

Legitimizing local music

Volksmuziek, hip-hop/ rap and dance music in Dutch elite newspapers

Research master thesis

Rian Koreman

349097

riankoreman@gmail.com

Supervisors: dr. Marc Verboord and prof.dr. Susanne Janssen

Second reader: prof.dr. Koen van Eijck

6th of August, 2013

Research Master in the Sociology of Culture, Media and the Arts

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Legitimizing local music

Volksmuziek, hip-hop/rap and dance music in Dutch elite newspapers

Abstract

This study examines the legitimization of local music. Critics from peripheral countries such as the Netherlands often tend to focus on foreign music products. However, the rising popularity among ‘omnivorous’ audiences and increased production of Dutch music, together with the competition in the Dutch media landscape for readers, might lead Dutch elite newspapers to increase their coverage of local music. These media are cultural intermediaries who signal the legitimization of music. Local music genres thus might succeed in establishing themselves, but little is known about this process. This research therefore studies the legitimization of three local Dutch genres that are traditionally seen as less legitimate: *volksmuziek*, hip-hop/rap and dance music. The findings suggest that the increased amount of coverage devoted to hip-hop/rap music and dance music between 1955-2012 in Dutch elite newspapers points to a legitimization of these genres. Their coverage is also increasingly characterized by reviews, which also signals appreciation. Dutch artists occupy a central position in these genres and are covered equal or even more than their foreign colleagues. *Volksmuziek* however remains at the bottom of the hierarchy. An analysis of reviews furthermore shows that critics classify these genres using the criteria of authenticity and originality. Dutch products are additionally evaluated on their added value to the international music field. Products need to meet both the criteria of authenticity and originality to be deemed legitimate. *Volksmuziek* is consequently not legitimized, as it lacks originality. When products fail to meet these criteria the media attention is legitimized by their popularity, but they are not appreciated as artistic products in their own right. Keywords: classification – legitimization – music – genres – the Netherlands – elite newspapers

1. Introduction

The legitimization of cultural products has been a popular topic among sociologists of culture lately (Baumann, 2001; Johnston & Baumann, 2007; Schmutz, Van Venrooij, Janssen, Verboord, 2010) and so has the debate on cultural globalization (Janssen, Kuipers, & Verboord, 2008; Kuipers, 2011). However, only few studies take into account that how culture is valued depends on the time and place (Dimaggio, 1987; Janssen, Verboord, & Kuipers, 2011). Music products and genres from different places may be evaluated differently, among other things because some genres are more bound to their place of origin than others.

As the global music field is dominated by the Anglo American market, it is difficult for products and genres from small peripheral markets to establish themselves and gain attention

(Negus, 1996). Due to the peripheral position of the Netherlands, even Dutch critics often tend to focus on international products (Anglo American), rather than domestic ones (Janssen et al., 2008). However, local music has gained popularity since the 1990s. Dutch artists became more popular at the expense of international artists from 1989 on in popular music charts (Achterberg, Heilbron, Houtman, & Aupers, 2011). As this audience appreciation grew, even a low status genre like Dutch *volksmuziek*¹ became of growing interest to Dutch music industry experts, who started signing Dutch artists to serve an increasingly ‘omnivorous’ audience (Hitters & Van de Kamp, 2010). Cultural hierarchies have been declining and boundaries between high art and popular culture have been weakening, paving the way for traditionally less legitimate genres to get accepted.

The rising popularity and production of Dutch music, together with the increased competition in the Dutch media landscape for readers, especially among younger generations, might lead Dutch elite newspapers to increase their coverage of these genres (Janssen et al., 2011). Local music genres thus might succeed in establishing themselves, and may even become more visible at the local level than their foreign (Anglo American) counterparts. However, little is known about this process and why some genres gain appreciation while others don’t. This study therefore sets out to examine the legitimation of three local genres with different histories and reach from the Netherlands, to see how Dutch media classify domestic musical products in comparison to foreign products in the same genre.

The emergence of critical discourse in general media is an essential element in the legitimation of a music genre (Baumann, 2001). These media are important cultural intermediaries as their selection of and discourse on music signals the legitimacy of a certain art form, certain forms of (local) music in this case (Baumann, 2001; Janssen et al., 2011; Schmutz et al., 2010). The coverage of music by so-called elite newspapers signals acknowledgment by the mainstream, as in these media music has to compete for attention with other forms of culture, in contrast to music magazines, which focus exclusively on music and cater to a niche market.

However, the increased openness of the elite press to popular cultural genres does not mean that all previously illegitimate genres are accepted, and within genres, domestic products might be held to different standards than foreign ones (Cheyne & Binder, 2010; Johnston & Baumann, 2007). This study aims to study three local or localized genres that are traditionally seen as less legitimate: *volksmuziek*, hip-hop/rap and dance music. *Volksmuziek* is a highly local musical genre, which originated in the Dutch working class. Hip-hop/rap is a glocalized genre that reached the Netherlands

¹ The English translation for *volksmuziek* would be ‘folk’, but the Dutch genre is different in a couple of aspects. That is why in this study, in line with Hitters & Van de Kamp (2010), the Dutch term *volksmuziek* will be used to denote this Dutch genre. *Volksmuziek* does not only include the Dutch *levenslied* (which shares some characteristics with the German schlager, but is not the same), but also Dutch language songs that are sung by Dutch singers, that come close to the genre of pop. These singers are often named *volkszangers* by the media.

from the United States and was adapted to the local market, resulting in the Dutch genre Nederhop. Electronic dance music – an aggregate for electronic genres such as house, techno, trance etc. - can be seen as a more international genre. Dutch DJ's have become very successful in this originally American genre that travelled to Europe and have gained international recognition. The legitimation of these three genres in the media will be studied by means of the following two research questions:

RQ1 To what extent has the amount of coverage of Dutch domestic music in general and specifically the genres hip-hop/ rap, dance and *volksmuziek* changed between 1955-2012 in the Dutch elite newspapers *De Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad*?

RQ2 How have hip-hop/ rap music, dance music and *volksmuziek* made by Dutch domestic artists been classified in newspaper articles in *De Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad* between 1995-2012 and how does this in the case of Dutch hip-hop/rap and dance music differ from the classification of their foreign counterparts?

2. Theory

2.1 The legitimation of music genres

Sociologists of culture have signalled that we have landed in an 'omnivorous era' (Johnston & Baumann, 2007: p.167; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Van Eijck, 2001). High status cultural tastes are no longer exclusively defined by a preference for high culture, but are characterized by a multitude of preferences, consisting of either traditionally 'highbrow' as well as 'lowbrow' cultural products (Johnston & Baumann, 2007; Peterson & Simkus, 1992). In the case of music, this points to the increasing acceptance of popular music, next to classical music (Schmutz et al., 2010). As a result, some forms of culture that were not deemed art before become recognized as an art form (Baumann, 2001; Schmutz, 2009). Three factors are important in this shift: changing opportunity space, the institutionalization of resources and practices within the field of this specific cultural product and lastly, the rising of a legitimating ideology (Baumann, 2001). This ideology refers to a field-specific set of principles that legitimates the classification of a cultural product as art (Baumann, 2001).

However, even though the boundaries between 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow' culture may have weakened, certain products are still not appreciated or recognized by experts and even though music tastes may have become more eclectic, hierarchies have not completely disappeared (Bryson, 1996; Janssen et al., 2011; Schmutz, 2009). Distinctions are still made as to what forms of traditionally less legitimate culture are seen as legitimate (Johnston & Baumann, 2007). Certain low status genres, for example rap, appear still to be at the bottom of these hierarchies (Schmutz, 2009). Within popular

music new hierarchies arise, and some genres gain more in appreciation than others. This is also related to the development of genres, as genres need to grow to achieve (critical) recognition. Lena and Peterson (2008) show how most musical genres move through four stages, also called genre-types: the avant-garde, the scene-based, the industry-based and the traditionalist type. As genres move from one stage to another, they attract the attention of a growing number of people (and media outlets). With this development, the nature of the media coverage also changes. In the scene-based period the media coverage is mostly positive, focusing on the emergence of the genre community. However, in the industry-based stage the attention – often in the form of news articles – can be highly critical, sensationalizing the music genre. When genres reach the traditional stage, the genre receives critical recognition. At the same time, the focus shifts from the music itself to an authentication process to find the ‘true authors’ of the genre, in this way contributing to the preservation of the genre’s heritage (Lena, 2012).

Just as some of these genres might develop faster, others may travel more easily around the globe, in spite of their otherwise similar characteristics. For example, cultural products that originate in the Anglo American market tend to travel more easily due to the dominant position of this country in the cultural field and the high commercial value of these products (Hitters & Van de Kamp, 2010; Janssen et al., 2008; Rutten, 1991). This led some researchers to believe that this cultural globalization – the process of cultural and media products crossing national borders and being exchanged and diffused internationally (Crane, Kawashima, & Kawasaki, 2002; Janssen et al., 2008) – should be coined cultural imperialism or American hegemonization (Crane et al., 2002). This perspective emphasizes the domination of certain countries (mainly the United States) over other peripheral countries, which would result in a homogenous culture (Crane et al., 2002). While this perspective is now often seen as a bit simplistic, many genres that originated in the United States have indeed had a significant impact on the European market (Rutten, 1991). A genre such as hip-hop, however, has not been plainly taken on board, but has been adapted to the Dutch market. It is a globalized genre with distinctive Dutch elements - such as the Dutch language - called Nederhop (Wermuth, 2001). This music might consequently be seen as a type of national music that expresses a national identity, next to or even replacing the one in traditional national music (Regev, 2011). The Dutch *volksmuziek* can be seen as such a traditional national music. Even though it carries the same emphasis on locality as hip-hop, it originated in the small Dutch market and the success of the genre remains confined to national boundaries. Dutch dance DJ’s however, are experiencing success beyond national boundaries. Electronic dance music was inspired by the 1980’s electronic house music in Detroit, but became successful in the European club scene, most notably in Germany and the United Kingdom (Allmusic.com, 2013; Thornton, 1996). Dutch DJ’s became successful internationally in the 1990’s, first with the advent of the hardstyle ‘gabberhouse’, but from 1992 on

multiple styles were developed, such as trance and techno (Rietveld, 1998). Electronic dance music travelled back to the United States, in this sense constituting a 'counter flow' from the periphery Europe to the dominant market in the United States, supporting a view of globalization termed 'multiculturalization' (Crane et al., 2002).

Crane et al. (2002) point to how cultural globalization raises important questions about the role that globalization plays in the construction of national identities. Next to the three main approaches to globalization – cultural imperialism, glocalization and multiculturalization – Crane et al. (2002) propose a fourth model in which globalization is seen as a field of negotiation. Different actors employ different strategies to protect, preserve or transform local culture and heritage. While this might imply increased attention for and appreciation of local genres, Meuleman, Bekhuis, Lubbers, and Scheepers (2012) argue by contrast that national music genres might be associated with locality, instead of an elitist cosmopolitan attitude, which might restrict their potential to be legitimated as an art form.

2.2 *The classification of music by the media*

The press plays an important role in the establishment of such a critical discourse of legitimation (Baumann, 2001; Van Venrooij & Schmutz, 2010). The media are important cultural actors whose classification signals the appreciation of music genres. The concepts of classification and legitimation are thus tightly linked to each other. Some forms of culture are classified as art ('highbrow' culture) while others are seen as entertainment or 'lowbrow' culture (Dimaggio, 1987). As critics become more open to certain genres of popular music, this openness might not only apply to *which* genres, but also to *the way* these genres are legitimated, suggesting discourses that are not signified by only high art aesthetics. Furthermore, as multiple scholars pointed out, this legitimating discourse varies cross-nationally (Dimaggio, 1987; Janssen et al., 2011; Van Venrooij & Schmutz, 2010). Bourdieu (1984) developed his idea of the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow culture in France. Hierarchical societies – such as France - are characterized by a strict divide between high art aesthetics and popular aesthetics, making the former the only discourse that can legitimate cultural products as art. This can be contrasted for example with The Netherlands, which leans towards the non-hierarchical rather than the hierarchical side of the spectrum, due to its open stratification system, small size and peripheral position. The educational system is the only element which might suggest a more rigid cultural divide, as it is standardized and stratified, however, also very practical oriented, fitting in the tradition of 'pragmatism instead of intellectualism' (Dimaggio, 1987; Janssen et al., 2011: p. 143; Van Venrooij & Schmutz, 2010). As a result, Dutch journalists employ popular aesthetics as well as art aesthetics in the classification of genres and are not bound by high art

aesthetic criteria as in more closed cultural systems, such as Germany and France (Van Venrooij & Schmutz, 2010).

Music genres can thus be legitimated by using both high art and popular art criteria. High art criteria emphasize creativity, originality, complexity and seriousness (Van Venrooij & Schmutz, 2010). These aesthetics are characterized by a distance from daily life, while popular aesthetics by contrast emphasize emotion and experience. The focus is on the amusement value of the music and the way this music invites people to participate, emphasizing the functional uses of the music and the audiences it is meant for (Van Venrooij & Schmutz, 2010). These aesthetics might be even more suitable for popular music. Multiple studies have shown that authenticity is an important criterion in (the legitimation of) popular music, while it is a key popular art aesthetic (Cheyne & Binder, 2010; Peterson, 1997; Regev, 1994; Thornton, 1996).

This authenticity is not something that is inherent in an object or artists, but a social construction that is attributed (by critics for example) to an artist or song. This authenticity is constantly negotiated by different actors under different influences (Johnston & Baumann, 2007; Peterson, 1997). This can also be seen in the study of Cheyne and Binder (2010), who show that locality has a distinct effect on the notion of authenticity in hip-hop/ rap reviews. Critics place rap in a specific local context and value foreign music more because these products from abroad are seen as authentic, while domestic rap is seen as commercial and mainstream, even though foreign rap might be part of a commercial market of equal size as the American market (Cheyne & Binder, 2010). This shows how existing views of certain markets shape the classification of the music that arises in these fields and leads to distinctions and hierarchies within genres. The question is how and to what extent these perceptions play a role in the classification of local, glocalized and internationally oriented genres of Dutch music.

3. Methodology

The legitimation of Dutch music will be studied using both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. The first part will study the legitimation and globalization of Dutch music by quantitatively analysing the coverage of two Dutch elite newspapers between 1955-2012. The second qualitative part will subsequently analyse how the three genres *volksmuziek*, hip-hop/rap and dance music (and within these genres Dutch and foreign products) are classified in reviews.

3.1 Quantitative content analysis

As argued before, the amount of coverage of music in elite newspapers is a good indicator for the legitimacy of music (Janssen et al., 2011; Schmutz, 2009). Here, the coverage of Dutch domestic music relative to international music will be studied to see how this coverage has changed over time.

As the type of article can also be an important indicator of legitimacy (a review signals critical attention, while news- or background articles might be based on different considerations), this has also been taken into account. Lastly, the coverage of genres has been studied to see to what extent certain genres have gained legitimacy and have become more or less globalized.

The data have been retrieved from an existing, larger dataset (Cultural Classification Systems in Transition) on the coverage of music in elite newspapers from four countries: the United States, the Netherlands, Germany and France. This dataset contained data from the years 1955, 1975, 1995 and 2005. From every year, through sampling, four artificial weeks were constructed. From this dataset, the data from the Netherlands (of the Dutch elite newspapers *De Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad*²) were used in this study. Furthermore, using the same sampling procedure, additional data from these Dutch elite newspapers from the year 2012 were gathered and added to the dataset. This is particularly interesting as Dutch music in general and the genres dance and *volksmuziek* in particular have gained popularity in the last twenty years (Hitters & Van de Kamp, 2010). It is therefore interesting to see whether domestic music also gained legitimacy in elite newspapers in that time period.

3.2 Qualitative content analysis

The next step is to draw the attention to the content of the articles, to see how critics classify these genres and whether different criteria apply within genres for foreign and domestic music. The qualitative content analysis focuses on the classification of the genres dance, *volksmuziek* and hip-hop/rap in reviews in the newspapers *NRC Handelsblad* and *De Volkskrant*. These traditionally illegitimate local genres have very diverse positions in the global field.

As Dutch music gained popularity from the 1990s on, the time period between 1995 and 2012 was chosen as the time period for analysis. For every genre, twenty reviews of Dutch artists and twenty reviews of international artists (from the dominant market) were selected (for *volksmuziek* only twenty Dutch reviews were analysed, as this genre does not have an obvious foreign counterpart³). This meant that in the case of hip-hop/ rap, reviews of American hip-hop artists were analysed and in the case of dance, the reviews of domestic music were compared to reviews of other European dance music. A total of a hundred reviews were analysed. Even though news articles and background articles are often used in the coverage given to Dutch domestic music, the choice for reviews was made because the focus in this study is on the classification of the music genres, and not

² Both *De Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad* target highly educated readers. However, they also differ in several aspects, which would make it interesting to compare them in further research.

³ As mentioned before, *Volksmuziek* is broader than *levenslied*, which makes the German schlager not suitable for comparison, next to the fact that this genre barely receives coverage in Dutch newspapers.

on the appreciation of the artist. These reviews were selected using the database LexisNexis. Concert reviews were given priority over CD reviews. When the search results did not yield the required number of reviews, additional reviews were sampled using a music encyclopaedia online (this was only necessary with the genre *volksmuziek*). Every time period (1995-2000/ 2001-2006/ 2007-2012) had a minimum of five articles, to allow for comparisons over time. An overview of the selected reviews can be found in Appendix A.

The analysis took place using the grounded theory approach, which is an inductive approach aimed at theory building. Because of the small amount of previous research, both on the legitimization of these specific genres and on the evaluation of music from peripheral countries, an inductive approach appeared to be the most appropriate method for this part of the study. The first stage was open coding, in which small parts of the data were coded. In the second stage of axial coding, categories were formed. These categories were merged into bigger categories in the last stage of selective coding (Hodkinson, 2008).⁴

4. Results

4.1 Quantitative content analysis

In Table 1 the attention to Dutch popular music relative to the attention to international popular music in *De Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad* is presented. Only very few articles were devoted to popular music in 1955, the majority of which had a Dutch focus. However, by 1975 the number of articles devoted to popular music had not only increased (pointing to an increased legitimization of popular music), but the balance between Dutch and international music had also shifted, in favour of the latter. The share of domestic Dutch music in the newspapers' music coverage remained more or less the same (at 28%-29%) in 1995 and 2005, after which it increased again to 36% in 2012. It thus takes up until 2012 for the coverage to achieve the same level as it had in 1975. As the increased popularity and enhanced production of domestic music by record companies already started in the 1990s, this might imply that Dutch elite newspapers are slow in adapting to new developments. Even though the coverage of domestic music increased, music from Dutch artists is still covered less relative to international music, which is probably due to the peripheral position of the Netherlands in the global cultural field.

⁴ A more detailed description of the qualitative content analysis (including a few analysed articles as examples) can be found in Appendix B

Table 1: Coverage popular music by artist's nationality in De Volkskrant and NRC Handelsblad *

			Year				
			1955	1975	1995	2005	2012
Music (based on nationality artist)	Dutch	Number of articles	8	18	40	62	47
		% of articles	80%	37%	28%	29%	36%
		Mean size articles (cm ²)	122,22	166,28	230,67	311,20	304,94
	Foreign	Number of articles	2	30	103	148	85
		% of articles	20%	63%	72%	71%	64%
		Mean size articles (cm ²)	99,05	124,26	270,24	213,53	329,91
Total		Number of articles	10	48	143	210	132
		% of articles	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* The dataset contained information about artistic actors (artists/ makers) and institutional actors (organizations/ producers). However, the main part of the articles were concerned with artistic actors, and that is why the overall category is called nationality 'artists'.

The average size (measured in square centimetres) of the reviews devoted to Dutch music is most of the time bigger than the space devoted to foreign popular music. This can be explained by the type of articles written about Dutch music, as background articles and – to a lesser extent – news articles are on average bigger than music reviews. The coverage of international music is almost completely characterized by reviews, while the coverage of Dutch music is much more varied, consisting of news articles, background articles and interviews, as well as reviews (Table 2). The news value proximity thus probably plays a role in the decision to devote space to Dutch music and not all coverage concerns reviews.

Table 2: Domestic and foreign music by type of article

	1955		1975		1995		2005		2012	
	Dutch	Foreign	Dutch	Foreign	Dutch	Foreign	Dutch	Foreign	Dutch	Foreign
Review	25%(2)	50%(1)	17%(3)	67%(20)	38%(15)	56%(58)	26%(16)	49%(73)	34%(16)	53%(45)
News	25%(2)	50%(1)	28%(5)	27%(8)	25%(10)	23%(24)	27%(17)	25%(37)	21%(10)	12%(10)
Background/ Interview	25%(2)		22%(4)		22%(9)	19%(19)	36%(22)	15%(22)	21%(10)	12%(10)
Other	25%(2)		33%(6)	6%(2)	15%(6)	2%(2)	11%(7)	11%(16)	24%(11)	23%(31)

The next step is to turn the attention to specific genres, to find out to what extent elite newspapers covered the previously illegitimate genres dance, hip-hop/rap and *volksmuziek* compared to pop music. The coverage of the first two genres indeed increased over the course of time (see Table 3). The coverage of hip-hop/rap increased from no coverage in 1955 and 1975 to around 5% of the total attention devoted to popular music in 2005 and 2012. Dance music also gained legitimacy, constituting up to 8% of the total coverage of popular music in 2012, almost similar to the coverage of mainstream pop music in that year.

However, there appears to be a limit to the acceptance of popular music genres, indicating that hierarchies have not disappeared but rather have been modified. The coverage of the Dutch *volksmuziek* did not increase over time. It constituted quite a big part of the coverage in 1955, but that is due to the small amount of popular music coverage in general (ten articles). *Volksmuziek's* share was much smaller in the other sample years (between 1 and 2% from 1995 on), placing this genre at the bottom of the musical hierarchy in those years.

Table 3: Coverage genres* 1955-2012 in De Volkskrant and NRC Handelsblad

		Year				
		1955	1975	1995	2005	2012
Dance	Number of articles	-	-	11	11	13
	% of total coverage	-	-	7%	4%	8%
Hip-hop/ Rap	Number of articles	-	-	3	13	8
	% of total coverage	-	-	2%	6%	5%
<i>Volksmuziek</i>	Number of articles	1	2	3	4	2
	% of total coverage	8%	4%	2%	2%	1%
Mainstream Pop	Number of articles	-	4	9	22	14
	% of total coverage	-	8%	6%	9%	9%

* both domestic and foreign

In the genres that received the most attention in elite newspapers ((album oriented) rock, punk/ alternative rock, mainstream pop music and other popular music), Dutch artists did gain ground to some extent, but they continued to receive less coverage than foreign artists. However, in the genres dance and rap/ hip-hop, Dutch artists received almost an equal amount of coverage (dance in 1995, hip-hop/rap in 2012) or even more coverage (hip-hop/rap in 2005, dance in 2012) than their foreign counterparts (Table 4). This is quite remarkable, as the Dutch market is much smaller than the foreign (mostly Anglo American) market. The increased legitimacy of these genres might be explained by the central position and increased production of the Netherlands in these genres.

Table 4: Coverage genres by nationality main artist **

Genre		Year				
		1955	1975	1995	2005	2012
Dance	Dutch			5 (46%)	1 (11%)	8 (80%)
	Foreign			6 (54%)	8 (89%)	2 (20%)
Hip-hop/ Rap	Dutch			0 (0%)	9 (69%)	3 (43%)
	Foreign			3 (100%)	4 (31%)	4 (57%)
Pop Music	Dutch		0 (0%)	2 (22%)	6 (29%)	1 (9%)
	Foreign		3 (100%)	7 (78%)	15 (71%)	10 (91%)

* Some articles did not contain a main actor (mainly festivals). These could be considered Dutch (because of the Dutch organisation) as well as international, because of the variety of artists. Therefore they were not included in the table and the total of articles per genre might slightly differ from the number mentioned above, in which all articles were incorporated.

** *Volksmuziek* was not included in this table, because due to its Dutch origins, this music is always sung by Dutch artists.

Not only did the coverage of these genres increase, the type of coverage also points to an increasing acceptance of both genres, as reviews constituted the biggest part or second biggest part of the coverage. By contrast, the coverage of Dutch *volksmuziek*, which did not gain legitimacy at all, consisted of news articles or background articles. Only in a rare case a review was included.

It can thus be concluded that the genres dance and rap/hip-hop gain legitimacy from 1995 on, as seen both in the amount and the type of coverage. In these genres, Dutch artists were prominently covered, to some extent even more prominently or equal to international artists. By contrast, *volksmuziek* is not legitimized at all. The next step is to study how journalists (more specifically critics) write about these genres. Do criteria vary from genre to genre and between domestic and foreign music?

4.2 *Qualitative content analysis*

Critics may use a variety of criteria when they evaluate the genres *volksmuziek*, dance and hip-hop/rap. In doing so, they not only rank artists in terms of quality, but they also distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate music products and genres. Two main criteria emerged from the analysis of the reviews: all music products and artists were judged on the criteria authenticity and originality. These criteria however refer to different elements and have different connotations in different genres. These two criteria include popular art as well as high art aesthetics. In addition, Dutch artists appeared to be evaluated with the use of an additional criterion: their contribution to the international music field.

4.2.1 *Authenticity*

In line with previous research (Cheyne & Binder, 2010; Peterson, 1997; Regev, 1994), authenticity was found to be one of the main criteria by which popular music products are judged. Even though it appeared to be particularly prominent in the hip-hop genre (Cheyne & Binder, 2010; Wermuth, 2001), this criterion clearly transcends genre boundaries, as it was present in reviews of all three popular music genres in this sample. However, interestingly, the term seems to have different meanings for each genre. In the *volksmuziek* reviews, authenticity is mainly related to a singer being true to his/her roots. Sincerity and credibility are very important. In describing the singer, his/her working class roots are emphasized and attention is paid to how they became involved in the music business and how hard they worked, establishing it as a way of living rather than just a career. Despite their success, *volkszangers* have remained down to earth. Reviews often provide examples on how 'normal' a Dutch singer has remained, which is one of the main elements of authenticity in this genre. This makes the artist recognisable and accessible to the audience, which allows for a tight bond to form between the singer and his/her audience. This emotional bond is in some cases even

described as adoration of the public for the singer, as they are intensely engaged with the artist and in some cases even bring flowers or gifts to the concert.

Authenticity can - next to the recognisability of the artist, due to the loyalty to his/her roots and him/her remaining normal - also be found in the music, as critics often refer to the recognisable 'sob' in the voice of the singer and the songs. However, this plays a minor role, overall the focus is (with regards to authenticity, but also overall in the *volksmuziek* genre) on the artist and the bond that is established with the audience, instead of the music:

"Ask the fans, and they will all agree. Frans Bauer may have sold two million records in Holland, he has remained 'normal' and 'cosy'. No pretence, no frills, no limousines or Rolexes. Elles Borsje, pub owner in Sliedrecht: 'Frans is a regular guy. Just like us.' And that works. Until Sunday the singer of the sensitive 'levenslied' will perform in Ahoy, and even though his management has made every effort to make him look like a star, featuring a ballet show, glitter, feathers and star colleagues like Bobbie Eakes (from The Bold and The Beautiful), Tatjana and Corry Konings: Bauer alone is obviously enough for the audience."
(VK, March 27th, 1999)

Volksmuziek becomes more popular and large stadium concerts are organised. Professionalism is a criterion in these articles, pointing to the decor and the entourage of the artist. This also raises questions on how this relates itself to the normalness and sincerity of the performer. The reviews focus then on the tension between 'remaining normal', the sincerity of the performer and the huge management, media strategy and marketing concept that lies behind this performer, in this sense questioning his/ her authenticity.

In dance music, authenticity has quite a different meaning. Here, authenticity refers to the ability of Dutch as well as European artists to create their own style. The dance genre is characterized by a huge variety of styles. Not only are the subgenres house, techno and trance often mixed together, artists also incorporate influences from genres as diverse as funk, soul, jazz and pop in their music. This shines a completely different light upon the creation of authentic music. Being authentic is thus about having your own style in a fast evolving genre by borrowing, combining and mixing various samples, either from yourself or others, and creating your own original music this way. The mixture of these genres and musical elements – beats, melodies, rhythms and spheres – leads to subtle, layered, deep music with dynamic combinations that work towards an energetic climax. Different combinations evoke different types of energy in the music, contributing to the impact and eloquence of the music.

"The Amsterdam producer Shinedoe knows how she can set a nice groove with few resources. She moulds elements from minimal, techno, house and jazz to her own warm and deep sound that distinguishes itself through creative funky rhythms, a lot of depth and rustling percussion elements. Her sophisticated style has a flipside: the numbers on her second album miss the spice and impact that is needed to really shine."
(VK, July 9th, 2009)

As mentioned in the beginning, authenticity is the most important element in the hip-hop genre, and the main standard in the evaluation of a hip-hop product or act. This is comparable to the *volksmuziek* genre, however, next to the fact that it is even more central here (in *volksmuziek* the authenticity mainly functions as a means to achieve the characteristic bond between performer and audience), it has – more elaborate and varied – connotations. Adding to that, due to the strong local origins, and the glocalized nature of hip-hop/ rap, the meanings of authenticity vary across different local contexts, as can also be seen in the reviews of American and Dutch hip-hop/rap.

In the U.S. reviews, authenticity within hip-hop is based on ‘keeping it real’, as the famous hip-hop saying goes. Credibility is very important, which is predominantly race and place based, and for new acts often derived from being introduced to the scene by established acts. Rappers should rap realistically about their own life and the problems they encountered on the streets when they were living there themselves. They should be inspired, disciplined, hard working and driven, which all constitute the criterion energy. This societal and political involvement is one of the main criteria in the reviews. In this sense, authentic hip-hop is hip-hop that remains true to its roots and the origins of the music. This also means that rappers should present themselves predominantly as musicians (and not as entrepreneurs) and should also musically remain true to the base of hip-hop. Experimenting outside the genre is not appreciated, for example by mixing rap with rock or pop, and rappers should rely on their own repertoire and not use samples or hits from other musicians (in contrast to dance). Just as the music should remain true to its origins: a DJ and a rapper, the performance should also revolve around the music. Everything that is not directly related to the music – silly jokes, joints on stage, and contests among female fans – is not appreciated. When hip-hop becomes commercially successful – which can also be seen in the public, which becomes younger (idolizing the rapper) and whiter (not the traditional hip-hop audience) - hip-hop musicians often become entrepreneurs as well as musicians, which could create a tension between this commerciality and authenticity. As long as these artists remain true to the base of the hip-hop – politically involved, original (authentic) songs, focusing on the music – hip-hoppers/ rappers can however be commercially successful as well as authentic.

“Two rappers, two ego’s and still it works: tough rap and a critical note. On paper it is a monument for hip-hop pride: the two most successful American rappers temporarily merge to celebrate their accomplishments. Raps like ego documents, in which Hermes and Louis Vuitton are name checked in favour of the worries of the street. That is what is on the mind of hip-hop millionaires. (...) Still a two and a half hour long showcase of Jay-Z’s and West’s shared efforts and their individual hits is more than a parade of shallow egotism. On the tones of Louis Armstrong’s What a Wonderful World, America’s shame is showcased: the chaos after hurricane Katrina and a toddler in a full KKK-robe.”
(VK, June 18th, 2012).

In Nederhop, the Dutch globalized version of hip-hop/ rap, authenticity mainly has different connotations. Some elements however remain the same: energy is an important criterion, constituted by giving a tight, fast en inspired performance, as this energy then spreads to the audience. Credibility also remains important, but this is in Nederhop less race and place based. The critics establish a scene in the reviews by mentioning the origins and residence of the artists, the rivalries between rappers (which in American hip-hop is seen as unnecessary by-products, but in Nederhop used to authenticate the scene), often emphasizing the Dutch language of the genre in constituting a distinct local identity (Rutten, 2006). Credibility is however not based on the origins of these rappers. Authenticity in Nederhop is about being true to yourself, and credibility is based on this sincerity, as this citation from a review of Ali B. shows:

“His second album ‘Petje Af’ is proof that he is overplaying his hand. (...) Ali B. sways from one big theme to another with simplistic observations that quickly cause your skin to itch, especially when overrated R&B singers Gio and Brace sing his words. It becomes even more annoying when Ali B in the title track Moksi Meti suddenly starts dissing loudmouthed and classifies himself as ‘hardcore.’ Hello, you cannot be a peacemaker and a street fighter at the same time. ‘Petje Af’ locates itself in a very implausible split.”
(VK, October 19th, 2006)

The second connotation of authenticity is radically different from the American idea of authenticity. Where American rappers should overall remain true to the genre, in Dutch hip-hop experimentation and originality is valued. Dutch rappers are allowed to mix hip-hop with pop and reggae for example, without it affecting their authenticity. The idea that being commercial and being authentic are not automatically opposites is even more apparent in Nederhop, as songs are often praised for their ‘hit potential’ and these rappers also enjoy the biggest success (in contrast to the pioneers of the genre). This emphasis on originality might be explained by the fact that in earlier years, in the 1980s when American rap arrived at the Netherlands, a lot of acts imitated the American hip-hop, which back then was seen as the only authentic hip-hop (Wermuth, 2001). In the 1990s, the period in which this analysis starts, distinctive Dutch elements (starting with switching from the English to the Dutch language) were added to the hip-hop genre and in establishing Nederhop, experimentation was allowed and even encouraged. However, this originality is mainly related to the music and a focus on the lyrics is rare in reviews of Nederhop. This might be explained by the fact that it emerged and developed primarily as a *music* genre in the Netherlands, being imported from the United States and adapted to the local market, rather than having its origins in *societal* discontent.

4.2.2 Originality

Where originality is thus an element of authenticity in Nederhop, in many genres originality and authenticity are different criteria. Within American hip-hop, the relationship between originality and

hip-hop is for example more complex. Some originality is appreciated, to avoid being judged as cliché or as imitating others, as rappers should distinguish themselves from their colleagues. Originality is thus to a certain extent necessary to be deemed authentic. But this originality should remain within the genre: hippie hop or schoolyard – rap (from the Southern states) are conceived as authentic subgenres. Furthermore, improvisation and originality should be limited to the raps or the DJ, which shows the strong emphasis on remaining true to the origins of the genre. In contrast to Dutch hip-hop, in American hip-hop mixing hip-hop with other music genres is not appreciated as it negatively affects the authenticity and the loyalty of the rapper to the roots of the genre:

“Common also diverges musically. His fifth and newest album Electric Circus (2002), on which he celebrates his love for Jimi Hendrix and added heavy rock elements to his music, was slated in a lot of American hip-hop magazines and cost him a significant part of his black fanbase.”
(VK, May 3rd, 2003)

By contrast, the dance genre revolves around originality. Artists should distinguish themselves at least once, to be deemed authentic, but preferably continuously. Being original is being innovative. This creativity also applies to the artists themselves, as they often fulfil multiple roles and are involved in multiple ‘acts.’ However, some artists meet this criterion better than others. There is the mainstream, more accessible music for the dance floor, which uses more conventional elements to create the deep sound and often mixes in pop hits. There is also the more experimental kind of dance music, which balances on the edge of accessible (and is not made by ‘DJ’s’, but by ‘sound artists’ for example, pointing to the creative mind behind these music products) and everything in between. Both forms are appreciated, and assigned a different purpose (a club night versus an art exhibition) accordingly. This mainstream music runs the risk of becoming predictable as it is often based on a formula and specific structure. However, the experimental music is sometimes judged as being too inaccessible (not danceable) and too abstract, which would demand a lot of the audience.

The criterion of innovation and originality does not only apply to the music itself. The performance of the artists should also comply with increasingly higher standards of innovation. The dance genre is a fast evolving genre in which artists are constantly pushing the boundaries. Being dated as a dance act is the harshest criticism an act can receive. These innovations then become the standard of the genre and are incorporated into the criteria, hereby raising the bar for new acts. Playing live, instead of using a pre-programmed tape, became one of these standards. Playing live opens up room for improvisation and musical virtuosity. When dance music became more popular, visual entertainment became more important, making it a key criterion in reviews, particularly after 2000. Contrary to hip-hop, visual dynamics become just as important as musical ones and do not make dance acts less authentic, just more original. All words associated with old, retro and stuffy are seen as negative. Even the pioneers of the genre, who were the innovators of the genre in the first

place and influenced many acts, are judged according to these standards. In a fast moving genre like dance music, the music of pioneers is picked up and adapted by new groups, making it necessary to assess whether the pioneers are still contemporary nowadays and can keep up with the new acts.

“Kraftwerk is suffering under the rule of the restrictive head start. Thirty years ago it was innovative and daring to stand motionless behind a synthesizer: something that was imitated by many. Now that the pop audience is used to deejays and laptop musicians, it takes some musical and visual dynamics to move a crowd of people. That was exactly what was missing yesterday.”

(NRC, March 30th, 2004)

As long as their music remains energetic, exciting, vital and dynamic, they can keep up with the innovative and contemporary nature of the genre and add something to the modern day dance field. As seen earlier, this energy, vitality and excitement created by mixing certain kinds of music is a key element of the authenticity of dance music. So even though originality and innovation is a more dominant and elaborate criterion in dance music, authenticity seems to be more important in the dance genre than can be concluded from a first glance on the reviews.

Where the dance genre can be described as the summit of creativity, *volksmuziek* is seen as safe, simple, riskless and predictable music. *Volksmuziek* can hardly be termed original and the music is often referred to as a ‘formula’ or ‘cluster and terrace house pop’. Artists often do not write their music themselves, so their repertoire consists of music written for them or covers from other artists who were already successful – making safe choices instead of being daring and original. However, there are some artists that try to be a bit more original. This can have two consequences: either they are deemed less authentic because they become less normal and down to earth (when Jan Smit presents his album in pop temple *Paradiso* for example, instead of *Volendam*) or artists are seen as too ‘good’ for *volksmuziek* and are quickly classified as pop (Marco Borsato for example).

As the music cannot be conceived as an artistic product due to the lack of originality, the attention for this kind of music is legitimated by the huge popularity of the artist among every layer of the population. Often the reason for an article is a news event: the anniversary of an artist or the fact that his/her huge concerts are sold out. The attention is then not so much cultural critical, but has a news character and the reviews often are not written in a traditional style of reviewing, but take on a documentary form, incorporating interviews with fans and artist in the article.

4.2.3 *The contribution of Dutch music to the international field*

Dutch music products are, next to the criteria of authenticity and originality, judged on whether they can contribute something to the international field. Within *volksmuziek* reviews, this added value is rare. Even though some artists enjoy considerable success abroad (Jan Smit and Frans Bauer in Germany for example), this is not mentioned in the reviews. When comparisons to international

artists are made, they function to show the superiority of international artists or to occasionally lift the status of Dutch singers (only Marco Borsato), but this remains confined to the national field.

“Cosy, by times beautiful, but still there is a bit of friction of which you cannot imagine that he never thinks about that himself. The man can sing beautifully and has the ability to write texts in a pleasurable, ordinary everyday language, but the emotions always remain distant. (...) Would Guus Meeuwis (he will turn forty next week) never feel the urge to leave his comfort zone as a songwriter and singer. He is a Springsteen fan- he knows there is more. In Tivoli he sang: ‘I am like a sunflower, I always turn to the light.’ Beautiful sentence, but if that is really a natural law, he will remain a prisoner of cosiness.”
(VK, March 14th, 2012)

Within dance Dutch DJ’s are additionally legitimated by the international attention for their work. Almost every review contains a reference to the international dance community. Often the top ranking of the DJ’s is discussed and the quality of their music is compared to the music from popular international acts, signalling the importance of international appreciation for Dutch dance acts. On the other hand, these acts are often termed ‘Holland’s most successful export product’ signalling a pride from Dutch society, allowing these DJ’s to successfully represent Holland abroad, as can be inferred from this review of the concert of DJ Armin van Buuren:

“The Dutch DJ is a superstar who travels the whole world to perform. The ‘ambassador of trance music’ was rewarded with the Dutch pop price in January as Holland’s most important export product.”
(VK, April 21st, 2008)

In Nederhop, there is also often a comparison present with the international (American) field. However, within the glocalized genre of hip-hop, the comparison with foreign acts is rarely used to lift the status of Dutch hip-hop acts and when this is done, it is limited to the American underground scene. In Nederhop, acts are often contrasted to the American hip-hop acts, to illustrate the added value of Nederhop to the (international) hip-hop field.

“Before ‘Opgezwolle’ appears on the stage people can dance for fifteen minutes on hip-hop classics as Sound of the Police and Simons Says, and then it dawns on us: Dutch hip-hop does not need the Americans anymore for a true hip-hop spectacle. Forgotten is the bland playback show 50 Cent gave in a half-full Heineken Music Hall, when the master of ceremonies announces the ‘gruesome beats’ of ‘Opgezwolle’ with the promise that the Melkweg will go ‘kapotlos’. Forgotten is the feeling that American hip-hop has become stagnant water, in which the big stars wave around some bing bling and the underground seems to be stone dead. When Delic has waved to the audience with wide arm gestures and starts the beats of ‘Gekkenhuis’, one realises that Dutch hip-hop has definitely surpassed American hip-hop in entertainment value.”
(VK, December 17th, 2007)

The valuation of Nederhop thus seems partly derived from it being an addition to first and foremost the national scene, and after that the international hip-hop field, instead of enjoying considerable success abroad en being valued internationally, as is the case in the dance genre.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

This study set out to study the legitimation of Dutch music. The quantitative analysis of newspaper coverage of two Dutch elite newspapers from 1955-2012 shows (even though the results should be treated with caution because of the small sample size) that Dutch music in general, as well as the genres dance and hip-hop/ rap, gain legitimacy from 1995 on. In these genres, Dutch artists occupy a central position in elite newspapers, being covered almost equal or to some extent even more than international acts. The success of Dutch artists and increased production of domestic music might provide an explanation for the legitimation of these two genres, next to the fact that these genres are increasingly valued by an 'omnivorous' audience and Dutch newspapers might respond to these preferences in an attempt to attract readers. However, elite newspapers do respond rather late (as it takes up to 2012 for domestic music to reach the same level as in 1975, while the aforementioned developments already started in the 1990s). Furthermore, the analysis also shows that there is a limit to this acceptance by elite newspapers. The Dutch genre *volksmuziek* remains at the bottom of the cultural hierarchy.

While these quantitative results tell us what genres gain legitimacy in the amount of and type of attention, it is interesting to turn the attention to the content of the articles (specifically reviews) to see what criteria critics employ to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate products/ genres. The qualitative analysis shows that authenticity and originality are the two most important criteria on which – domestic as well as foreign - popular music products in the genres dance, hip-hop/ rap and *volksmuziek* are classified. This is in line with the findings of Peterson (1997) and the study of Johnston and Baumann (2007) on the legitimating discourse of food, that centred on notions of authenticity and exoticism, which come close to the themes found in music reviews. The criteria authenticity and originality are not one dimensional, but consist of several elements that together form the notions of authenticity and originality. These elements differ between genres and the criteria thus have different connotations in different genres (in the (glocalized) genre hip-hop, the connotations even differ between domestic and foreign products). Furthermore, the emphasis and importance assigned to (the elements of) these criteria vary between genres, newspapers and critics. However, all critics from both newspapers use these two criteria to classify the three genres.

Products need to meet both criteria to be seen as legitimate. This means that the genre *volksmuziek* as a whole is excluded from legitimation, as it is not original (but it often is authentic, and in Dutch *volksmuziek* these criteria are not connected, in contrast to Peterson's (1997) findings in American country music). Within the genres hip-hop/rap and dance, distinctions are made between products based on these criteria. Authenticity is a popular art criterion, but it can include popular aesthetics (energy) as well as high art aesthetics (complexity in dance). Originality is a key high art criterion as it refers to the creativity, musical virtuosity and innovative potential of foreign as

well as domestic artists. Being cliché (hip-hop), riskless (*volksmuziek*) or predictable (dance) all signal a lack of originality. Since these music products can then not be legitimated by their artistic value, they are often legitimated by means of their great popularity and/or entertainment value, but not appreciated as an artistic product in its own right.

However, to state that when acts meet these two criteria they move from entertainment to high art would be a rash conclusion. Entertainment (value) is overall appreciated by Dutch critics. This conclusion is in line with an earlier study of Van Venrooij and Schmutz (2010), who found a pronounced presence of popular aesthetics in Dutch newspapers. It would be wrong to assume that popular music should be acknowledged as art instead of entertainment. Rather, it should be both. This can also be retrieved from reviews about experimental dance music. This type of music is appreciated for its artistic value, but critics fear at the same time that this type of music will become too inaccessible and lose its entertainment value for audiences. Elite newspapers thus make use of a combination of popular aesthetics and high art aesthetics to legitimate these music genres.

Dutch domestic music is additionally legitimated by pointing to the added value of this music to the international field: dance music is appreciated more when it is also valued internationally, while hip-hop on the other hand gains legitimacy by being different from international (American in this case) hip-hop and adding something to the global hip-hop field. Either way, music in a peripheral country such as the Netherlands is always situated in the international music field and evaluated on its added value. However, domestic music from the Netherlands can be legitimated without having to gain recognition from abroad. Meeting the criteria of authenticity and originality is more important than being valued internationally, as becomes clear when *volksmuziek* and Nederhop are compared. Both are local genres with local reach (due to their language), but differ in legitimation.

In sum, elite newspapers thus still construct boundaries and create cultural hierarchies by means of the amount of attention, the type of attention and the way music is legitimized. This study shows that one needs to look at the amount and type of coverage as well as the content of this coverage, to know what music genres and products are artistically valued by music critics in elite newspapers. Even in reviews, which should signal cultural-critical appreciation, the popularity of an artist among the public can be a reason to write a review and legitimate this genre, instead of the artistic value attributed to that genre. One could say that critics construct boundaries within these reviews between legitimation based on popularity and legitimation based on artistic value.

These results might imply that elite newspapers in a search for readers and as a consequence of a more dominant domestic music industry are indeed more open to genres that are popular among an increasingly omnivorous audience. However, despite this leniency towards these genres, the boundaries of these elite newspapers still seem to be rather strict, especially in comparison to the 'elite' audience they intend to reach. The two Dutch *volkszangers* Nick and Simon were asked to

perform for the Dutch king at his inauguration day, but critics of the Dutch elite newspapers still refuse to grant them artistic legitimation. Elite newspapers might still not be open enough, constituting a gap between their taste and the taste of their audience.

This study on legitimation was of course limited in the amount of newspapers and the type of articles it analyzed. This study deliberately focused on the analysis of reviews. However, considering the amount of other articles (predominantly news and background), a following study could analyse these types of articles to see how the legitimation might differ. Other studies could broaden the scope regarding the type of media by studying the coverage of Dutch domestic music in music magazines or study popular newspapers instead of elite ones, to see what criteria they employ and what hierarchies they construct. Another line of inquiry might be to switch to the audience perspective. This study only looked at one side of the story. It gained insight into how elite newspapers classify genres, but it would be interesting to see what criteria their 'omnivorous' audiences use to classify genres and compare their strategies, especially since elite newspapers appear to be rather strict in their artistic legitimation, compared to their audiences.

References

- Achterberg, P., Heilbron, J., Houtman, D., Aupers, S. (2011). A Cultural Globalization of Popular Music? American, Dutch, French, and German Popular Music Charts from 1965 to 2006. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55(5), 589-608.
- Allmusic.com (2013). *Electronic*. Retrieved from <http://www.allmusic.com/genre/electronic-ma0000002572>.
- Baumann, S. (2001). Intellectualization and Art World development: Film in the United States. *American Sociological Review*, 66(3), 404-426.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge.
- Bryson, B. (1996). Anything but Heavy Metal. Symbolic exclusion and musical dislikes. *American Sociological Review*, 61(5), 884-899.
- Cheyne, A. & Binder, A. (2010). Cosmopolitan preferences: The constitutive role of place in American elite taste for hip-hop music 1991–2005. *Poetics*, 38, 336–364.
- Crane, D., Kawashima, N. & Kawasaki, K. (2002). *Global Culture: Media, Arts, Policy and Globalization*. New York: Routledge.
- DiMaggio, P. (1987). Classification in art. *American Sociological Review*, 52(4), 440-455.
- Hitters, E. & Van de Kamp, M. (2010). Tune in, fade out: Music companies and the classification of domestic music products in the Netherlands. *Poetics*, 38(5), 461-480.
- Hodkinson, P. (2008). Grounded Theory and Inductive Research. In N. Gilbert (Ed.), *Researching social life* (pp. 80- 100). London: Sage.
- Janssen, S., Kuipers, G. & Verboord, M. (2008). Cultural Globalization and Arts Journalism: The International Orientation of Arts and Culture Coverage in Dutch, French, German and U.S. Newspapers, 1955-2005. *American Sociological Review*, 3(5), 719-740.
- Janssen, S., Verboord, M & Kuipers, G. (2011). Comparing Cultural Classification. High and Popular Arts in European and U.S. Elite Newspapers. 1955-2005. *Kolner Zeitschrift fur Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 63(51), 139-168.
- Johnston, J., & Baumann, S. (2007). Democracy versus Distinction: A Study of Omnivorousness in Gourmet Food Writing. *American Journal of Sociology*, 113(1), 165-204.
- Kuipers, G. (2011). Cultural globalization as the emergence of a transnational cultural field: Transnational television and national media landscapes in four European countries. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55(5), 541-557.
- Lena, J.C. (2012). *Banding Together. How communities create genres in popular music*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lena, J.C. & Peterson R.A. (2008). Classification as Culture: Types and Trajectories of Music Genres. *American Sociological Review*, 73(5), 697-718.

- Meuleman, R., Bekhuis, H., Lubbers, M., Scheepers, P. (2012). Own Culture first? Nationalism and the preference for national cultural goods. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*. Early view online.
- Negus, K. (1996). Globalization and the Music of the Public Spheres. In Braman, S. & Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. (Eds.), *Globalisation, Communication and Transnational Civil Society* (pp.179-195). Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press.
- Peterson, R.A. (1997). *Creating Country Music. Fabricating Authenticity*. Chicago/ London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Peterson, R.A., & Kern, R. M. (1996). Changing highbrow taste: from snob to omnivore. *American Sociological Review*, 61(5), 900-907.
- Peterson, R.A. & Simkus, A. (1992). How musical tastes mark occupation status groups. In M. Lamont & M. Fournier (Ed.), *Cultivating differences. Symbolic boundaries and the making of inequality* (pp. 152-186). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Regev, M. (1994). Producing artistic value: The case of rock music. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 35(1), 85-102.
- Regev, M. (2011). Pop-rock music as expressive isomorphism. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55(5), 558-573.
- Rietveld, H.C. (1998). *This is our house. House music, cultural spaces and technologies*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Rutten, P. (1991). Local popular music on the national and international markets. *Cultural Studies*, 5(3), 294-305.
- Rutten, P. (2006). Global Sounds and Local Brews. Musical Developments and Music Industry in Europe In *Music, Culture and Society in Europe. (Music in Europe, part 2)* (pp.1-13). Paris: European Music Office.
- Schmutz, V. (2009). Social and symbolic boundaries in newspaper coverage of music, 1955-2005: Gender and genre in the US, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. *Poetics*, 37(4), 298-314.
- Schmutz, V., van Venrooij, A., Janssen, S., Verboord, M. (2010). Change and Continuity in Newspaper Coverage of Popular Music since 1955: Evidence from the United States, France, Germany and the Netherlands. *Popular Music and Society*, 33(4), 501-515.
- Thornton, S. (1996). *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press.
- Van Eijck, K. (2001). Social differentiation in musical taste patterns. *Social forces*, 79(3), 1163-1185.
- Van Venrooij, A. & Schmutz, V. (2010). The evaluation of Popular Music in the United States, Germany and the Netherlands. *Cultural Sociology*, 4(3), 395-421.

Wermuth, M. (2001). Rap in the Low countries. Global dichotomies on a national scale. In T. Mitchell (Ed.), *Global Noise. Rap and Hip hop outside the USA* (pp. 149 - 170). Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.