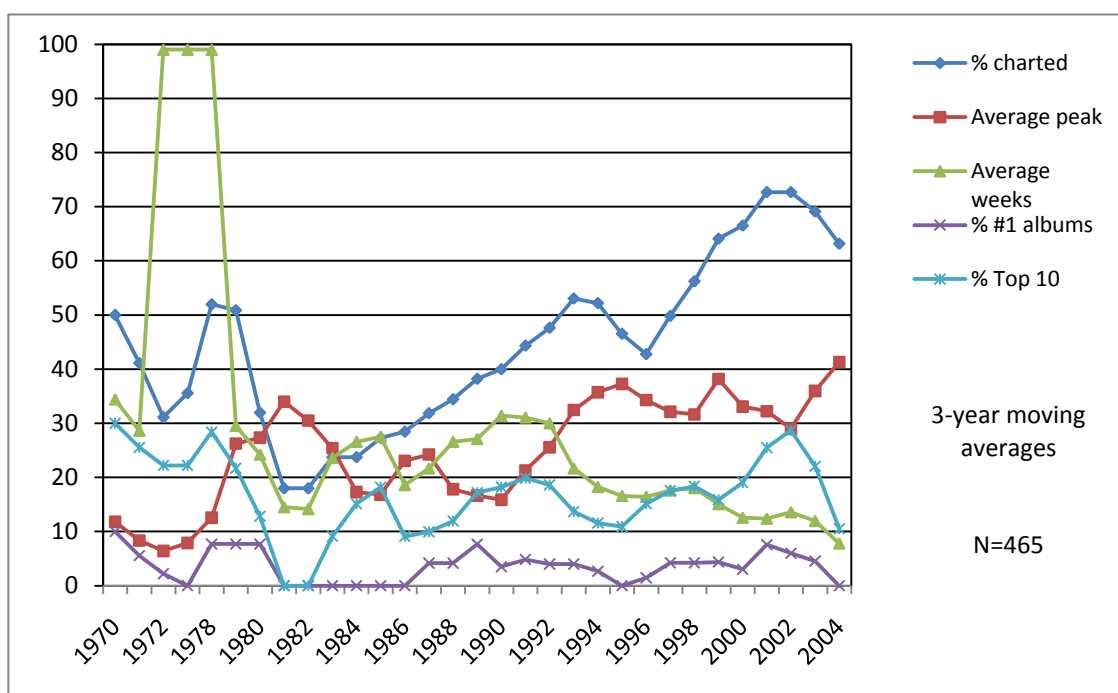
**Figure 3.5**  
**Popular chart success of *Oor* critics end-of-year top album picks, 1974-2001**





tends to stay closer to 30. The average number of weeks spikes slightly in the late 1980s and again in the late 1990s, but there is no clear general trend. In general, there is little support for the commercialization argument in the Netherlands with the exception of some temporary upticks in the commercial appeal of albums receiving critical recognition.

**Figure 3.6**  
**Popular chart success of German critics' end-of-year top album picks, 1970-2004**



The commercial success of German critics' prized albums is comparable to that of the Netherlands (see Figure 3.6). From the early 1980s onward, there is a general upward trend in the percentage of albums that appear on the charts, although the average position of such albums tends to slightly decline over time as does their average number of weeks on the charts. The percentage of number 1 and top 10 albums declines quickly initially, but then rebounds somewhat and levels off thereafter. Although the increasing

percentage of albums that appeared on the charts seems consistent with the commercialization argument, other measures are either fairly stable or even suggest declining popular appeal (e.g. lower average chart position). Again, this provides little support for the commercialization argument, although it does not straightforwardly support an autonomization process either.

## **Discussion**

A number of scholars have argued that popular music has gained considerable cultural legitimacy in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Regev 1994, Janssen 1999, Gudmundsson et al. 2002). In particular, I have argued that increasing attention to popular music in elite newspapers is evidence of weakening symbolic boundaries between classical and popular music (Schmutz 2009) and of the general aesthetic mobility of popular music (Schmutz et al. 2010). However, a sizeable chorus of scholars has raised concerns about the encroachment of corporate control and commercial interests across the media landscape. From this perspective, greater attention to popular music -- along with other forms of lifestyle, celebrity, and entertainment coverage -- reflects corporate concerns with profitability and an accompanying commercialization of media and society. However, based on the information culled for this chapter, I find little support for the notion that attention to popular music in newspapers or from a broad range of critics shows clear signs of commercialization.

In terms of trends in newspaper coverage of popular music, the European countries show a general convergence between classical and popular music in the prevalence of articles that take an artistic, or evaluative, perspective. Although the artistic perspective remains less prevalent in the US and Germany in 2005 relative to

France and the Netherlands, it should be noted that this does not tell us about the content of the evaluative discourse. In their study of popular music album reviews in 2004 and 2005, van Venrooij and Schmutz (forthcoming) found that “high art” evaluative criteria were invoked more often in Germany and the US than in the Netherlands. Furthermore, reviews containing evaluative content generally became the most frequent type of popular music article published in each country after initially being less common than news and announcements about popular music. While the attention to popular music products gradually increases over time, it is generally on par with – and usually lower than – the prevalence of classical music articles on a specific product. There is, however, divergence in the two latter reference years in the type of product being reviewed in classical music and popular music. While evaluations of live performances are the norm among classical music critics, album reviews become an increasingly common focus of popular music reviews in addition to articles about live performances.

Although such features of newspaper articles about music are not entirely direct measures of commercialization or autonomization, taken together they are more consistent with the latter than they are supportive of an explanation based on commercial domination of popular music critics. Indeed, it is somewhat consistent with the argument that the popular music field developed a relatively autonomous critical apparatus and gained in cultural legitimacy. For example, it is generally acknowledged that prior to the 1960s attention to popular music was limited to some news and gossip about pop stars (Lindberg et al. 2005, Pires 2003). The emergence of outlets for rock criticism represented a shift in focus towards a more evaluative and critical approach to popular music. Indeed, the newspaper data show that news items (i.e. those in which a topical

event is signaled and described) were the most common form of popular music coverage in the US, France and the Netherlands in 1955; in Germany, announcements (i.e. short information pieces about 10-30 lines long that publicize a new product). The increasing prevalence of reviews, particularly of pop and rock music, indicates that the approach taken by the burgeoning field of rock criticism was finding its way from specialized magazines and other publications into the newspapers. The legitimization of jazz music followed a similar pattern as reviews initially found in underground and fan publications eventually found their way into the mainstream press (Lopes 2002). Thus, the data on newspaper coverage are more suggestive of a process of autonomization and legitimation than one of commercialization.

The relationship between commercial appeal and critical recognition is more directly considered in the data that incorporates information about chart success. Here the findings are somewhat ambiguous, but they clearly do not appear supportive a commercialization interpretation. There are limitations in the data on the popularity of albums reviewed in newspapers, particularly in Germany, but the findings generally suggest only incremental changes in the commercial appeal of the albums reviewed. While the American papers appear to be more likely to cover albums that make the pop charts, the prevalence of such albums remains stable or even declines slightly from 1975 on. In general, there are only modest changes in any measures of popularity over time, though there are some increases in chart success in the albums reviewed in Dutch and German newspapers.

Similarly, the data on the commercial appeal of critically acclaimed albums in each country reveal few clear trends. On some measures there appear to modest

increases in popularity, on others there are limited decreases in popularity, and some fluctuate without a discernible pattern. For one, this may suggest that by the time the practice of polling critics was initiated, a somewhat stable field of popular music had been institutionalized. In other words, basic features of popular music criticism and the evaluative criteria its practitioners employ were already in place by the early 1970s when most of these polls began. Such a view is consistent with the finding that early rock music critics had a longstanding influence on the types of music and musicians that have a consecrated status in the field (Schmutz 2005, Schmutz and Faupel forthcoming). Thus, the limited changes and temporary fluctuations in the popularity of the albums that garner critical acclaim may reveal a fundamental continuity in the evaluation of popular music since the emergence of rock criticism and its diffusion throughout the popular music field (see Regev 1997, 2003).

In general, this may signal the relative autonomy of popular music critics from concerns about the popularity of the albums they praise even as they review albums that vary widely in their commercial success. Furthermore, to the degree that critically acclaimed albums do become more or less likely to have commercial success, this could be due to the influence of critics on album sales. Although the findings of this chapter are insufficient to determine whether this is the case, future research should consider this possibility more directly. If popular music critics have secured some level of cultural authority within the field and some level of autonomy from the profit motives of the music industry, we should expect that their evaluations have an impact on the commercial success of an album. Yet although it has been shown that critics have a profound effect on the reputation of popular music albums (Schmutz 2005, Schmutz and Faupel

forthcoming), their impact on album sales is often downplayed by popular music critics themselves (Klein 2005) and by scholars. As Shuker (1994, 93) writes, “there is a general agreement that rock critics don’t exercise as much influence on consumers as, say, literary or drama critics.” Musicians who are trying to break onto the pop music scene, however, seem to attribute more power to critics in shaping their own commercial prospects (Brennan 2006) as do some music retailers. Thus, further research on the impact of critics on the commercial success of albums is needed. Based on the findings presented here, it seems more likely that the influence flows from critics to commercial appeal than the other way around.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **Toward an empirical test of artistic classification theory**

#### **Introduction**

Systems of classification have long been a central theme in sociological thought. For Durkheim (1965 [1915]), society provides the individual with the classifying categories that correspond with the prevailing social order. The familiar Durkheimian distinction between “sacred” and “profane,” for example, represents a set of shared mental categories that emerges from collective totemic rites and social participation. Although Bergesen (2004) has drawn attention to findings regarding the cognitive architecture of infants that call into question the mechanism whereby Durkheim proposes mental categories originate, comparative research makes clear that humans acquire the cultural material that generates and reinforces classification systems. Thus, despite the possibility of a “pre-social” cognitive structure, the content and meaning of social and cultural boundaries is the product of shared experience, cultural categories, and existing social arrangements.

Indeed, a diverse and growing body of social scientific literature deals with the study of boundaries (for a review, see Lamont and Molnár 2002). The classification systems described above rely on conceptual distinctions, or “symbolic boundaries,” that sort people, places, and things into their correct categories. Sociologists have used this concept to explain the processes by which people distinguish between a variety of phenomena, such as occupational groups (Lamont 1992), social class and racial groups (Lamont 2000), and even music genres (Bryson 1996). Such boundaries often serve to symbolically exclude categories that are seen as less desirable, unworthy, or illegitimate

(Douglas 1966, 1986; Bourdieu 1984; Lamont 1992). Yet Lamont and Molnár (2002) call attention to the difference between the conceptual distinctions that constitute symbolic boundaries and social boundaries, which involve objectified forms of social inequality associated with unequal access to material and nonmaterial resources. They argue further that, although many have considered the interplay between symbolic and social boundaries, the conditions under which the two are more or less closely coupled are not well understood. In the present chapter, I use of DiMaggio's theory of artistic classification systems, which addresses the relationship between the social and symbolic dimensions of such systems, to contribute to filling this gap in understanding.

In her application of Durkheim's insights, Douglas (1986) refers to the shared cognition created by a social group's classification system as a "thought world". The thought world helps establish and reinforce the correctness of social categories and symbolic boundaries. Similarly, an "art world" (Becker 1982) produces and sustains the conventions and categories associated with artistic classification systems. Just as members of society are socialized into the social order and its correspondent thought world, art worlds instruct their participants in the standards and knowledge necessary for legitimate involvement in its activities. Among the lessons learned through socialization into an art world are how to classify and evaluate art works and their creators as well as where the symbolic boundary that separates "art" from "non-art" is appropriately drawn.

Yet such classifications are not permanently fixed and symbolic boundaries are not static. Rather, they often vary in many ways from one social group to another and they can change over time. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century United States, for example, classical music was not highly differentiated from or ranked above other musical forms (Levine



1988, DiMaggio 1982). Through nonprofit arts organizations, like the Boston Symphony Orchestra, urban elites successfully sacralized classical music and distinguished “high” culture from its “lesser” relatives (DiMaggio 1982). As this organizational form spread to other cultural forms and other American cities, the boundary separating “high” culture from “lowbrow” popular culture gained potency and widespread endorsement by the 1920s (DiMaggio 1991). Curricula at elite colleges further reinforced the privileged position of high cultural forms like classical music (DiMaggio 1982). While such examples illustrate the dynamism of symbolic classifications and their relevance to broader social processes, Lena and Peterson (2008) rightly note that there is still much room to elaborate a theory to explain change in classificatory schemes.

In his theory of artistic classification, DiMaggio (1987) suggests four dimensions along which an artistic classification system (ACS) may vary at the societal level as well as several social structural factors that predict the position of ACSs on each dimension. For one, artistic classification systems can vary in their *differentiation*, or the degree to which genres are institutionally bounded. Thus, art worlds that are highly segmented with many identifiable genres are highly differentiated. Second, artistic classification systems can vary in the degree to which genres are ranked by prestige, which is an indicator of *hierarchy*. In more hierarchical systems, genres diverge widely in prestige and command unequal resources. A third dimension of variation is *universality*, or the degree to which there is agreement among members of a society in the ways they recognize and classify genres. Finally, artistic classification systems can vary in their *boundary strength*, or the degree to which genre boundaries are highly ritualized and difficult to transgress. Thus, as classical music became sacralized in the US, we could

say that musical classifications went from being relatively undifferentiated, weakly bounded, less hierarchical, and provincial to being differentiated, strongly bounded, hierarchical, and widely accepted in American society. Indeed, DiMaggio's (1987) theory of artistic classification builds on his earlier work that addresses the development of cultural hierarchy in the United States, yet moves beyond this focus to a more thorough conceptualization of genres as sets of art works that occupy the same structural position.

### **Artistic classification systems (ACSs)**

In DiMaggio's (1987) theory of ACSs, the four dimensions described above are linked to a variety of social structural predictors as well as to one another. Social heterogeneity and inequality are two key predictors of differentiation, hierarchy, universality, and boundary strength in ACSs. The theory proposes that social heterogeneity and status diversity in a social system are positively correlated with differentiation in the classification system. Differentiation is also greater when there is a larger range of social networks, when the role structure is more complex, when there is less structural consolidation<sup>19</sup>, and when there is greater access to higher education. A key impact of inequality in the social system is that it contributes to more hierarchy (i.e. inequality between genres) in the ACS. Greater differentiation, by contrast, is associated with less hierarchical classification systems. Likewise, the following are all associated with less hierarchy in an ACS: less structural consolidation, more sociable interaction

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<sup>19</sup> Drawing from Blau's (1977) influential work, this concept refers to the extent to which the salient attributes of persons shape their social relations. The structural parameters are said to be highly correlated when attributes and relations are congruent, which makes the role structure less complex and more structurally consolidated, leading to less differentiation. By contrast, when attributes and social relations are less tightly coupled, the role structure is more complex and there is less structural consolidation, which leads to greater differentiation.

between groups, a more technical system of education rather than a humanistic one, greater access to higher education, and less internal stratification in the educational system. Greater social heterogeneity and greater equality in a social system are associated with a less universal system of artistic classification. Likewise, the more differentiation in an artistic classification system, the less universal it will be.

Universality is strengthened by less structural consolidation and more interaction among social groups, by a complex role structure, by greater access to formal education and less differentiation in the educational system, and by greater ritual strength in artistic classifications. Ritual boundary strength is greater in hierarchical and more universally shared ACSs, while differentiation weakens boundary strength. Stronger ritual boundaries are also associated with greater structural consolidation, greater status diversity, and more complexity in the role structure. Table 4.1 provides an overview of all social structural predictors in DiMaggio's theory as well as the relationship between the four dimensions of artistic classification systems.

While much cited<sup>20</sup> and full of useful theoretical insights into dynamic change in classification systems, DiMaggio's (1987) theory of artistic classification has largely escaped systematic analysis. As DiMaggio (2009) himself recently acknowledged, the propositions in his theory that predict variation in the levels of differentiation, hierarchy, universality, and boundary strength of ACSs have not been formally tested. Focusing on popular music classifications, the aim of this chapter is to move toward an empirical test

#### **Table 4.1**

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<sup>20</sup> The article was included among the most cited articles in the history of the *American Sociological Review* (see Jacobs 2005) as one of only 379 articles all-time and one of only 85 articles published in the 1980s that had been cited over 100 times as of November 2004 in the ISI Social Sciences Citation Index. As of May 28, 2010 the article had been cited 186 times according to the ISI Social Sciences Citation Index, suggesting that it has been cited at an increasing pace in recent years.

### Social structural predictors and theorized effects on artistic classification systems

<b>Dimension of the ACS</b>	<b>Predictor</b>	<b>Theorized effect</b>
<b>Differentiation</b>	Social heterogeneity and status diversity	+
	Range of social networks	+
	Complexity of role structure	+
	Structural consolidation	-
	Access to higher education	+
<b>Hierarchy</b>	Consolidation of status parameters	+
	Social inequality	+
	Sociable interaction between groups	-
	Humanistic system of education	+
	Access to higher education	-
	Internal stratification in education	+
	<i>Differentiation</i>	-
<b>Universality</b>	Social heterogeneity	-
	Decline in consolidated status parameters AND more interaction among social groups	+
	Social inequality	-
	Complexity of role structure	+
	Greater access to formal education AND decline in educational differentiation	+
	<i>Differentiation</i>	-
	<i>Ritual boundary strength</i>	+
<b>Ritual boundary strength</b>	Structural consolidation	+
	Status diversity	-
	Complexity of role structure	-
	<i>Hierarchy</i>	+
	<i>Universality</i>	+
	<i>Differentiation</i>	-

of DiMaggio's (1987) propositions by generating measures of three of the dimensions of ACSs -- differentiation, hierarchy, and universality -- in the US, Germany, France, and the Netherlands at different points in time since 1955. I then seek to explore how well social structural factors included in DiMaggio's (1987) model predict changes over time and cross-national differences in the relevant dimensions of musical classification systems. Due to challenges in obtaining comparable data for all four countries over a 50-year period, I focus primarily on indicators of social inequality and social heterogeneity

in the present chapter<sup>21</sup>. As such, this chapter represents a first step toward a more thorough empirical evaluation in an attempt to highlight the merits of the theory as well as some of the mediating factors and contemporary conditions that may intensify or attenuate some of its predictions.

## **Cross-national comparisons**

### *Cultural classification systems in transition*

The present chapter and the dissertation to which it belongs is, in part, a response to the call for more cross-national comparative research in the sociology of culture and the arts (Janssen and Peterson 2005). The time period and the countries examined in this chapter coincide with a larger, collaborative project centered at Erasmus University Rotterdam entitled “Cultural Classification Systems in Transition” (see Janssen 2002 and Janssen et al. 2008). Based on newspaper coverage of arts and culture in the US, Germany, France, and the Netherlands in reference years between 1955 and 2005, the larger study tracks journalistic attention to a variety of cultural forms, including film, literature, performing arts, visual arts, decorative arts, architecture, fashion, television, and music. Indeed, DiMaggio (2009) acknowledges this cross-national project as one that is contributing important theoretical and empirical insights to our understanding of social and symbolic classification. The project has produced several articles that take a comparative approach to addressing some of the dimensions of artistic classification systems and often aim to link them to broader social patterns (e.g. Janssen 2006, Janssen

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<sup>21</sup> See appendix 1 for a complete list of DiMaggio’s (1987) predictor variables and their hypothesized effects on differentiation, hierarchy, universality and ritual boundary strength in artistic classification systems.

et al. 2008, Berkers 2009, Berkers et al. forthcoming, Schmutz 2009, van Venrooij forthcoming, van Venrooij and Schmutz forthcoming).

The four countries were selected because they vary along key dimensions theoretically relevant to cultural classifications (e.g. hierarchy) and because cross-national research has been suggestive of significant differences in their cultural hierarchies and classification systems. For example, the US is a relatively market-oriented society with weak state intervention and a decentralized system of education; France tends to be more civic-minded, feature strong state intervention and a centralized system of education; and the Netherlands and Germany occupy positions somewhere in between. In the international cultural arena, the US holds a prominent position (some would argue hegemonic), while the Netherlands holds a less conspicuous place and has a much smaller cultural economy; France and Germany occupy middle positions in this regard. Whereas cultural policies in France have limited cultural imports in order to protect national cultural products, the Netherlands has typically been open to foreign, including American, cultural goods.

Variation between the four countries in terms of size and centrality to cultural production systems also bear theoretical relevance. As Janssen (2006) demonstrates in her study of fashion reporting from 1955-2005 in three countries, French newspapers have traditionally given more attention to designer fashion, particularly to French designers, correspondent with their centrality in global fashion production. Yet as France's influence in designer fashion has diminished, their fashion reporting has recently become more international in its scope. Although they typically provide less editorial space to fashion coverage, Dutch and German newspapers have lately expanded

their fashion reporting as the designer fashion industry has emerged and grown in their own countries (Janssen 2006).

In addition to these general features, cross-national research is further suggestive of some specific differences between the four countries. Comparisons of cultural repertoires in France and the US are the subject of a volume edited by Lamont and Thévenot (2000), which draws on case studies dealing with a range of issues, including racism, book publishing, journalistic norms, contemporary art controversies, environmental disputes, and so on. Among other things, the contributors find that traditional cultural hierarchies remain more salient in France and that aesthetic criteria and civic solidarity more often form the basis of evaluations. In the US, on the other hand, market performance, morality, and individual liberty are more prominent bases for evaluation.

Cultural education in England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands varies considerably in the extent of its orientation to international cultural products and the degree to which it focuses on classical or “high” cultural forms (Bever 2005). In his analysis of secondary school exams for music and art in each of the countries, Bever (2005) finds that the Netherlands puts the least emphasis on canonical works and is most likely to include the culture of other nations as well as popular culture – including popular music – in its curricula. From 1965 to 1990, Dutch newspapers convey a similar trend as both elite and popular papers gave increasing editorial space to popular music during this time period, while classical music coverage declined (Janssen 1999). France and Germany, on the other hand, show the greatest propensity to focus on their own national culture as well as on the classical canon and high cultural forms in their

secondary exams (Bever 2005). In a study of newspaper reviews of popular music albums, Alex van Venrooij and I (forthcoming) find that German critics rely more heavily on “high art” discourse and reviewing techniques than do their Dutch or American counterparts, suggesting that the classification system is more hierarchical in Germany than in the US and the Netherlands. Furthermore, the paper links differences in the cultural hierarchies of the US, Germany, and the Netherlands to features of the educational and stratification systems as well as to the size and position of each country and to historic national repertoires.

While this chapter is certainly informed by and seeks to build on comparative studies like those briefly reviewed, it also aims to move toward a more systematic measurement of hierarchy in classification systems, along with measures of differentiation, universality, and boundary strength. As such, this project has the potential to create a more thorough account of cultural classifications in different national contexts. The four countries represented in this study provide a useful basis for the comparative study of artistic classification systems as well as the factors associated with shifts in such systems.

## **Data and methods**

### *Newspaper coverage of music*

A central source of data for this study is content analysis of newspaper coverage of music in the US, Germany, France, and the Netherlands in reference years between 1955 and 2005, which is drawn from the “Cultural Classification Systems in Transition” project (see Janssen 2002). Newspaper coverage provides an especially appealing basis for obtaining comparative information about musical classification systems and the



legitimizing ideology that sustains them. As Peterson suggests (2005), it represents a plentiful and accessible data source for making longitudinal, cross-national comparisons. Thus, the data on newspaper coverage of music, in each year, offer a snapshot of the range of musical genres and actors that are seen as legitimate, or at least worthy of media attention, in each country. The way newspapers classify and report on different types of music represents a key site where artistic classifications are publicly articulated and disseminated. Further, the amount of space devoted to various genres and to various actors indicates the relative value placed on different types of music within a classification system.

The reference years in which newspaper samples were collected in each of the countries are 1955, 1975, 1995, and 2005. In each country, two newspapers were selected, each of which has national (or at least supra-regional) circulation, relatively large and elite readerships, and is commercially available over the course of the entire study period. The newspapers selected for content analysis are: the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* in the US; *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Suddeutsche Zeitung* in Germany; *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* in France; and *Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad* in the Netherlands. To control for potential variation in newspaper coverage by day of the week and by season, a stratified sample of four constructed weeks was generated (i.e. a Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday paper in each quarter of the reference year). As such, the sample size exceeds the two constructed weeks Riffe et al. (1993) suggest is sufficiently representative of one year's newspaper content. Although the larger database contains information on every article or

advertisement relevant to arts and culture from the sample editions, I primarily use a subset of the data that focuses on editorial content about popular music (N=1,865).

Next, I turn to a more detailed discussion of how I will construct measures for each of the dimensions of artistic classification systems (DiMaggio 1987) based on newspaper coverage. First, *differentiation* in a musical classification system refers to the degree to which its genres are institutionally bounded. A system with high differentiation is greatly segmented with many identifiable genres. Therefore, differentiation will be a straightforward measure of the number of popular music genres found in the newspaper coverage for each country.

Second, *hierarchy* is indicated by the degree to which genres are ranked by prestige. Musical classification systems are more hierarchical when their genres greatly diverge in status and resources. To measure the degree of hierarchy in each country, I consider how newspaper space is distributed by music genre. A musical classification system is more hierarchical when relatively few music genres command a large proportion of the attention from elite newspapers. Often used in measures of industry concentration but also in a variety of studies of cultural objects (e.g Dowd et al. 2002, Dowd 2004, Benson 2009), I calculate a Herfindahl index score for each country in every reference year by summing the squares of the proportion of newspaper space each popular genre receives. Using this approach, the Herfindahl score potentially varies between 0 and 1, where 1 indicates that a single genre monopolizes all newspaper space and a 0 indicates that many genres attract equal attention. Thus, the Herfindahl measure has the advantage of simultaneously accounting for the number of genres that receive some attention as well as the degree to which few genres command a large proportion of

the newspaper space. As a further indicator of hierarchy, I measure the total amount of space that classical music, which is traditionally privileged in the musical hierarchy, receives in the newspapers for each country in every reference year.

Third, *universality* refers to the degree to which there is agreement among members of a society in the ways they recognize and classify genres. One indicator of widespread agreement is the degree to which the two newspapers sampled in each country exhibit like ways of covering and classifying musical genres. Thus, there is higher universality in a country where both newspapers recognize the same popular music genres as well as give a similar amount of space to popular versus classical music. Therefore, in each reference year I measure the number of popular music genres covered in only one of the two sample newspapers as a percentage of the total number of genres that receive some attention. In addition, I measure the difference in the total proportion of space the two newspapers within a country devote to popular music. Overall, this provides a sense of the degree to which there is agreement about the legitimacy of popular music and widespread agreement concerning the genres that deserve attention.

#### *Predictor variables*

Among the social structural variables DiMaggio (1987) expects to affect various dimensions of the classification system are degree of social heterogeneity and the level of social inequality. Increasing social heterogeneity, for example, is hypothesized to directly increase differentiation and decrease universality and to indirectly decrease hierarchy and boundary strength. Social heterogeneity could be measured in a number of ways and DiMaggio (1987) does not specify what types of heterogeneity might have the most robust impacts on classification systems. Furthermore, different types of

heterogeneity are likely to be more or less important in each country. Thus, I consider several indicators of social heterogeneity in each country, including the degree of ethnic diversity, the size of the foreign-born population, and the amount of religious diversity.

Measures of ethnic diversity are derived from studies of ethnic and linguistic fractionalization (ELF) that have primarily been created by political scientists interested in the impact of ethnic diversity on democratic politics, civil unrest, economic performance, and so on (Fearon 2003). In particular, I draw from two sources to construct measures of ethnic diversity, or fractionalization, in 1961, 1985, and the 1990s (Roeder 2002, Fearon 2003). While the time periods do not match all reference years and cross-national data on ethnicity is not always perfectly comparable, the estimates provide a good overall sense of the degree of ethnic diversity. The ELF scores range from 0 to 1 and represent the probability that any two people randomly selected from a country's population would have different ethnic identities. Thus, a higher score indicates a higher level of ethnic diversity. Similarly, religious diversity is reported for each country in 1960 and 1995-1999 using a religious fractionalization measure based on cross-national data from Crouch (1999). Calculated as an inverse Herfindahl index, a higher score on religious fractionalization represents a greater degree of religious diversity.

Finally, to better account for increasing diversity in each of the countries due to heightened levels of immigration, I report the percentage of the population in each country that is foreign-born. Data on the foreign-born population in each country were taken from US census data and select annual volumes of the *Annuaire Statistique de la France*, *Statistisches Jahrbuch* in Germany, and the *Statistical Yearbook of the Netherlands*. Although every effort was made to collect comparable measures across

countries in the same reference years, there is some variation in the calculating and in the timing of reporting population data. Nonetheless, the sources provide a good sense of the

Greater social inequality is expected to increase hierarchy, which in turn is expected to increase boundary strength. Stratification researchers often use the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS) as a source of data on cross-national differences in income inequality, which provides comparable data for each of the four countries dating to 1979. I borrow measures of post-tax, post-transfer income inequality as calculated and reported by Kenworthy (2004) as indicators of social inequality. In particular, Gini coefficients for income inequality among households are presented in the paper. Gini coefficients are a measure of statistical dispersion, which range between 0 and 1, with higher values indicating greater income inequality (a score of 1 would indicate that one household receives 100% of the income in a country).

## **Results**

### *Differentiation, hierarchy, universality*

Table 4.2 reports the number of popular music genres that received attention in the newspapers and Figure 4.1 provides a picture of the degree to which the classification systems in each country have become more differentiated. In general, each country's classification system has seen an increase in differentiation as measured by the number of genres that receive newspaper attention. Interestingly, France and Germany both exhibit a slight decline in differentiation between 1995 and 2005 while the US and the Netherlands remain stable or increase in their levels of differentiation. In 2005, the US and the Netherlands show similar levels of differentiation as the newspapers in each country cover 28 popular music genres while that number is only 17 and 16 in France and

Germany, respectively. In sum, differentiation generally rises in each country over time, but the US and the Netherlands are the most highly differentiated, particularly in 2005.

**Table 4.2 Differentiation**  
**Number of different popular genres receiving newspaper coverage**

	USA	France	Germany	Netherlands
<b>1955</b>	14	4	3	3
<b>1975</b>	19	7	9	12
<b>1995</b>	28	23	19	24
<b>2005</b>	28	17	16	28

**Figure 4.1 Differentiation**  
**Number of different genres receiving newspaper coverage**

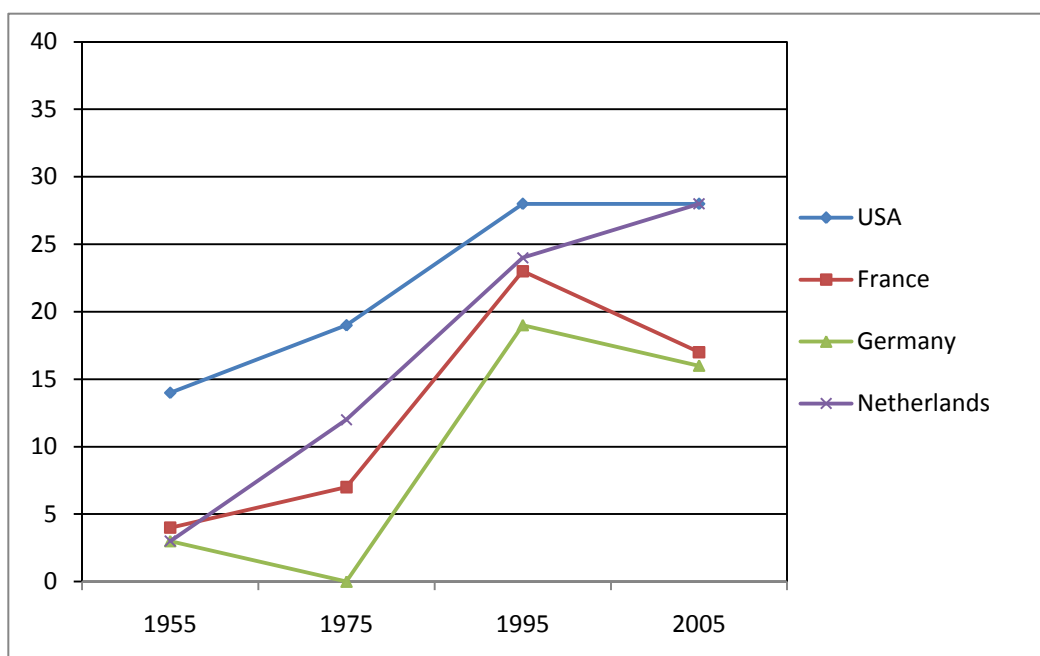


Table 4.3 adds the dimension of hierarchy by considering how much of the newspaper space is devoted to classical music. Overall, the four countries initially give the vast majority of newspaper space to classical music, although to a somewhat lesser degree in France, but eventually shift to equal or even greater attention to popular music.

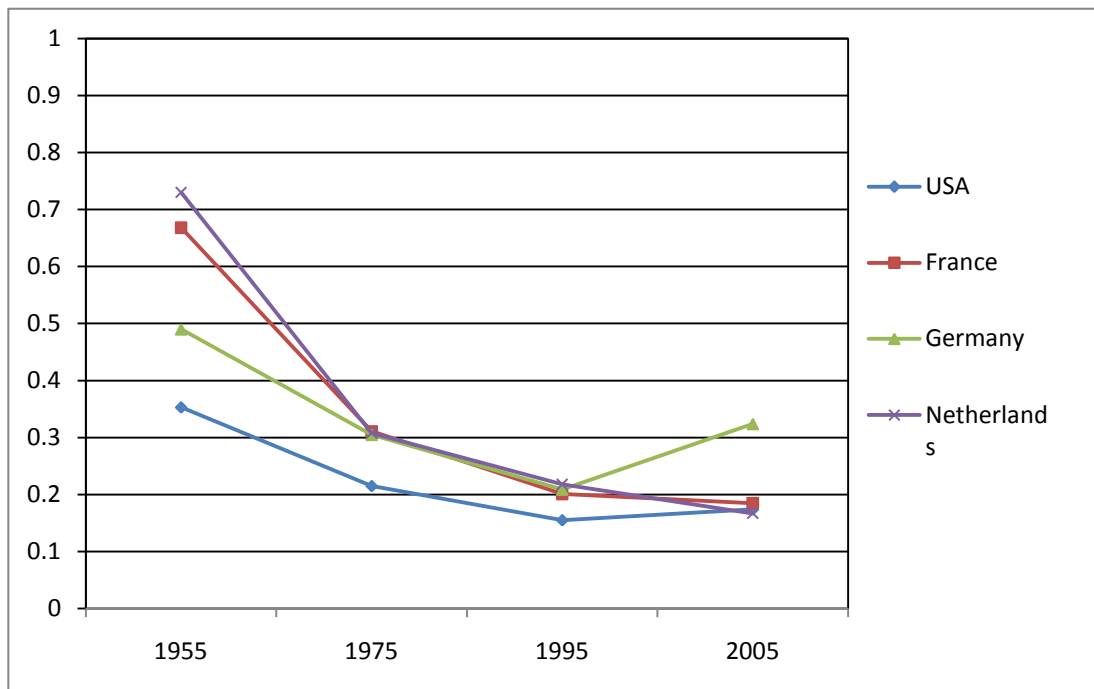
This apparent decline in hierarchy occurs most notably between 1955 and 1975 in the US, but not until 1975 to 1995 in the three European countries. Germany stands out as the only country that continues to give the majority of space to classical music in 1995 and 2005. Along with increasing space for popular music, the Herfindahl index scores reinforce the finding that the popular music field becomes less hierarchical (i.e. less concentrated) over time. Initially, France and the Netherlands are the most hierarchical in the distribution of newspaper space, while the US is the least hierarchical. However, France and the Netherlands gradually converge with the US and all three countries are at nearly identical levels in 2005, while Germany stands apart as slightly more hierarchical in its newspaper coverage.

In general, this supports the idea that Germany remains the most hierarchical due to both its greater attention to classical music and its higher Herfindahl index score, while it is difficult to distinguish between the US, France, and the Netherlands in their levels of hierarchy. In general, the findings suggest that – concomitant with the increase in differentiation – levels of hierarchy decline in each country over time. Germany stands out, however, in that there is a similar level of concentration in 2005 as in 1975 after a sizeable decline in 1995. This is interesting given that France continues to see a slight decline in hierarchy from 1995 to 2005, although it exhibits a modest decline in differentiation quite similar to Germany.

**Table 4.3 Hierarchy**  
**Proportion of musical coverage devoted to classical music**

	<b>USA</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>
<b>1955</b>	88.1%	63.5%	91.7%	82.9%
<b>1975</b>	52.9%	78.2%	85.7%	79.8%
<b>1995</b>	37.2%	36.7%	68.5%	36.0%
<b>2005</b>	35.9%	46.2%	61.1%	33.7%

**Figure 4.2 Hierarchy**  
**Herfindahl index scores indicating concentration of popular music coverage**



Finally, universality is measured by comparing the two newspapers in each country to determine the extent to which there is general agreement in the genres that receive attention and in the proportion of space devoted to popular music. Table 4.4 reports the number of genre mismatches – that is, the number of popular genres that only receive coverage in one newspaper – as well as the percentage of mismatches relative to the total number of genres covered. Thus, a higher percentage indicates a higher rate of mismatch and, therefore, less universality. Focusing on the last three reference years, it appears that there is a general increase in universality over time as indicated by a decline in the proportion of mismatched genres between the two papers in each country. Here again, Germany stands out as the one country where universality actually decreases in each reference year from 1975 to 2005 as it shows a growing number of genres that receive attention in only one of its sampled newspapers. In 2005, the proportion of



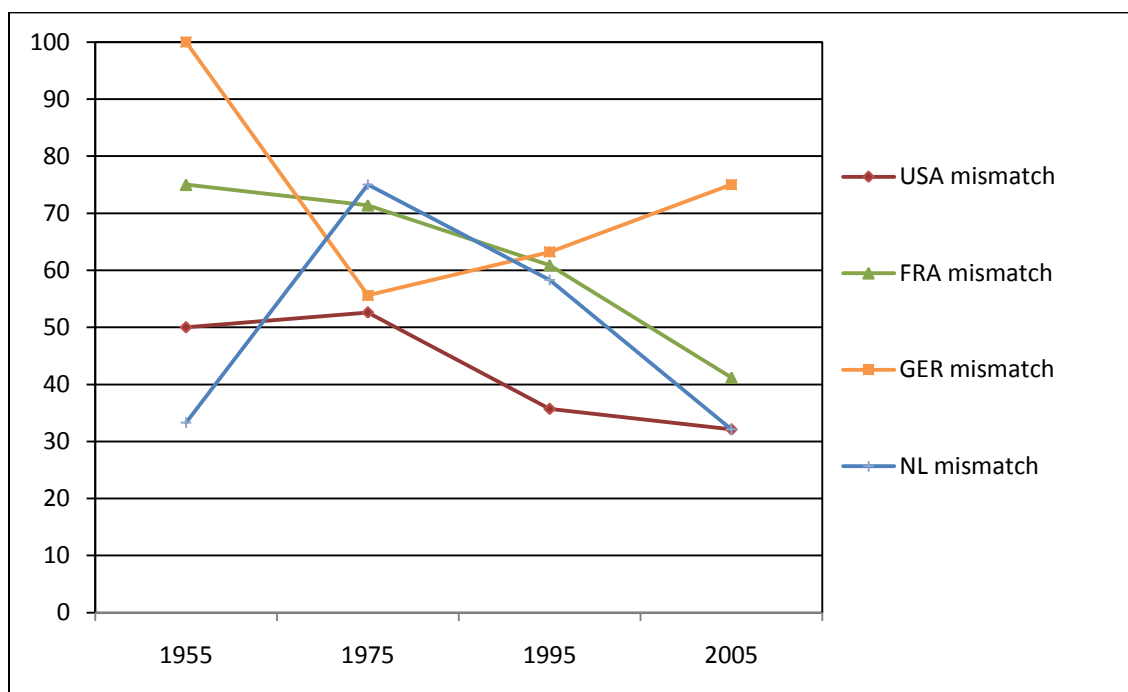
disagreement between the two papers in the US and the Netherlands is the lowest (32.1%), while France is a little higher (41.2%), and Germany is much higher with three-fourths of its genres appearing in only one newspaper.

**Table 4.4 Universality**  
**Popular music genres covered in one newspaper in a country and difference between two newspapers within a country in total space devoted to popular music**

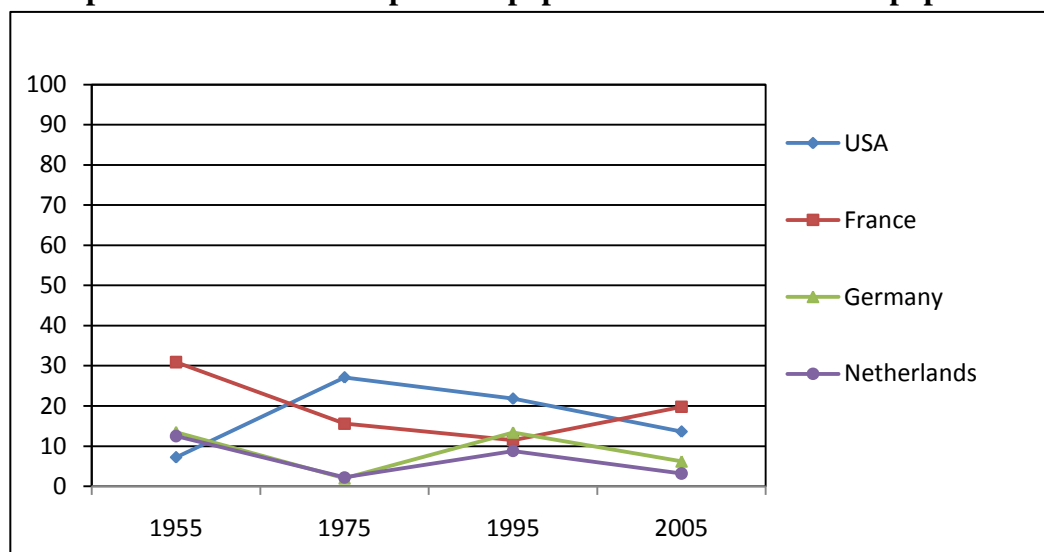
	<b>USA</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>
<b>1955</b>				
Genre mismatch	7/14	3/4	3/3	1/3
% mismatch	50.0%	75.0%	100%	33.3%
<i>Diff. in pop coverage</i>	7.2	30.9	13.5	12.5
<b>1975</b>				
Genre mismatch	10/19	5/7	5/9	9/12
% mismatch	52.6%	71.4%	55.6%	75.0%
<i>Diff. in pop coverage</i>	27.1	15.6	2.0	2.2
<b>1995</b>				
Genre mismatch	10/28	14/23	12/19	14/24
% mismatch	35.7%	60.9%	63.2%	58.3%
<i>Diff. in pop coverage</i>	21.8	11.5	13.4	8.8
<b>2005</b>				
Genre mismatch	9/28	7/17	12/16	9/28
% mismatch	32.1%	41.2%	75.0%	32.1%
<i>Diff. in pop coverage</i>	13.6	19.8	6.2	3.2

A second indicator of universality is the difference between the two newspapers in the total space devoted to popular music. Here again then, a decline in the difference represents an increase in universality as it suggests that the papers agree on the amount of space that should be given to popular music relative to classical music. Figures 4.3 and

**Figure 4.3 Universality**  
**Percent genre mismatch in space for popular music between two papers**



**Figure 4.4 Universality**  
**Total percent difference in space for popular music between two papers**



and 4.4 plot both the percent of mismatched genres and the overall difference in space for popular music in the four countries. In general, the two measures paint a complicated

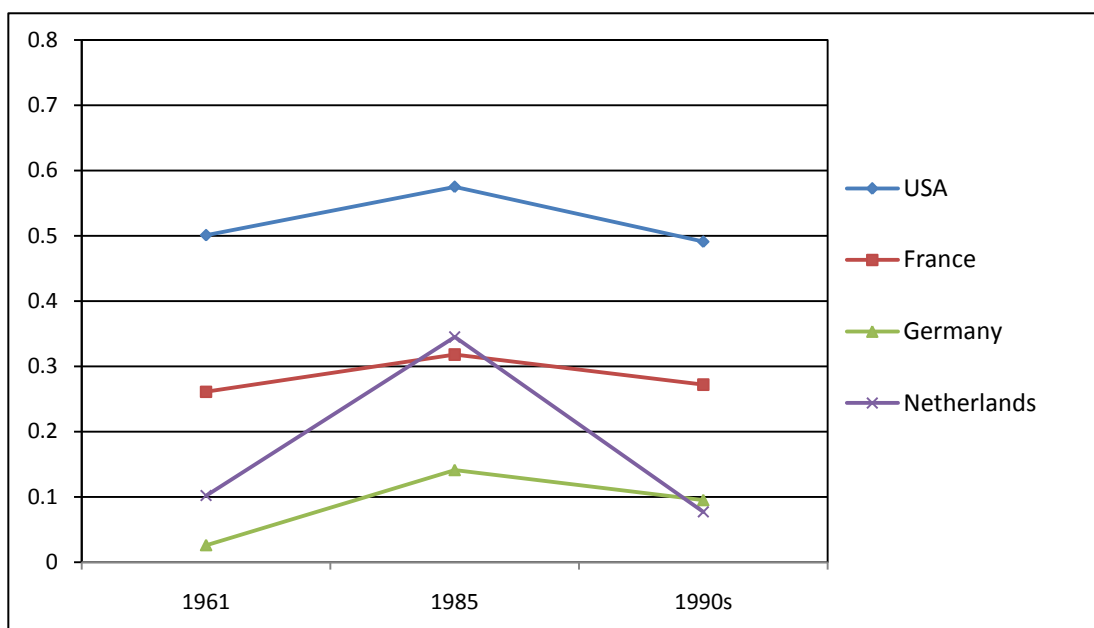
picture of universality. In the US, both measures decline together from 1975 to 2005, indicating a general increase in universality. From 1955 to 1995, the same appears to be the case for France, but in 2005 relative to 1995 the percent of mismatched genres declines to its lowest point at the same time that the difference between its two newspapers' attention to popular music increases. Germany is slightly more complicated as its percent of mismatched genres increases from 1975 to 2005 while the difference in popular music space between its newspapers moves up and down. The Netherlands has generally high agreement between its newspapers in the amount of popular music space and also sees declining genre mismatch from 1975 to 2005, indicating increasing universality. Overall, there is a relatively high degree of universality in the amount of space devoted to popular music as well generally growing universality in the US, France, and Netherlands in terms of the genres receiving attention and declining universality in Germany on that measure. Clearly, there are serious limitations in measuring universality using only two newspapers as an indicator. Thus, it seems particularly difficult to make any certain claims about universality based on this indicator. Future research should use additional sources of data to develop a broader measure of universality than the present data are able to provide.

### *Social heterogeneity and inequality*

In general, the social heterogeneity of the four countries has increased over time. Figure 4.5 shows that ethnic diversity increased in each country between 1961 and 1985. It should be noted that the measure of ethnic fractionalization used for the 1990s is not directly comparable to the measure used in earlier years, but Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show that this period is associated with increasing religious diversity and a growing foreign-

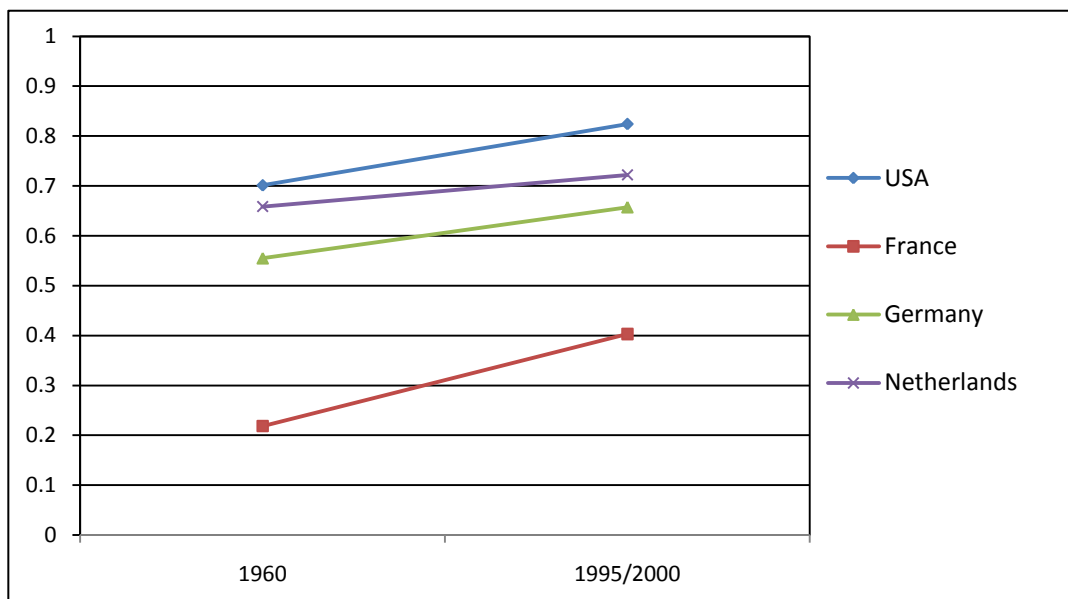
born population in each of the four countries. The US is the most diverse in terms of ethnic and religious fractionalization as well as a relatively high proportion of foreign-born residents. Although the Netherlands is often thought of as fairly homogenous relative to France and Germany (Crouch 1999), it has considerable religious diversity and experienced heightened immigration and ethnic diversification in the 1990s and early 2000s.

**Figure 4.5 Social heterogeneity**  
**Ethnic fractionalization measures**



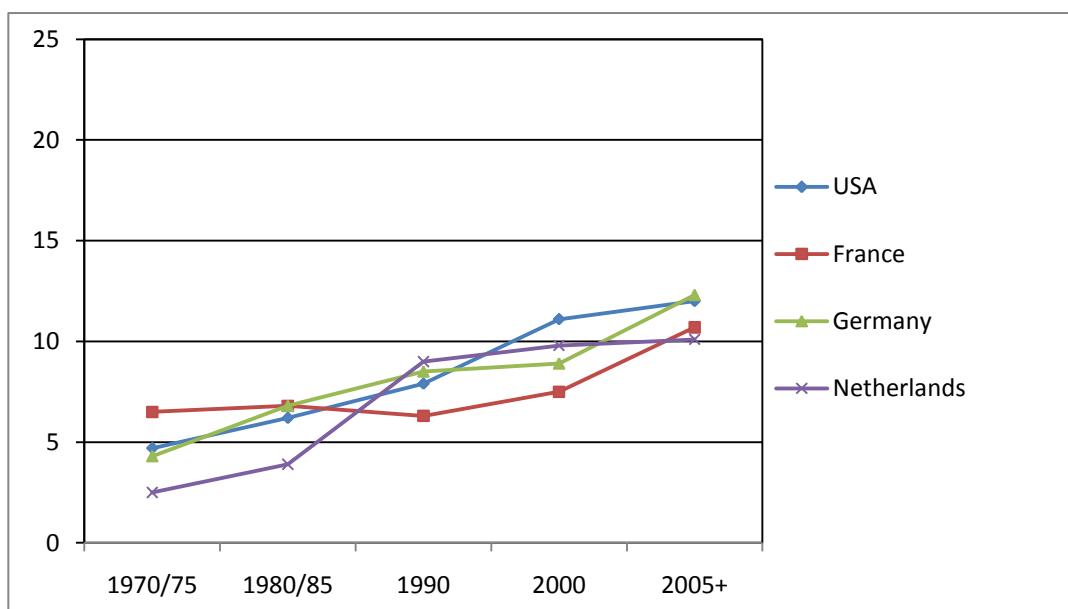
Sources: Data for 1961 and 1985 from Roeder (2002). Data for the 1990s from Fearon (2003)

**Figure 4.6 Social heterogeneity**  
**Religious fractionalization measures**



Sources: 1960 data from Crouch (1999), my calculations. Data for 1995-2000, from Alesina et al. (2003)

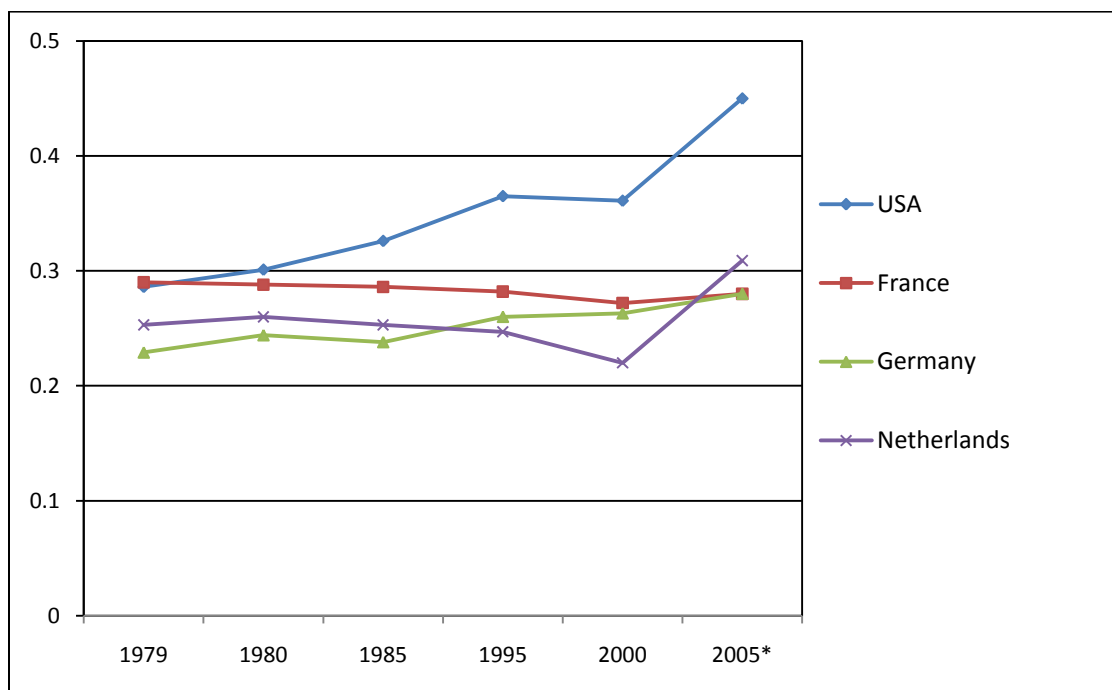
**Figure 4.7 Social heterogeneity**  
**Percent of foreign-born residents in each country**



Sources: US Census data, *Annuaire Statistique de la France*, *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, and the *Statistical Yearbook of the Netherlands*.

In terms of social inequality, as measured by income inequality among households, Figure 4.8 illustrates the well-documented increase in inequality in the US and relatively stable levels of inequality in the European countries, with a notable uptick in the Netherlands in the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century<sup>22</sup>.

**Figure 4.8 Social inequality**  
**Gini coefficients for post-tax, post-transfer income inequality, 1979-2005**



Source: 1979-2000 data from Kenworthy (2004), based on Luxembourg Income Study.

\*Data for 2005 from *CIA World Fact Book*

So how well do the general patterns fit with the propositions of the theory? To assist in addressing this question, Table 4.5 provides a summary of the findings for each country, noting whether a country can be considered “high,” “medium,” or “low” relative to the other countries as well as arrows indicating the direction of change from one

<sup>22</sup> It should be noted, however, that data for 2005 come from the *CIA World Fact Book*, while the data for 1979 to 2000 come from Kenworthy’s (2004) estimates based on the Luxembourg Income Study. Thus, Gini coefficients in 2005 are not perfectly comparable to previous estimates in the same country, but are still useful for making cross-national comparisons in 2005.

**Table 4.5 Overview of findings**

		<b>1955</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2005</b>
<b>USA</b>	<i>Differentiation</i>	High	High ↑	High ↑	High ↔
	<i>Hierarchy</i>	Medium	Low ↓	Low ↓	Low ↔
	<i>Universality</i>	Mixed	Mixed ↓	Mixed ↑	Medium ↑
	<i>Heterogeneity</i>	High	High ↑	High ↑	High ↑
	<i>Inequality</i>	--	Med-high	High ↑	High ↑
<b>FRA</b>	<i>Differentiation</i>	Low	Low ↑	Medium ↑	Low ↓
	<i>Hierarchy</i>	Low	Medium ↓	Medium ↓	Low ↔
	<i>Universality</i>	Medium	Medium ↑	Medium ↑	Mixed ↓
	<i>Heterogeneity</i>	Medium	Medium ↑	Medium ↑	Medium ↑
	<i>Inequality</i>	--	High	Medium ↔	Medium ↔
<b>GER</b>	<i>Differentiation</i>	Low	Med-low ↑	Low ↑	Low ↔
	<i>Hierarchy</i>	High	Medium ↓	Medium ↓	High ↑
	<i>Universality</i>	Mixed	High ↑	Medium ↓	Mixed ↓
	<i>Heterogeneity</i>	Medium	Medium ↑	Medium ↑	Medium ↑
	<i>Inequality</i>	--	Low	Low ↔	Low ↑
<b>NL</b>	<i>Differentiation</i>	Low	Medium ↑	Med-high ↑	High ↑
	<i>Hierarchy</i>	Med-high	Medium ↓	Medium ↓	Low ↔
	<i>Universality</i>	Medium	Mixed ↓	Medium ↑	High ↑
	<i>Heterogeneity</i>	Med-low	Medium ↔	Medium ↑	Medium ↑
	<i>Inequality</i>	--	Med-low	Low ↓	Medium ↑

↑ = mixed results

↔ = stable

↑ = increase

↓ = decrease

reference year to the next. One of the most consistent cross-national trends is the increasing differentiation of the popular music field over time, although the trend reverses slightly in France and stabilizes in Germany. As the theory predicts, this does seem to correspond with a general decline in hierarchy, particularly in the most highly differentiated countries (i.e. the US and the Netherlands). All three European countries experience big declines in hierarchy at the same time they become more differentiated. Greater differentiation should also be associated with declines in universality; however,

this is not consistent with the findings presented in this paper. Amidst increasing differentiation and declining hierarchy, universality often increases as measured by the amount of agreement between the two newspapers sampled in each country.

Social heterogeneity is theorized to be positively associated with differentiation and negatively associated with universality. Thus, the general increase in social heterogeneity and the simultaneous growth in differentiation appear consistent with the predictions of the theory. It should be noted, however, that social heterogeneity continues to increase – perhaps at a faster rate – in France and Germany between 1995 and 2005, but differentiation actually declines or stabilizes during this period. Further, while the US is among the most heterogeneous and differentiated of the countries, the Netherlands is equally high in differentiation even though it is not particularly more heterogeneous than its European counterparts. Additionally, increasing social heterogeneity is inconsistent with the fairly stable or growing levels of universality evident in most reference years.

Finally, measures of social inequality are largely inconsistent with the findings regarding dimensions of the popular music classification system. For one, the US has the highest level of social inequality and it steadily increases over time even as it has the most differentiated and least hierarchical system of classification. According to the theory, greater social inequality should be associated with a higher degree of hierarchy and a decline in universality. Yet despite relatively low levels of social inequality that remain fairly stable, or increase somewhat, over time, France, Germany, and the Netherlands all experience increases in differentiation and decreases in hierarchy. The exception is France and Germany between 1995 and 2005 where there is a slight decline



in differentiation and a slight increase in hierarchy. However, social inequality remains relatively flat during this time period in France and Germany, even declining in France slightly between 1995 and 2000. Thus, trends in social inequality do not correspond well to changes in differentiation, hierarchy, or universality. As mentioned, most countries also see some increase in universality, though this is somewhat mixed in the European countries. By contrast, the US experiences a general increase in universality in the last two time periods at the same time that social inequality is growing considerably. This trend is also inconsistent with the predictions of the theory of artistic classification systems. As noted above, however, there are serious limitations in the present measure of universality, which should be improved in future research.

## **Discussion**

Although preliminary, this chapter represents a first step toward generating more direct measures of the dimensions of classification systems by focusing on structural features of genres. Clearly, cross-national research presents substantial obstacles that make conducting the types of analyses needed to enhance this study somewhat challenging. However, given recent improvements in cross-national cooperation and data collection, obtaining additional comparable measures for recent years is becoming more feasible. Yet even the modest measures put forward in this chapter allow for some evaluation of some propositions in DiMaggio's (1987) theory of artistic classification systems. While the general relationship between differentiation, hierarchy, and social heterogeneity appears to be fairly consistent with the theory's expectations, universality and social inequality do not seem to fit with its propositions. In particular, it seems that differentiation and hierarchy change in the ways expected, but independent of any

corresponding change in social inequality, particularly in the United States where they run counter to their predicted relationship. Thus, in addition adding to and improving on the measures presented here, it may also be necessary to incorporate theoretical and empirical insights that will help us clarify the conditions under which DiMaggio's (1987) propositions are more or less likely to be observed. I offer a few preliminary suggestions for further elaboration of a theory of artistic classification systems.

### *Field of music journalism*

One thing that should first be noted is that, despite the suggestion that newspaper coverage is intended to be a relatively “unobtrusive” measure of classification in the musical field (see Peterson 2005), music criticism and journalism is itself a field of cultural production with its own set of associated norms and practices. As Janssen (1997) shows in her study of the Dutch literary field, reviewing contemporary fiction is a social practice in which literary critics are tied to one another in a process of “orchestration.” While individual reviewers want to be seen as autonomous actors responding to internal aesthetic criteria in their evaluations, they also attend carefully to the assessments of fellow critics to avoid making a “deviant” decision or judgment of a literary work. Similarly, music critics want to maintain a “myth of professional autonomy” (Lena 2009), but still rely on information provided by publicists and other critics in making decisions about what to review and how to assess a recording (Klein 2005).

As such, the measures of differentiation, hierarchy, and universality presented in this chapter also reflect the process of orchestration that occurs among individual music journalists as well as within and between different newspaper publishers. As cultural intermediaries, including music critics and journalists, develop norms and practices that

correspond to the broader classification system, their work routines and criteria of evaluation may operate somewhat independently of the broader social structural features that DiMaggio (1987) theorizes are associated with shifts in classification systems. The importance of this scope condition is further heightened amidst the increasing globalization of the popular music field.

*Global and national systems of classification*

As discussed in a previous chapter, there is evidence of a global popular music field that is simultaneously centered in affluent countries like the US but also relatively disorganized and open to cultural flows from diverse locales around the globe. The global production, distribution, and interaction of musical forms is often predicated on a standard model of popular music – for example, what Regev (2003) refers to as “rockization” – that is recognizable to a global audience because it can be placed within an increasingly international system of classification. DiMaggio’s (1987) theory of artistic classification is based on the assumption of a national system of structural conditions and cultural categories. Yet given the growing international orientation of the four countries in this study, global ACSs may be expected to take precedence over, or at least compete heartily with, national classification systems. To the extent that this is the case, we would expect that a country’s degree of international orientation would weaken the predictive capacities of a nation-based theory of ACSs. However, in the present chapter, even in the country that was the least internationally oriented in its attention to popular music (i.e. the United States), the propositions relating to social inequality did not play out as expected. Thus, the mediating impact of a global artistic classification system and of an associated field of music criticism may not be sufficient to account for

the apparent decoupling of social structural variables at the national level from the dimensions of artistic classification systems. Three mediating principles were also put forward to help understand variation in artistic classification systems.

*Industry-specific principles of classification*

In his theory, DiMaggio (1987) acknowledged that it is oversimplifying to assume that ACSs are a straightforward reflection of social structural demands for ritual classification. Thus, he also included three mediating principles that may intensify or attenuate some of the propositions set out in the theory. First, commercial classifications are those generated by cultural producers within the industry as a means of marketing and selling art for profit. Second, professional classifications are the product of attempts by artists to differentiate and enhance the reputation of their own artistic work. Third, administrative classifications refer to distinctions among genres that are produced by the state. While DiMaggio (1987) suggests that the rising prominence of the popular culture industries is likely to erode ritual classifications in their attempt to attract a mass audience, Lena and Peterson (2008) find that many popular music genres originate from avant-garde circle or from local scenes, which are more akin to his professional classifications. When this principle of classification predominates, particularly in a field like popular music that has low formal training requirements and high competition, the result can be artistic classification systems that are highly differentiated with weak institutionalization and only modest boundary strength. To some degree, this may be an apt characterization of the classification system observed in the four countries during the later reference years. It is also worth noting that, in addition to the avant-garde and scene-based categories, Lena and Peterson (2008) also find that a good number of genres

have their origins in industry categories and a few are even the product of the state (see Lena and Peterson forthcoming). Thus, integrating such work on the types and trajectories of music genres into a theory of artistic classification systems offers further potential for understanding the relationship between social structure and artistic classification in a field that appears to be increasingly transnational and persistently transitional.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I briefly summarize the main findings of this dissertation and raise a few additional questions that remain unanswered and suggest some potential directions for ongoing research. While there remains much to learn about the relationship between social change, cultural legitimacy, and artistic classification, the preceding chapters provide relevant information regarding the impact of globalization, commercialization, and social inequality and heterogeneity on cultural systems. As such, it provides a foundation for further analysis of cultural classification systems.

#### *Globalization and musical hierarchy*

During a period associated with rapid globalization, classical music appears to have remained fairly resilient in terms of the international orientation of newspapers in the US, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. In general, the classical music field remained highly focused on musical actors in Europe, which is where increased attention to foreign actors was typically directed in the US, France, and the Netherlands. Germany stood out in its general shift toward more attention to domestic actors in its classical music coverage, which may be explained by its historically central position in the field (Applegate and Potter 2002). In addition to a steady focus on classical forms (Zolberg 1980) and canonical works (Dowd et al. 2002), the findings suggest that the classical music field and its culture are highly institutionalized and have achieved a high level of international agreement.

By contrast, the popular music field appears to be in much greater flux since 1955. On one hand, greater attention to popular music has become centered to a

substantial extent on musical actors from a small number of affluent countries, with the US generally receiving the most attention. On the other hand, the popular music field shows evidence of some “reversed cultural flow” that is slowly gaining momentum and generally exhibits greater potential relative to classical music for diverting attention to musical actors beyond the core of the cultural world system. Overall, the greater variation and relative volatility of the popular music field over time and across the four countries suggests that it has yet to institutionalize to the extent that classical music has and that the centrality of certain countries has been partly destabilized by increased attention to popular music. Therefore, variations in the extent of international orientation and the shifting focus of attention evident in newspaper coverage of popular music appear to be consistent with a view of globalization as a largely disorganized process that generates unpredictable outcomes (Tomlinson 1991, Robertson 1992).

At the same time, there is a general convergence in the way that the newspapers in the four countries cover popular music. Although the US is consistently the least internationally oriented in its attention to musical actors, which resonates with findings in other cultural fields (Crane and Janssen 2008), there are many similarities between the countries. One limitation of the chapter, as in the others, is that the large gaps between reference years may obscure periods of relative agreement between the countries or years in which the field is especially volatile. In other words, it is difficult to pinpoint the timing of shifts in international orientation in the field of classical music or of popular music. In all chapters, there is also a potential disconnect between newspaper coverage and what goes on in the field. As Glynn and Lounsbury (2005) point out, there is a difference between the interests of non-profit orchestras and music critics working in for-

profit newspaper companies. Further, although actors in the popular music field and popular music critics work in for-profit fields, others have pointed out ways in which their interests are not seen as being compatible from the perspective of both musicians and critics. (Brennan 2006, Klein 2005). Therefore, additional research that provides an indicator of international orientation external to newspaper coverage could add support to the basic findings of the chapter.

### *Commercialization and cultural legitimacy*

While a number of scholars have argued that increasing attention to popular music in elite newspapers indicates a weakening of symbolic boundaries between classical and popular music (Schmutz 2009) and the general aesthetic mobility of popular music (Schmutz et al. 2010), chapter 4 considers the possibility that it is more likely the result of commercialization. Despite concerns that corporate interests increasingly dominate the media landscape, this chapter found little evidence that commercial considerations are encroaching on the professional autonomy of critics. While some have pointed to the influence of publicists and “press kits” on popular music critics (Lena 2009, Klein 2005), it does not appear that this has led critics to review or to praise more commercially successful albums over time. Rather, it appears that critics writing for newspapers increasingly take an artistic perspective and evaluative reviews have become the norm in newspaper coverage over the non-evaluative types of coverage (e.g. news, announcements) that were often more prevalent several decades ago. Furthermore, such concerns about commercial influence on critics may overlook the possibility that a more likely source of influence is fellow critics (Janssen 1997). As popular music critics carve



out some relatively autonomous space within a highly commercialized realm, it appears that there is considerable consensus in the types of actors to which they give attention.

One shortcoming of this chapter, however, is that it does not get at the causal direction of the relationship between critical acclaim and commercial success. As mentioned in the chapter, there are those – including critics themselves (Klein 2005) -- that downplay the importance of critical evaluations in reducing or boosting the sales of popular music. Indeed, it is particularly challenging to measure the impact of a positive review on sales or popularity. However, future research should address this question more directly. For instance, chapter 3 is not able to detect whether critics are exerting a stronger influence on commercial success over time, which would account for some of the small changes occurring in the amount of overlap between critical and public acclaim. In the Netherlands, for example, the *Moordlijst* has been in operation since 1991, which is a weekly “chart” of sorts based on the evaluations of a number of critics as well as radio programmers and DJs. Thus, it represents an institutionalized form of recognition, distinct from popular appeal, which is likely to have an impact on the reputation of certain albums and contribute to audience interest and sales. While the other countries do not have as formalized a system for displaying critical valuation, there are a variety of print and online resources where consumers can find reviews of new albums. My own interviews with local record store owners in Atlanta suggest that they use such sites to help in deciding what albums they will stock in the stores and they anecdotally observe that albums generating some buzz among critics and aficionados tend to sell better in the store. Research with record retailers as well as more direct look at the impact of critical reviews on album sales would help shed further light on some of the insights garnered

from the chapter on commercialization and address the degree to which the evaluations of critics perform a “sensemaking” role for a diverse range of actors in the popular music field (Anand and Peterson 2000).

#### *Artistic classification systems*

Chapter 4 presented a way of assessing DiMaggio’s (1987) influential theory of classification systems. Despite limitations in cross-national data, there were some results with regard to differentiation, hierarchy, and social heterogeneity that appeared to be consistent with the propositions put forward in the theory. At the same time, the findings related to universality and social heterogeneity are not altogether supportive of the theory. Indeed, social inequality – particularly increasing inequality in the US – is not associated with a requisite decline in differentiation and increase in hierarchy as they are measured here. Considered in the context of the preceding chapters, it becomes even more vital to understand how societal systems of classification at the national level interact with increasingly global systems of cultural classification. While cross-national variation is evident along certain measures in each chapter, the overall findings are suggestive of considerable convergence in the musical classification systems in the four countries. That is, while one country (i.e. Germany) may give relatively less space to popular music and another (i.e. the US) may be the least internationally oriented, the general approach to music, the types of articles written, the direction of international attention, the degree of autonomy versus overlap with popular appeal, and the differentiation and de-hierarchization of the musical field all take on a fairly similar character in the newspaper coverage for all four countries. In other words, the differences in the extent and timing of change in music classifications described in this

dissertation may obscure the equally relevant finding regarding the emergence and evolution of a transnational field of critical discourse about music. Certainly, such a claim may overstate the findings of the preceding chapters, but future research underway offers the potential to explore this possibility further.

*Global and local identities in popular music*

In another cross-national project in its early stages, I plan to work with several colleagues in studying the role of popular music in cultural memory and national identity. Part of this project will include ethnographic research and in-depth interviews with media workers and audience members in the popular music field in Australia, Israel, Netherlands, the US and the UK to address the interplay between national identities and global culture. Although popular music has been recognized as a key component of national identity for some time, this project will explore the role of music in cultural memory and national belonging as articulated by individuals in each country. Among the many aims and potential insights to be pursued by this project is an understanding of the degree to which global popular music histories interact with national histories, particularly local media and cultural institutions. In addition, how the legitimate narratives of popular music's past shape the articulation of national identity within the global musical field. As such, the project represents an opportunity to better assess the degree to which musical classification systems are organized at the local (i.e. national level) or the global level and how the systems interact to shape cultural memory and identity at the individual level. Among other things, the project provides an opportunity to consider the extent to which the global production, distribution, and interaction of musical forms has produced a standard model of popular music – for example, what

Regev (2003) refers to as “rockization” – that often blends with local cultures to create something recognizable to a global audience and can be categorized in an increasingly international system of classification.

*Fragments of an art world polity theory*

Other research in progress moves beyond the musical arena but maintains my interest in social and cultural hierarchies, symbolic boundaries, media discourse, and global processes. As such, it bears theoretical relevance to the focus on cultural classification systems in this dissertation and other related research (e.g. on cultural consecration). For example, Michael and Elliott and I are studying UNESCO’s World Heritage Convention and the globalization of cultural heritage preservation with a focus on the rationalization of cultural heritage and the way actors like UNESCO draw on the discourses of overlapping fields (e.g. science and nature, archaeology, economic development) to legitimate the project and successfully construct “universal value.” As in the case of music, cultural heritage relies on the critical evaluations of experts to establish its cultural legitimacy (see Elliott and Schmutz forthcoming, Schmutz and Elliott forthcoming for an overview of world cultural heritage and the World Heritage Convention). In particular world polity theory and an art worlds perspective may together contribute to our understanding of national and global classification systems including the values implicit in its hierarchical dimensions.

Thus, as with other art worlds, constructing world cultural heritage involves the creation of aesthetic criteria and the cooperation of a variety of actors, not just in creating the cultural products, but also in funding them, preserving them, selecting or consecrating exemplars, and so on. In other words, world cultural heritage also involves a similar type

of process that Becker (1982) describes that involves retrospectively developing a history of an art world that celebrates a few chosen exemplars from countless options and thereby helps to establish the criteria by which great and authentic world culture is produced or identified. Of course, there are differences because this is a broad art world or perhaps one that encompasses many art worlds or disciplines (e.g. natural scientists, economists, archaeologists, anthropologists, etc.), each of which have their own criteria of valuation.

Aside from these disciplinary distinctions, however, an art world polity approach can also help us understand the larger project of creating models and standards for the art world of cultural heritage and the world society to which it belongs. It can be seen as a project of creating a cultural and aesthetic classification system that produces some differentiation among different types of world cultural heritage, explicitly seeks universality, and invokes hierarchy in both tacit and overt ways. As to the ritual potency of its boundaries, that is up for question, but it is clear that these boundaries are the basis of both consensus and conflict. Another interesting aspect of this shift from national to world cultural heritage and from particular to universal systems of classification and evaluation is the way in which sites of national cultural value are recast in terms of universal value and common world cultural heritage. A way to explore this is to see how US sites like the Statue of Liberty, Independence Hall, and Monticello, which are all an important part of American cultural heritage, are repositioned in accordance with the universal criteria of world cultural heritage. This is also a good example of universalization of the particular (Robertson 1992), but the inscription of individual sites also involves particularization of the universal as broad, universalistic criteria have to be

adequately applied to specific sites. Although UNESCO's world heritage project diverges from the musical field, it may contribute insights into the increasingly global character of cultural classifications in a variety of cultural fields. In particular, it may uncover reciprocal influences between the world society and the legitimating ideologies of global art worlds.

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