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The Europeanisation of Everyday Life:
Cross-Border Practices and Transnational Identifications
Among EU and Third-Country Citizens

Cultural boundaries in Europe

Laurie Hanquinet

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Introduction

The EUCROSS project represents a valuable opportunity to understand more in depth how Europeans differentiate each other in terms of cultural tastes and practices and how the latter relate to mobility practices and different forms of sub- or supra-national identities.

Over the last few years, cultural sociology, specialized in the study of cultural consumption, has taken a descriptive turn: it has been argued that there is a need to grasp further the mechanisms that order people's cultural resources, or what Bourdieu (1979) has called 'cultural capital'. Indeed people's tastes or activities depend on the amount and the types of cultural resources people can draw on to appreciate different cultural genres. These resources are important to be unraveled as they give rise to symbolic boundaries, meaning that people use them not only to differentiate themselves one from another but also to socially distinguish themselves one from another. Indeed Bourdieu put forward the opposition between highbrow and popular culture. The first requires a 'highbrow disposition', meaning a capacity to decipher complex cultural genres and including a specific set of knowledge and expertise. The second is much more immediate and accessible to everyone by referring to people's ordinary life. Then it doesn't necessitate particular skills to be appreciated. Highbrow culture, being more exclusive and distinctive, is arguably more socially valued.

However, different scholars have now claimed that, although Bourdieu's theory is still very relevant to understand the mechanisms that tie culture and social divisions together, his cultural classification needs to be updated (Hanquinet, Roose, & Savage 2014; Prior 2005). Savage and his colleagues insisted on the necessity for scientists to reflect upon the pre-established categories they use and to assess their validity to describe cultural mechanisms at play in our societies: 'In order for research on cultural capital to progress, it is necessary to develop a richer descriptive understanding of the clustering of cultural taste, knowledge and participation in its own terms, rather than the reduction of particular, narrowly defined, cultural states to various socio-economic determinants' (2005: 12).

This has proven even more important as new forms of cultural distinction have emerged in the literature, such as the opposition between omnivores and univores. Indeed, since the later 1990s, Bourdieu's perspective has in turn been constantly disputed by a new perspective, led by Peterson and Simkus (2012; also see Peterson & Kern 1996; Peterson 2005). According to this, the upper classes – labeled as 'omnivores' - appreciate prestigious art forms but are also increasingly attracted by popular culture. Nowadays, the notion of omnivorousness suffers from a lack of clarity, having become pervaded with many different meanings. It can, for instance, be interpreted as a sign of a progressive decline of sociocultural hierarchies (e.g. Michaud 1997), although empirical studies tend to suggest that it has to be conceived as a new form of sociocultural distinction (Bryson 1996; Coulangeon & Lemel 2007). The elites would assert their status by showing cultural

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[5] Laurie Hanquinet.

tolerance through omnivorous tastes. However qualitative studies have shown that there are indeed ways of being 'open to diversity' to paraphrase Ollivier (Ollivier 2008; Bellavance 2008). This definition is dangerously close to that of Hannerz (1990). Could omnivorousness be a specific manifestation visible in the domain of cultural practices of a wider phenomenon such as cosmopolitanism? Mixing political, cultural and social dimensions, Fridman and Ollivier (2004) even speak of 'an ostentatious openness to diversity', showing that tolerance is a part of the character of those with a breadth of social, economic and cultural resources. Nevertheless, while their approach has the benefit of indicating that omnivorousness is more than a range of tastes but also a 'discriminating attitude' (Warde, Wright, & Gayo-Cal 2008) and returns the debate to the heart of the question of cultural capital and its effects of distinction, the rapprochement established between cosmopolitanism and omnivorousness risks making of these 'catch-all' categories which progressively lose their sense. Yet it is this question of interpretation which needs to be central in order to grasp the relevance of omnivorousness. Atkinson (2011) but most of all Lizardo and Skiles (2013) are right: we need to pay attention to the genesis of tastes and preferences.

More recently, Bennett and his colleagues (2009) showed that the first cultural dimension structuring the Brits' cultural tastes and activities opposed cultural engagement versus cultural disengagement. They observe the emergence, on the one hand, of people who are likely involved in many different practices, of which legitimacy differs, and, on the other hand, of people who tend not be involved in any activities, except watching television. This could seem as supporting Peterson's omnivorousness theory; however, the omnivorous patterns appear to follow specific boundaries. For instance, Brits who like foreign cultural products tend to appreciate what is actually culturally close, preferring for instance American culture more than anything else. This highlights the fact that the making of tastes should be studied with a more global approach that accounts for geo-cultural structuring factors. The EUCROSS project provides data that enable researcher to study some aspects of the European cultural field, and more especially the role of tastes in music and food, and how they reflect cultural but also symbolic boundaries that cross the European social space.

Tastes in food and in music in Europe
Before unraveling the mechanisms behind cultural classifications, let us start by describing the main trends in terms of music and food tastes. Table 1 shows the percentages of music tastes per country. Across the six countries, the most liked music genres are pop and rock. 44% of the people investigated declared to like (very much) each of them. Hip hop and metal music are the least liked genres with respectively 59% and 79% of people who don't like them (at all). Danes are characterized by an overrepresentation of those who like pop and rock music and of those who don't like hip hop. Germans, Italians and Spaniards appreciate to a greater extent classical music, compared to, among others, Danes who tend to like it proportionally less. Germans also are more likely than other nationalities to express a preference for jazz, metal, pop and rock and of a dislike of the traditional German and European music. In comparison preferences for traditional music from the country of residence and from Europe are overrepresented among Italians, Romanians and Spaniards. These three countries also

appreciate world music to a greater extent. Spain also likes metal, pop, rock music to a greater extent than most of the other countries compared to hip hop. Britons, who are comparatively more educated, have a stronger tendency to dislike music genres, except metal and hip hop.

Although it indicates expected results such as a link between tertiary education and classical music, Table 2 shows that music tastes tend not to have a 'linear' relationship with education. In most cases we can't conclude that the more educated people are, the more they like or dislike a specific music genre. Take pop music, for instance. Those who like it best have a degree between lower and higher secondary education and the least educated tend to dislike it most. However, a few interesting findings emerge. Traditional music whether it comes from the country of residence or another European country tend be preferred by those who have the lowest educational degree. This means that it is less the origin of the music than its traditional character that matters to define its public. Also rock music tends to be preferred by those who have greater educational resources. This is surprising as rock is often defined in the literature as a genre of common cultural legitimacy (Warde & Gayo-Cal 2009). Hip hop is not particularly disliked by those who have the highest degree. As a matter of fact, the least educated tend to least appreciate it.

The patterns are quite different for the links between music tastes and age. As table 3[6] shows, the relationships tend to develop in a much more linear way. The older people are, the more likely they are to like traditional and classical music and to dislike metal, pop, rock, hip hop. This is in line with the literature in cultural sociology which outlines the important of age in the making of tastes (Warde & Gayo-Cal 2009; Lizardo & Skiles 2013).

As mentioned earlier in this report, Salamonska, Recchi, Rossi and Baglioni have defined six different mobility groups. In table 4 we can see that transnationals show the strongest preference for world music, followed by the returnees and in contrast with the locals who tend to most dislike it. The returnees tend to have a similar profile as the transnationals with the exception that they appreciate more traditional music from the country of origin, which could possibly be a nostalgia effect. Both groups tend to have the highest means in terms of number of music genres liked. Visitors tend to also be characterized by a highbrow orientation but to like fewer highbrow genres in comparison with transnationals and returnees. However the three groups are only significantly different from the tourists and the locals in this respect. Both tourists and locals have the lowest means and tend to be more univorous. Tourists are likely not to like traditional music but to listen to pop music. Virtual transnationals appreciate to a greater extent traditional music from the country of residence compared to rock music.

Finally in terms of supra- or sub-national identity those who consider themselves as citizens of the world tend to appreciate world music to a greater extent than those who don't (30% of citizens of the world tend to like world music compared to 19%). Similarly there is an association between an identification to the country and to the region of

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[6] Both tables 2 and 3 don't show all the genres but only those for which the relationship with the other variable is most significant.

residence and a preference for music from country of residence. However, even among those who identify themselves to these geographical areas, there is still a substantial proportion who doesn't enjoy this music style. The same observation holds for the link between European identification and an appreciation of music from another country of Europe.

Table 1 Tastes in music by country

% within country		Denmark (national sample)	Germany (national sample)	Italy (national sample)	Romania (national sample)	Spain (national sample)	United Kingdom (national sample)	Total
World music (n=5803)	World-	42.7%	33.8%	43.8%	41.4%	33.1%	**49.2%**	40.6%
	World=	33.1%	39.9%	27.9%	30.6%	36.2%	28.9%	32.8%
	World+	24.2%	26.4%	**28.4%**	**28.0%**	**30.7%**	21.9%	26.6%
Classical music (n=5919)	Classical-	**43.9%**	33.1%	34.8%	39.0%	34.9%	40.5%	37.7%
	Classical=	22.4%	23.9%	23.4%	25.3%	25.3%	23.1%	23.9%
	Classical+	33.7%	**42.9%**	**41.8%**	35.7%	**39.8%**	36.5%	38.4%
Jazz (n=5889)	Jazz-	48.8%	39.4%	39.1%	47.0%	48.0%	47.7%	45.0%
	Jazz=	24.9%	28.1%	23.4%	23.6%	23.8%	24.0%	24.6%
	Jazz+	26.3%	**32.5%**	**37.5%**	29.4%	28.2%	28.3%	30.4%
Traditional from CoR (n=5927)	TradCoR-	47.9%	**70.1%**	25.8%	23.7%	30.3%	**54.5%**	42.1%
	TradCoR=	24.3%	16.5%	21.0%	13.6%	23.3%	22.3%	20.2%
	TradCoR+	27.8%	13.4%	**53.2%**	**62.6%**	**46.4%**	23.2%	37.7%
Traditional from Europe (n=5731)	TradEU-	57.5%	60.6%	45.3%	49.9%	49.5%	**70.0%**	55.6%
	TradEU=	21.1%	25.5%	26.1%	22.6%	25.2%	17.1%	22.9%
	TradEU+	21.5%	13.9%	**28.6%**	**27.5%**	**25.4%**	12.9%	21.5%
Metal music (n=5765)	Metal-	83.2%	72.1%	**84.1%**	80.6%	75.9%	78.3%	79.0%
	Metal=	8.2%	13.0%	7.4%	9.3%	10.4%	9.2%	9.6%
	Metal+	8.7%	**14.9%**	8.5%	10.1%	**13.6%**	**12.6%**	11.4%
Pop (n=5886)	Pop-	20.1%	25.1%	**38.5%**	**39.5%**	25.7%	31.8%	30.0%
	Pop=	27.7%	26.6%	20.3%	26.9%	24.6%	27.8%	25.7%
	Pop+	**52.2%**	**48.4%**	41.2%	33.5%	**49.7%**	40.4%	44.3%
Rock (n=5898)	Rock-	29.1%	25.7%	32.3%	**57.9%**	30.5%	34.5%	34.9%
	Rock=	22.4%	22.7%	19.4%	17.6%	20.3%	25.4%	21.3%
	Rock+	**48.5%**	**51.6%**	**48.3%**	24.6%	**49.1%**	40.1%	43.8%
Hip Hop (n=5793)	HipHop-	**64.4%**	55.2%	60.0%	53.7%	**67.6%**	55.2%	59.4%
	HipHop=	21.1%	22.7%	18.2%	16.3%	17.0%	18.1%	18.9%
	HipHop+	14.5%	22.0%	21.8%	**30.0%**	15.4%	**26.7%**	21.7%

Note: Exact question: *On a scale from one to five, where one means "Not at all" and five means "Very much", how much do you like the following kinds of music?*

The results are weighted. All the tables have a significant Cramer's V (p< 0.001), indicating a significant relationship between countries and music tastes.

Table 2 Tastes for classical music, Jazz, traditional music from country of origin and from another European country, pop, rock and hip hop by level of education

% within educational level		Lower secondary education or less	In-between lower and higher secondary education	Higher secondary education (university entrance requirement)	Tertiary education	Total
Classical music (n=5747)	Classical-	43.7%	46.7%	42.0%	27.3%	37.6%
	Classical=	22.0%	21.5%	24.2%	26.1%	24.0%
	Classical+	34.3%	31.8%	33.8%	**46.6%**	38.4%
Jazz (n=5825)	Jazz-	55.7%	49.5%	45.5%	36.7%	44.8%
	Jazz=	19.6%	23.8%	25.6%	27.2%	24.7%
	Jazz+	24.7%	26.7%	28.9%	**36.1%**	30.5%
Traditional from CoR (n=5865)	TradCoR-	22.8%	46.4%	41.3%	50.0%	41.8%
	TradCoR=	15.9%	22.7%	17.9%	23.0%	20.3%
	TradCoR+	**61.2%**	30.9%	40.8%	**27.1%**	37.9%
Traditional from Europe (n=5674)	TradEU-	49.5%	57.6%	54.9%	58.0%	55.5%
	TradEU=	21.0%	23.0%	23.2%	23.6%	22.9%
	TradEU+	**29.4%**	19.4%	21.9%	18.4%	21.6%
Pop (n=5826)	Pop-	43.1%	25.3%	28.8%	25.9%	29.9%
	Pop=	20.1%	26.1%	24.7%	29.3%	25.8%
	Pop+	**36.8%**	48.6%	46.5%	44.8%	44.3%
Rock (n=5836)	Rock-	48.2%	33.2%	36.6%	27.3%	34.7%
	Rock=	18.2%	21.3%	20.1%	23.8%	21.3%
	Rock+	33.5%	45.5%	43.4%	**48.9%**	43.9%
Hip Hop (n=5736)	HipHop-	71.8%	58.1%	49.2%	60.2%	59.3%
	HipHop=	13.4%	20.4%	19.7%	20.5%	18.9%
	HipHop+	**14.8%**	21.5%	31.2%	19.3%	21.7%

Note: The results are weighted. All the tables have a significant Cramer's V (p< 0.001).

Table 3 Tastes for classical music, traditional music from country of origin and from another European country, metal music, pop, rock and hip hop by age band

% within age bands		34 and less	35-54	55 and more	Total
Classical music (n=5919)	Classical-	51.8%	36.9%	28.1%	37.7%
	Classical=	23.5%	27.1%	20.7%	23.9%
	Classical+	24.7%	36.0%	51.2%	38.4%
Traditional from CoR (n=5925)	TradCoR-	52.6%	47.4%	28.6%	42.1%
	TradCoR=	18.7%	20.6%	20.8%	20.2%
	TradCoR+	28.7%	32.0%	50.5%	37.7%
Traditional from Europe (n=5731)	TradEU-	63.8%	57.7%	47.0%	55.6%
	TradEU=	21.1%	22.2%	24.9%	22.9%
	TradEU+	15.1%	20.0%	28.1%	21.5%
Metal music (n=5767)	Metal-	74.2%	74.9%	87.5%	79.0%
	Metal=	11.2%	11.1%	6.5%	9.6%
	Metal+	14.6%	13.9%	6.0%	11.4%
Pop (n=5886)	Pop-	22.9%	19.2%	47.2%	30.0%
	Pop=	26.7%	26.6%	23.9%	25.7%
	Pop+	50.4%	54.3%	28.9%	44.3%
Rock (n=5897)	Rock-	31.8%	26.0%	46.8%	34.8%
	Rock=	21.3%	21.8%	20.8%	21.3%
	Rock+	47.0%	52.2%	32.4%	43.8%
Hip Hop (n=5795)	HipHop-	36.1%	57.2%	80.0%	59.4%
	HipHop=	22.2%	22.9%	12.0%	18.9%
	HipHop+	41.7%	19.9%	8.0%	21.7%

Note: The results are weighted. All the tables have a significant Cramer's V (p< 0.001).

Table 4 Tastes music by mobility groups

% within mobility groups		virtual trans-nationals	tourists	Trans-nationals	locals	visitors	returnees	
World music (n=5578)	World-	37.6%	41.9%	27.2%	**45.2%**	38.6%	38.4%	40.6%
	World=	33.2%	33.8%	39.8%	31.0%	36.2%	30.6%	33.1%
	World+	29.2%	24.3%	**33.0%**	23.9%	25.2%	**31.0%**	26.2%
Classical music (n=5686)	Classical-	38.7%	37.8%	25.4%	**40.4%**	39.9%	34.4%	37.7%
	Classical=	27.1%	24.7%	26.0%	21.7%	27.8%	21.9%	24.1%
	Classical+	34.2%	37.5%	**48.6%**	37.9%	32.3%	**43.7%**	38.3%
Jazz (n=5659)	Jazz-	46.6%	42.3%	33.5%	52.9%	40.7%	43.0%	45.1%
	Jazz=	26.0%	25.6%	25.6%	23.4%	26.5%	22.3%	24.6%
	Jazz+	27.4%	32.1%	**40.8%**	23.7%	32.8%	**34.7%**	30.3%
Traditional from CoR (n=5642)	TradCoR-	31.5%	**54.3%**	56.2%	28.5%	**54.3%**	35.4%	42.0%
	TradCoR=	16.7%	22.2%	22.0%	19.0%	20.8%	19.7%	20.2%
	TradCoR+	**51.7%**	23.5%	21.8%	**52.5%**	24.9%	**44.9%**	37.8%
Traditional from Europe (n=5504)	TradEU-	52.3%	**61.4%**	52.7%	53.1%	59.9%	49.4%	55.7%
	TradEU=	24.2%	21.7%	25.9%	23.1%	24.5%	21.4%	22.9%
	TradEU+	23.5%	16.9%	21.3%	23.8%	15.7%	**29.2%**	21.4%
Metal music (n=5544)	Metal-	82.6%	77.0%	77.0%	**84.9%**	66.4%	80.4%	78.8%
	Metal=	6.9%	11.2%	9.7%	6.6%	14.4%	9.0%	9.5%
	Metal+	10.5%	11.8%	13.4%	8.5%	**19.2%**	10.6%	11.6%
Pop (n=5659)	Pop-	30.9%	22.2%	23.4%	**39.2%**	20.5%	35.5%	29.8%
	Pop=	25.2%	29.4%	31.6%	22.5%	26.7%	22.3%	25.7%
	Pop+	44.0%	**48.3%**	44.9%	38.3%	**52.8%**	42.2%	44.5%
Rock (n=5665)	Rock-	**47.5%**	25.4%	20.9%	**46.4%**	20.5%	40.6%	34.8%
	Rock=	19.4%	22.4%	26.3%	20.7%	22.7%	18.3%	21.3%
	Rock+	33.1%	**52.2%**	**52.8%**	32.9%	**56.8%**	41.1%	43.9%
Hip Hop (n=5572)	HipHop-	52.6%	59.7%	55.1%	**67.7%**	45.8%	60.4%	59.4%
	HipHop=	17.6%	22.2%	22.6%	16.2%	22.7%	14.8%	19.1%
	HipHop+	29.7%	18.1%	22.3%	16.1%	**31.5%**	24.8%	21.5%

Note: The results are weighted. All the tables have a significant Cramer's V (p< 0.001).

Let us now examine differences in food tastes. As table 5 indicates French cuisine is unevenly popular across countries and is comparatively less liked by Romanians and Brits. Spaniards and Danes appreciate it to a greater extent. Spanish cuisine is much more appreciated by Italians than by the others. Italians also like cuisine from North and Central Europe more than people of the other nationalities. Cuisine from the South of Europe is particularly appreciated by Danes and Germans. Mexican cuisine is more often mentioned by Spanish respondents. Turkish cuisine is appreciated by Romanians to a greater extent, possibly because of a shared Ottoman background. Brits particularly like Asian cuisine, probably due to their links with India. A taste for South-American and Caribbean cuisine is also overrepresented among the Brits. Interestingly almost a third of Italians don't like foreign cuisine whereas only 2% of Germans and 5% of Brits share the same opinion.

All food tastes go along with significant differences between the levels of education (except North and Central European cuisine). The least educated tend to appreciate less foreign cuisine compared to the other groups of education and the relationships are not always 'linear'. For some cuisines, the second group of education (In-between lower and higher secondary education) shows some greater appreciation. Table 6 shows the relationships between French, Italian, Asian cuisines and level of education, as they are the strongest. French cuisine is much more enjoyed by people with tertiary degree than people with fewer educational resources. Asian cuisine follows the same pattern but Italian cuisine is most appreciated by the second group of education. Table 6 also indicates that around a third of those with at maximum lower secondary education don't enjoy foreign food.

Age seems to be associated with food tastes (table 7). A preference for French cuisine is overrepresented among people aged of at least 55. On the contrary the younger generations are characterized by a taste for Asian cuisine. Italian and Mexican foods tend to be appreciated to a lesser extent by the older generations but are not most popular among the youngest. Some dislike for foreign cuisine characterizes 21% of those who are older than 54 years.

Let us have a look at the association between mobility practices and food tastes. Among the transnationals each of the foreign cuisines shown in Table 8 is most likely to be enjoyed more than in the rest of the sample. The tourists tend also to enjoy various foreign cuisines. In comparison the locals are characterised by an overrepresentation of people who don't like foreign food (27% of the locals). The virtual transnationals represent the second group to dislike foreign food but they tend enjoy Italian food. 45% of the visitors tend to appreciate Asian food. They tend to like it more than other European cuisine such as French cuisines. As previously the links between tastes and sub- or supra-identity is not very strong with a quite a few associations being insignificant. Tastes seem more related to mobility practices than to identity.

Table 5 Foreign food tastes by country

(n=5658 except Italian and Spanish cuisines)	DK	DE	IT	RO	SP	UK	
French cuisine	21.4%	16.8%	19.1%	9.9%	21.2%	15.3%	17.5%
Italian cuisine (n=4692)	45.0%	63.8%	NA	52.5%	47.8%	42.0%	50.1%
Spanish cuisine (including cuisine from Malta) (n=4675)	12.2%	12.2%	23.5%	7.8%	NA	10.3%	13.4%
Cuisine from North and Central Europe (Austria, Belgium, Czech, Germany, Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Swiss)	7.5%	8.0%	10.3%	7.9%	6.1%	2.3%	7.0%
Cuisine from the South of Europe (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Albania)	10.5%	18.5%	6.7%	7.2%	3.5%	4.1%	8.4%
Cuisine from Baltic and Nordic countries (Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Sweden, Iceland, Norway)	3.5%	.7%	1.1%	.5%	.2%	.1%	1.0%
Mexican cuisine	5.3%	3.0%	5.2%	1.7%	10.9%	5.2%	5.3%
Turkish cuisine	4.2%	4.5%	2.4%	12.5%	2.1%	1.7%	4.3%
Asian cuisine	26.8%	36.8%	21.8%	12.5%	26.0%	61.6%	31.5%
Anglo-Saxon	3.2%	2.2%	1.5%	1.5%	2.1%	1.0%	1.9%
South-American and Caribbean	.7%	2.8%	4.8%	1.1%	6.4%	4.7%	3.5%
African cuisine	1.2%	2.6%	3.6%	.9%	5.2%	2.5%	2.7%
No foreign cuisine	6.8%	1.7%	29.7%	12.7%	18.6%	5.4%	12.5%

Note: Exact question: *Please think about foreign cuisine, i.e., all which is originally from outside [CoR]. Which national cuisines do you like best? Multiple answers possible (up to 3 answers).* The results are weighted. All the tables have a significant Cramer's V (p< 0.001).

Table 6 Tastes for French, Italian, Asian cuisine and no taste for foreign cuisine by the level of education

(n=5596, except Italian cuisine)	Lower secondary education or less	In-between lower and higher secondary education	Higher secondary education (university entrance requirement)	Tertiary education	
French cuisine	12.7%	13.6%	15.4%	23.2%	17.6%
Italian cuisine (n=4635)	32.4%	54.3%	51.2%	54.9%	50.2%
Asian cuisine	23.0%	32.0%	29.8%	36.2%	31.4%
No foreign cuisine	33.1%	6.1%	12.1%	5.4%	12.5%

Note: The results are weighted. All the tables have a significant Cramer's V (p< 0.001).

Table 7 Tastes for French, Italian, Mexican, Asian cuisine and no taste for foreign cuisine by age bands

(n=5658 except Italian cuisine)	34 and less	35-54	55 and more	
French cuisine	10.2%	17.6%	23.0%	17.5%
Italian cuisine (n=4694)	50.6%	55.3%	44.1%	50.2%
Mexican cuisine	6.7%	7.5%	2.0%	5.4%
Asian cuisine	38.1%	34.7%	23.0%	31.5%
No foreign cuisine	6.5%	8.9%	20.9%	12.5%

Note: The results are weighted. All the tables have a significant Cramer's V (p< 0.001).

Table 8 Tastes for French, Italian, Spanish, South European, Asian cuisine and no taste for foreign cuisine by age bands

(n=5432 except Italian and Spanish cuisines)	Trans-nationals	Virtual transnationals	Visitors	Tourists	Locals	Returnees	All
French cuisine	25.9%	10.1%	15.8%	21.3%	13.4%	19.8%	17.5%
Italian cuisine (n=4514)	56.4%	54.5%	54.3%	54.3%	39.9%	50.6%	50.1%
Spanish cuisine (n=4474)	16.0%	9.7%	14.4%	15.9%	10.3%	12.7%	13.3%
South EU	9.8%	5.7%	7.6%	12.2%	7.5%	5.0%	8.5%
Asian cuisine	43.3%	29.6%	44.7%	31.5%	24.0%	29.5%	31.4%
No foreign cuisine	1.7%	15.0%	3.8%	4.9%	26.9%	9.9%	12.4%

Note: The results are weighted. All the tables have a significant Cramer's V (p< 0.001).

Cultural divisions in Europe

Now that we have a clearer idea of music and food tastes, we will assess what the main cultural divisions are in Europe. In the following section, we will unravel the main oppositions in terms of tastes that differentiate Europeans one from another.

Multiple Correspondence Analysis

In order to obtain the main dimensions structuring the European space of tastes, we will perform multiple correspondence analysis. This method, which is the same as the one used in Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1979), is much valued to provide a picture of the organization of tastes in Europe and their relationships to mobility practices, identities and social space. Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) can be conceived as the equivalent of principal component analysis for categorical data, e.g. with a finite number of categories or modalities (Le Roux & Rouanet 2004). This method is a geometric approach that conceptualizes multivariate datasets as clouds of points in an Euclidean space. The analysis is performed by investigating two clouds, the cloud of modalities and the cloud of individuals.

MCA allows an emphasis on individuals. Compared to standard Factor Analysis that mainly focuses on variables, it is possible to interpret people's distribution in the cloud according to their tastes and practices because one is not limited to the study of underlying structures. Next to the active variables (those that construct the space), MCA permits to implement supplementary variables in the constructed space that help to understand it further. MCA does not then reify variables as agents instead of individuals, which is, according to Manzo (2005), one of the main problems of quantitative empirical sociology.

As Rouanet, Ackerman and Le Roux put it (2000), Bourdieu – who first popularized this technique in the sociology of culture - stressed its relational character (on relational techniques, see also Emirbayer 1997; Mohr 1998). Hence, he strongly objected to linear models that tend to hide the system of relations behind the causal link between a dependent variable and an independent one. Although it was put aside for long partly because of a dominant postpositivism, there has been a striking revival of this geometrical technique over the last decade (e.g. Bennett et al. 2009; Prieur, Rosenlund & Skjott-Larson 2008).

Given its relational features, MCA is certainly appropriate to test a correspondence between the space of tastes and practices and social space (Wuggenig 2007). The idea that reality is relational is central to the understanding that tastes and activities cannot be understood out of the social context that gives them meaning. MCA focuses on underlying dimensions, so that the findings can be interpreted in terms of relational differentiation that does not lean too heavily on the specific items used (Abbott 1988; Atkinson 2011). This also has an indirect consequence: since the relations between tastes can evolve, the structures (or in MCA terms the axes) that socially order them can also evolve. In this sense, it is not surprising that Bennett et al. (2009) found somewhat different cultural patterning in the UK compared to Bourdieu's results. However, this does not devalue Bourdieu's approach since the latter is able to account for historical changes. The value of MCA consists in being able to uncover and to visualize the complex

relationships between the different components of cultural participation that could not be unraveled with a one-dimensional cultural index.

Data and Variables

The analysis includes 20 active variables and 50 active modalities (i.e. categories of variables). 'Active' means that they contribute to the construction of the space of tastes. Other modalities are left 'passive'; this means that they are not used in the development of the analysis[7]. Typical passive modalities are missing answers, refusals to answer, 'other', etc. These should not be confused with the supplementary variables/ modalities which are variables that are inserted inside the cloud of modalities once MCA has been built to better understand the distribution of modalities and individuals. Socio-demographic items are usually used as supplementary variables to understand, for instance, how age can be related to an opposition between offline and online cultural participation. The position in the clouds indicates with which cultural practices and tastes age can be associated. These supplementary variables are often used as 'structuring factors': they structure the cloud of individuals not only by the mean points of their modalities but also by sub-clouds (showing their dispersion).

Table 9 recapitulates the active variables setting up the space. The variables already mentioned in this paper are used in addition to a variable measuring whether people follow sport in the media. 5649 individuals constitute the sample. Individuals who didn't give an answer to the questions with regard to music tastes and to food tastes have been excluded. The data have been weighted. Table 10 shows the supplementary variables and their associated frequencies for the active sample used in the MCA.

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[7] When this happens, a specific MCA is undertaken.

Table 9 Active variables

Music tastes	Food tastes
On a scale from one to five, where one means "Not at all" and five means "Very much", how much do you like the following kinds of music? • World music • Classical music • Jazz and Blues • Traditional and folk music from country of residence • Traditional and folk music from other European countries • Metal • Pop • Rock • Hip-Hop and R'n'B 1 don't like 2 Indifferent 3 Like	*Please think about foreign cuisine, i.e., all which is originally from outside [CoR]. Which national cuisines do you like best? Multiple answers possible* • French cuisine • Italian cuisine • Spanish cuisine (+ Malte) • South European • Baltic and Nordic cuisine + North and central European cuisine • Turkish cuisine • Anglo-Saxon cuisine (only 2% but results don't change with or without) • South-American and Caribbean cuisine + African cuisine (including South-Africa) • Asian cuisine • Mexican cuisine 1 yes 2 no
Follow sports in the media Based on the two following questions: *Do you, in general, follow sports in the media?* No Yes, at least once a week Yes, less regularly *And do you follow sports on an international level or in another country (e.g. watching matches of the German Bundesliga or the Formula-One world championship)?* No (I don't follow sport on an international level) Yes, at least once a week Yes, less regularly NOTE. The question was only asked to those who watch sports in the media 1 No sport Tv 2 No sport International but sport 3 Sport international and more local	

Table 10 Supplementary variables for the MCA

Age bands	Gender	Education
24 and less (11.9)	Men (48.9)	Lower secondary education or less (19.8)
25-34 (14.6)	Women (51.1)	In-between lower and higher secondary education (17.6)
35-44 (20.9)		Higher secondary education (24.6)
45-54 (17.6)		Tertiary (38)
55-64 (16.8)		
65 and more (18.2)		
Socio-professional Status	*Subjective income*	*Types of cross-bordering Europeans*
In full time paid work [(or away temporarily) (46.6)	We are living very comfortably on the money we have (13.8)	Virtual transnationals (7.5)
In part time paid work [(or away temporarily) (9.7)	We are living comfortably on the money we have (43.2)	Tourists (28.3)
In education [even if on vacation (8.4)	We make ends meet (29.6)	Transnationals (6.4)
Unemployed (6.9)	We find it difficult (9.5)	Locals (28.9)
Retired (22.9)	We find it very difficult (4.0)	Visitors (13.5)
Doing housework, looking after children or other persons (4.3)		Returnees (15.4)
[Other (e.g. permanently sick or disabled)] (1.3)		

Note: The percentages come from the active respondents included in the MCA.

Main cultural dimensions in the European space of tastes

The first step in a specific MCA consists in choosing the number of axes that properly define the space of cultural profiles. The modified rates[8] indicate that one axis is not sufficient (25%), whereas taking the five first axes brings explained variance up to 67%. We will then analyse and interpret the first five axes which reflect the main cultural dimensions in the European space of tastes. In order to do so, two tools can be useful. First, the modalities that contribute more than average to an axis should be identified: they guide us in the interpretation and the labelling of the axes. The average contribution of a modality is 100/50 or 2. Each modality having a contribution equal to or higher than 2% contributes significantly to the (formation of the) axis and gives us some information about its meaning. Second, two-dimensional figures can also be used to assess the location of these most contributing modalities and their relations with other relevant modalities. These graphs illustrate the relations between relevant modalities in a more understandable way than graphs representing more dimensions.

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[8] These rates give a better assessment of the importance of axes (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004, pp. 200–201).

Table 11 Eigenvalues and modified rates of the most important axes

Number	Eigenvalue	Percentage	Modified rates	Cumulated modified rates
1	0.1017	6.75	24.7%	24.7%
2	0.0983	6.52	22.4%	47.0%
3	0.0735	4.88	9.1%	56.1%
4	0.0638	4.24	5.5%	61.6%
5	0.0626	4.15	5.1%	66.6%

Axis 1: musical openness versus localness, see Figure 1

We start here by interpreting axis 1. If you have a look at the significant modalities, we see that there are 13 modalities from 7 variables that contribute more than average to the orientation of the first axis. They account for 80.6% of the variance in that axis. These modalities refer all to music tastes.

We can now have a look at Figure 1 who shows modalities contributing to 35% of the variance on axis 1 in the two-dimensional space created by this axis and axis 2[9]. Figure 1 includes then more modalities than the 13 most contributing modalities (which contribute to 26% of the variance on axis 1: 13/50) and shows how some food choices can be linked to music tastes on the right and on the left of the axis 1. When two modalities from different variables are close to each other, it means that people who chose one tended to choose the other. When two modalities from the same variable are located near each other, this means that respondents who selected one of the categories tend to have the same patterns of choice (as defined by the plane 1-2) than those who selected the other.

Axis 1 illustrates a tension between a taste for diverse music genres and, especially metal, rock and hip hop, on the left and a dislike of most genres with the exception of an appreciation of traditional music from country of residence on the right. It is worth noting that classical music has a very limited contribution to axis 1. Therefore axis 1 refers more to the wideness of the musical repertoire people listen to than to the highbrow nature of their tastes.

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[9] Note that we have chosen here to represent spaces created by axes which succeed one another in terms of the importance of their eigenvalue. For instance, axis 1 is represented in its relation with axis 2. However, it is possible to illustrate the interactions between axes 1 and 3, for instance.

Figure 1 Modalities contributing to 35% of the variance on axis 1
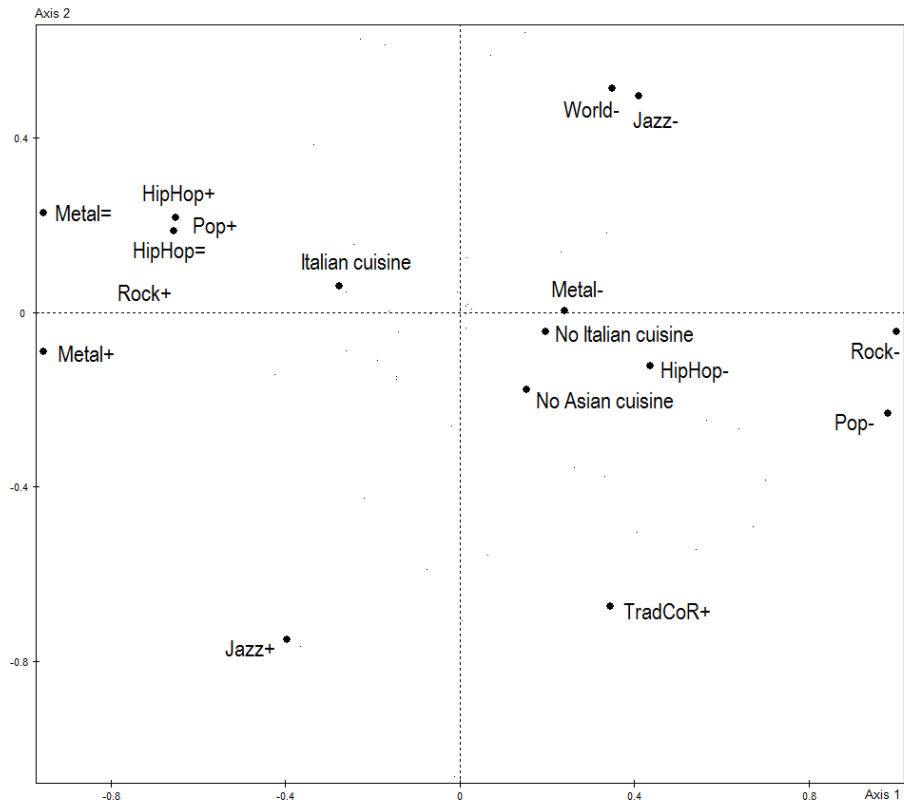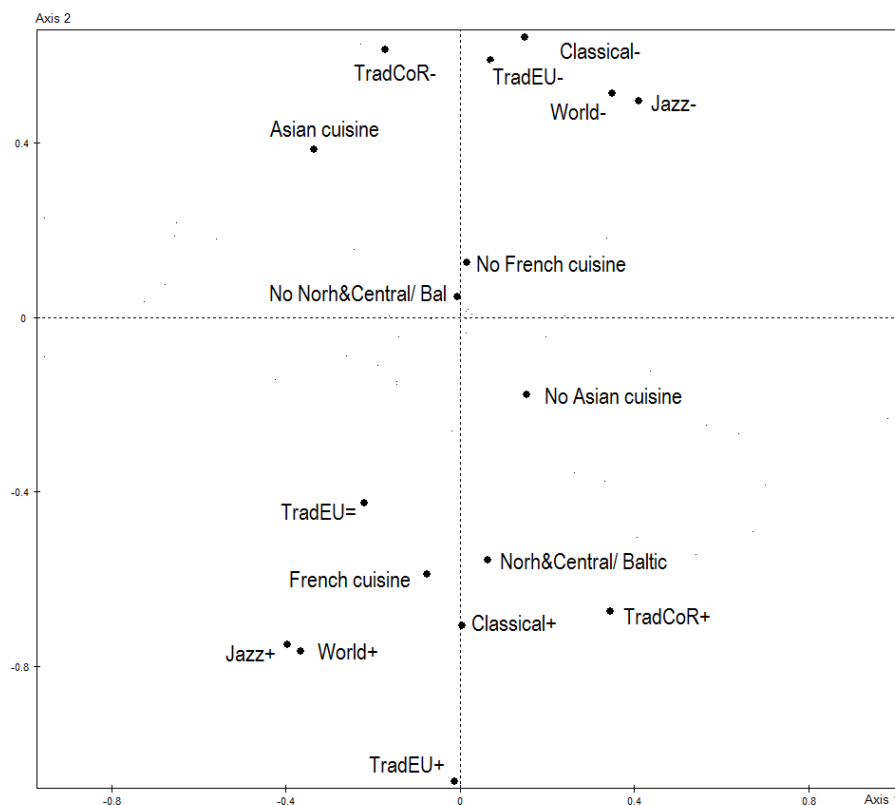
Axis 2: Highbrow Europe-oriented profile and lowbrow orientation, see figure 2

There are 13 modalities from 7 variables that contribute more than average to the orientation of the first axis. They account for 90.7% of the variance in that axis. Most of the variables contributing more than average are related to music preferences; however, enjoying Asian (at the top) or French (on the bottom) cuisine does significantly contribute to axis 2. As previously Figure 2 shows the distribution of most relevant modalities to axis 2 but doesn't limit itself to the ones whose contribution is above average. Figure 2 shows then the same space as Figure 1 but focuses on axis 2 this time.

At the top, can be found a rejection of classical music, of traditional music both from country of residence and another European country, of world music and of jazz but a preference for Asian food. At the bottom, the opposite profile seems to emerge. A taste for traditional music from another European country turns to be very important, alongside enjoying classical and world music, traditional from CoR and Jazz. In terms of food, French and Northern, Central European and Baltic cuisines are appreciated. This could reveal an opposition between a highbrow Europe-oriented profile and a more lowbrow orientation.

Figure 2 Modalities contributing to 35% of the variance on axis 2

Axis 3: Love for highbrow European cuisine & Indifference and rejection of traditional and popular music versus Love for traditional and popular music & dislike of highbrow foreign cuisine, see figure 3
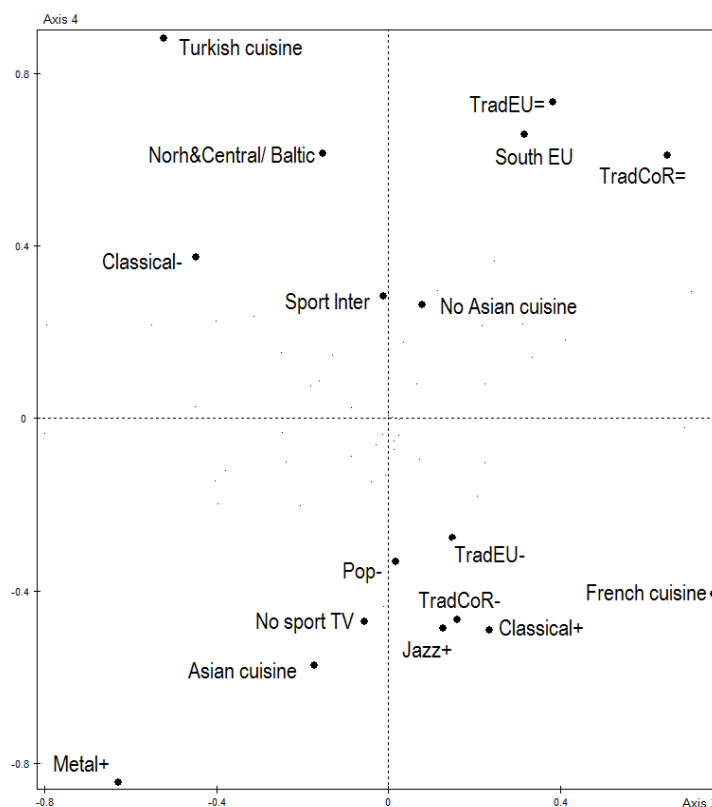
There are 15 modalities from 10 variables that contribute more than average to the orientation of the first axis. They account for 72.8% of the variance in that axis.

At the top, French cuisine seems to be accompanied by mixed feelings about a rather broad range of music tastes and a rejection of hip hop. French cuisine goes along with Italian food this time. At the bottom, this time classical music and jazz are not associated with traditional music but metal music, pop and hip hop. Italian cuisine is not enjoyed here.

Figure 3 Modalities contributing to 35% of the variance on axis 3
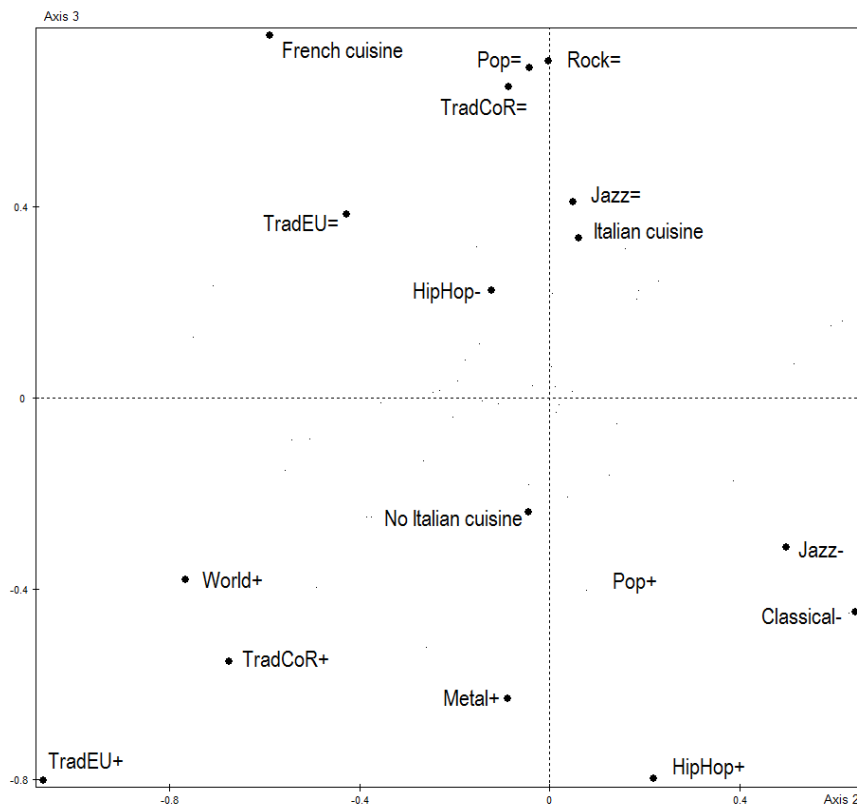
Axis 4: forms of cultural proximity, see figure 4

There are 13 modalities from 9 variables that contribute more than average to the orientation of the first axis. They account for 66.7% of the variance in that axis.

At the top are located a preference for Turkish cuisine, Southern and Northern European cuisines, a rejection of classical music and the category related to following sport at an international level in the media. At the bottom can be found an appreciation of different forms of music, including metal, jazz and classical, a taste for Asian and French cuisine and no sport in the media. A look at the Figure 9 (see further below) helps us to understand further this distinction. It enables us to better understand axis 4, which seems to reflect cultural proximity coming from the past. Romania, which was part of the Ottoman Empire, is attracted to Turkish cuisine. It also enjoys other European Northern and Southern food. The UK's favourite food is Asian food, which includes Indian cuisine. This mirrors that close links tied between India and the UK. Given the other cultural variables present in this area, it could be postulated that the bottom of the axis reflects national subculture. More generally this axis could arguably be more influenced by migration patterns or background than by socio-economic variables, as we will see below.

Figure 4 Modalities contributing to 35% of the variance on axis 4

Axis 5: European versus non-European tastes, see figure 5

There are 13 modalities from 9 variables that contribute more than average to the orientation of the first axis. They account for 77.3% of the variance in this axis.

Tastes for European vs. non-European food seem to structure the fifth axis, with at the top a preference for South-American, Mexican, Asian foods and at the bottom an appreciation of Anglo-Saxon, French, South-European, and Italian cuisines.

Figure 5 Modalities contributing to 35% of the variance on axis 5
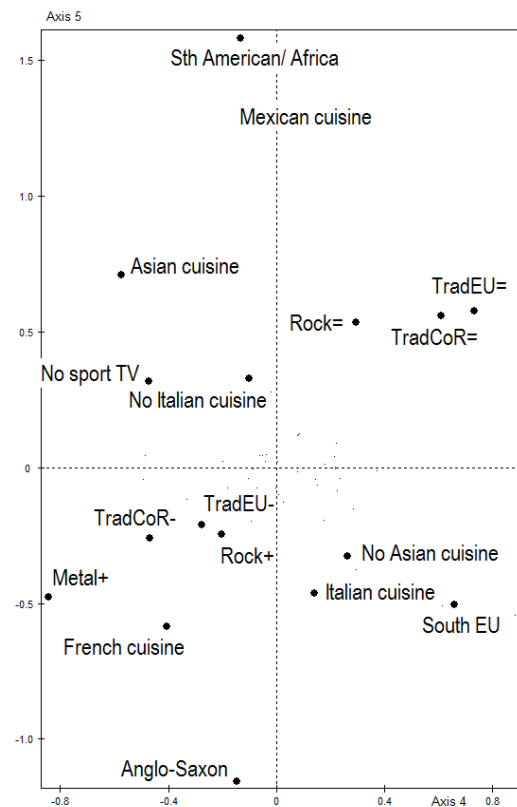
Exploration of the cultural space

Let us investigate further the differences between Europeans when it comes to tastes and assess the relations between tastes and socio-demographic background. Figure 6 shows the location of the variables of gender, age, education, socio-professional status, and subjective income in the plane formed by the axes 1 and 2. The structures are exactly the same as those identified before. As a reminder, axis 1 opposes an orientation towards localness in terms of music tastes (positive coordinates) to a tendency to be more open to musical diversity (negative coord.) and axis 2 a lowbrow more cosmopolitan profile (positive coord.) to a highbrow Europe-oriented one (negative coord.).

Gender, being located near the intersection between the two axes, has almost no effect on both axes. It has actually no effect on the five first dimensions. In comparison *age* seems more relevant to understand the distribution of respondents in the cloud. The

strongest oppositions on axis 1 is between the categories '25-34' and '35-44' on the left and the age band '65 and more' on the right. More generally, people from 18 to 54 years-old are located closer to musical openness and people aged at least 55 to musical localness. On the second axis there is an even clearer link with age with the younger respondents situated at the top of the plane 1-2 and the older at the bottom. The greatest gap is between the youngest category and the oldest one. This means that young people tend to have a more lowbrow profile than to older people who are more inclined to have highbrow Europe-oriented tastes. Age has also a relation to axis 3 (see Figure 7). The generations above 44 years tend to have a closer affinity with a love for French cuisine and an indifferent attitude towards most music genres (except a rejection of hip hop), while the younger generations appear to enjoy more various (lowbrow) forms of music compared to highbrow European food. However the gap between them is much smaller than on axes 1 and 2.

Socio-professional status echoes some of the results associated with age. On axis 1 those in education (negative coord.) are opposed to the retired (positive coord.). However, there is also a fairly strong gap between those who have a full time job compared to the retired and also the person in charge of the housework. This shows that the positioning of individuals in the space might not only be linked to age and life cycles but also to some kind of withdrawal into the home. Axis 2 is more explicitly associated with age, by distinguishing people in education and retired. This is in line with what we have just seen about the effect of age. MCA is not designed to assess whether age and socio-professional have a distinctive impact, as it is not the aim of the technique. The variable appears barely linked to axis 3, although there doesn't seem to have an opposition between retirees and people in paid work but there is a very small one between retirees and housewives now. *Subjective income* turns to be more important to understand axis 3, with less well-put people closer to a large lowbrow music repertoire. Amateurs of Italian and French cuisine are wealthier (at least subjectively).

Education offers some insights about axis 1 and axis 3. The stronger opposition on both axes is between tertiary education on the left of the axis 1 and at the bottom of axis 3 and lower secondary education (or less) on the right of the axis 1 and at the top of axis 3.

To recap, in the upper quadrant on the left of Figure 6, can be found people whose musical openness is more oriented towards lowbrow genres. They tend to be young and in education, likely to obtain more cultural resources in a near future. In the lower quadrant on the right, are located educated middle-aged respondents professionally active who enjoy a more highbrow profile in their openness (visible in their preference for French cuisine). A highbrow profile drawing on more traditional and local cultural genres can be associated with older people with a lower level of education and with a smaller subjective income in the lower quadrant on the right. Musical lowbrow localness is to a lesser extent related to the socio-demographic variables investigated. Figure 7 shows that a taste for specific cuisine goes along with cultural and economic capital. Beyond the third axis, the associations with these variables become insignificant.

Figure 6 Age, Gender, Education, Socio-professional status, and Subjective income in plane 1-2 (cloud of modalities)
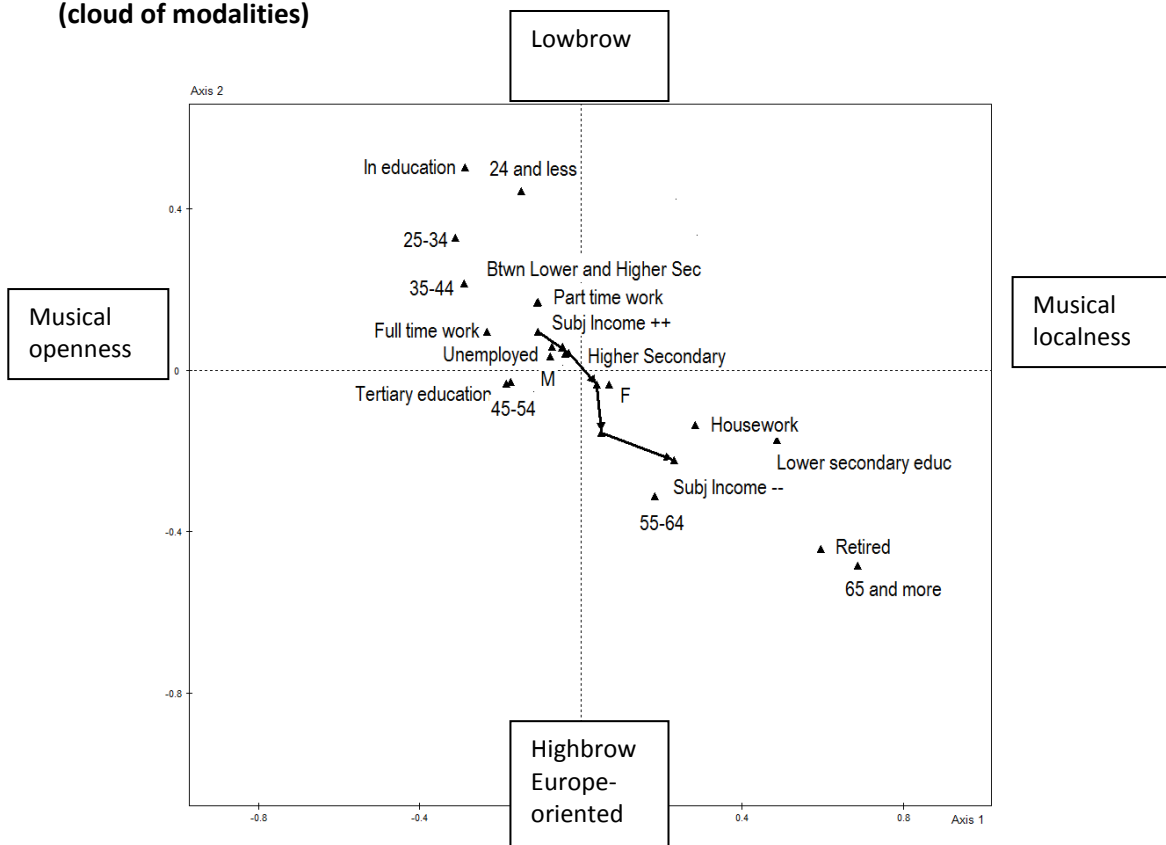

Figure 7 Age, Gender, Education, Socio-professional status, and Subjective income in plane 2-3 (cloud of modalities)
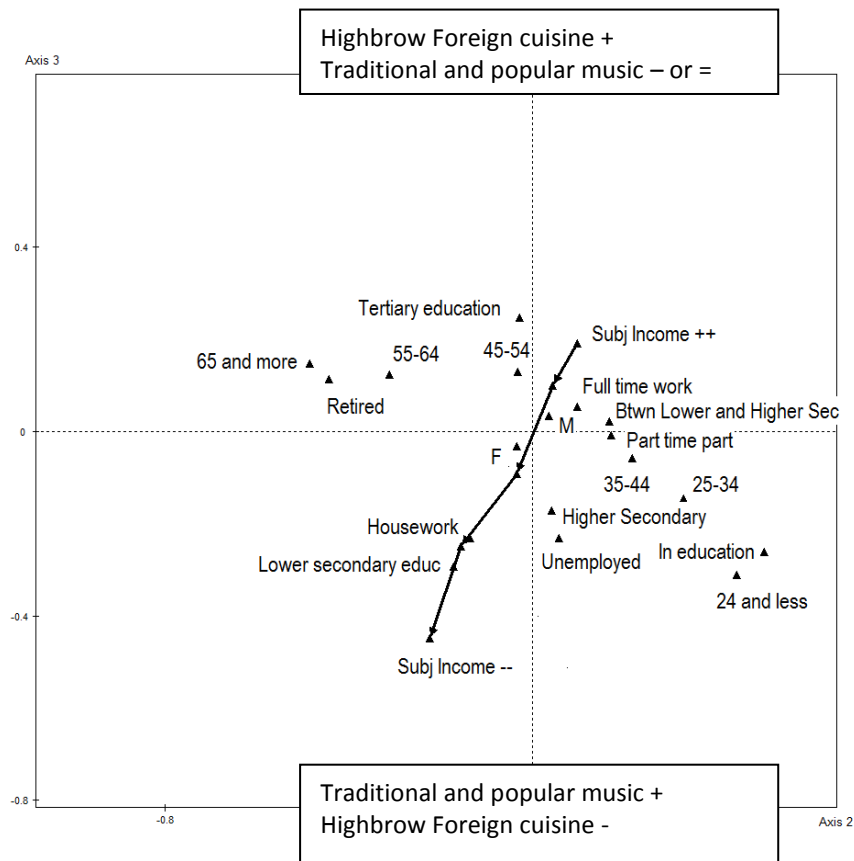
Figure 8 shows the distribution of the nationalities in the space 1-2. Germans are overrepresented in the upper quadrant on the left compared to other nationalities, i.e. among those who are characterized by musical openness more oriented towards lowbrow genres. Romanians and Italians are more likely to have the opposite configuration. However, the differences on the axis are quite small. The gaps are wider on the axis 2. It opposes the Britons, closer to the lowbrow orientation, to Italians who appear closer to a taste for French cuisine. Axis 3 (see figure 9) shows a small contrast between Romanians and Italians on one hand and Germans on the other. The position of Italians can be understood once we know that less than a third of Italians don't like foreign food. Also Italians and Romanians tend to appreciate traditional music. Germans' position reflects some affinity with French cuisine. Figure 9, already discussed above, also shows that the opposition between Romanians and Britons on axis 4 is stronger. Figure 10 shows that Germans and Romanians tend to be overrepresented among those who like European cuisine, compared to Britons and Italians.

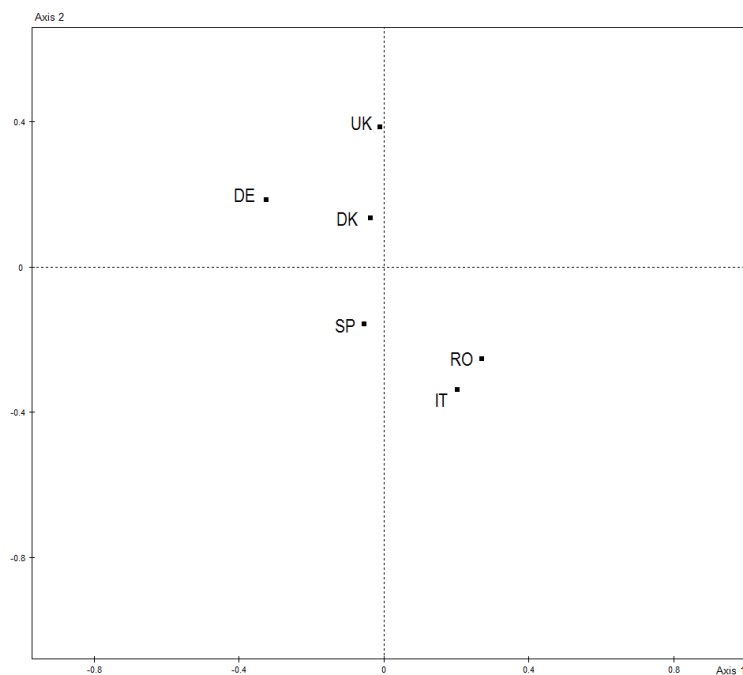**Figure 8 Countries in the space 1-2 (cloud of modalities)**

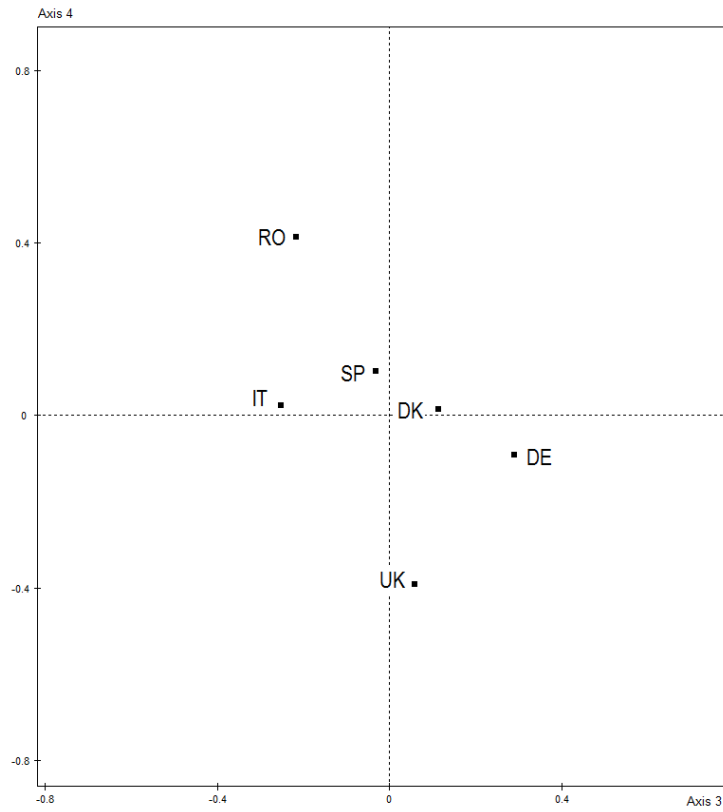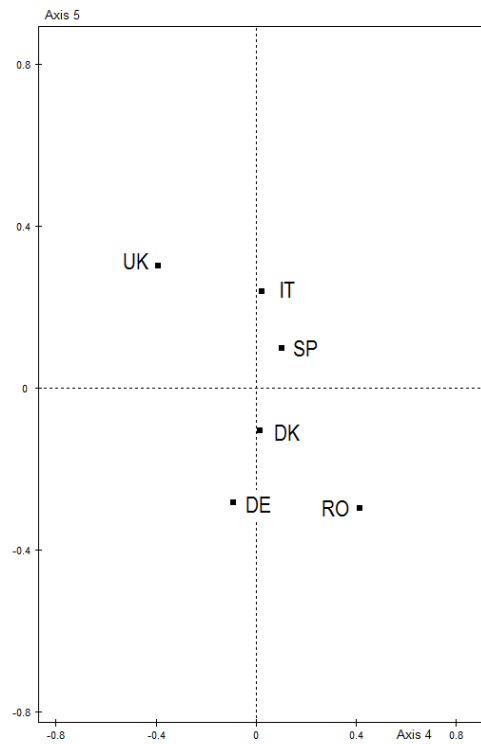**Figure 9 Countries in the space 3-4 (cloud of modalities)**

Figure 10 Countries in the space 4-5 (cloud of modalities)

The different types of sub- or supra-national identities appear to be relatively unrelated to the question of tastes in the European space. The categories within each variable don't show significant oppositions on any of the five axes. What is somewhat more interesting are the different positions of the types of cross-bordering Europeans. Figure 11 now shows the cloud of individuals. The meaning of the axes and the relations between the categories remain the same. Only the scale has changed, as the figure doesn't illustrate the modalities in the cloud of modalities but their mean-points in the cloud of individuals. This move towards the cloud of individuals enables us to use ellipses of concentration which encircle about 86% of individuals having selected a specific modality. Figure 11 indicates that there is a noticeable deviation between the visitors and the transnationals (here on the graph) on the left and the locals on the right given the partial overlapping of the two ellipses. Not very surprisingly, the locals are closer to the pole of localness, whereas the transnationals and the visitors are more characterised by musical openness. The differences between these mobility groups become more tenuous on the other axes. As figure 12 points out, there is a very small deviation between the visitors and the returnees on axis 2 and a slightly greater one between the transnationals and the virtual transnationals on axis 3.

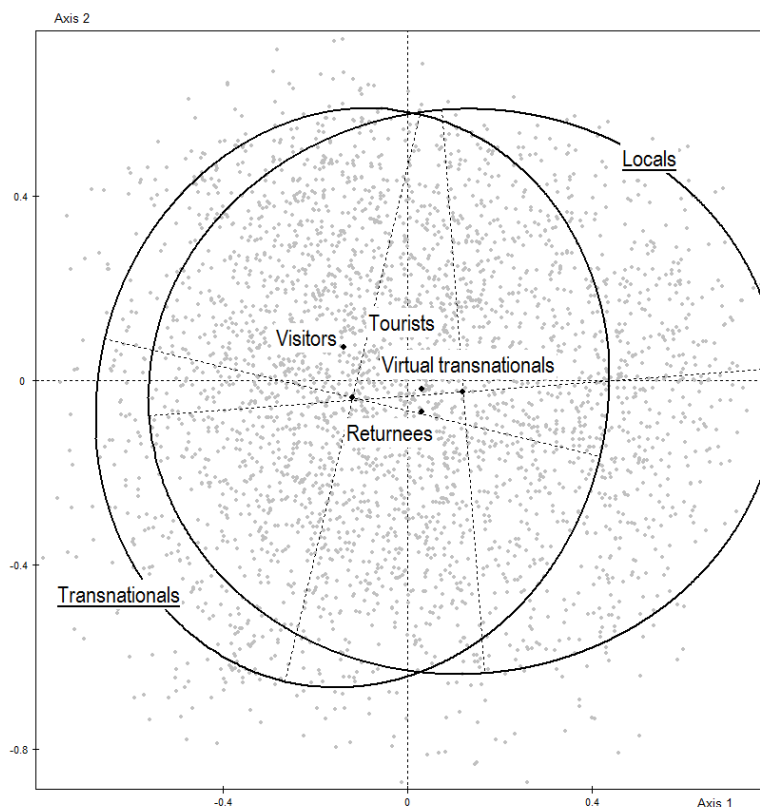**Figure 11 Types of cross-bordering Europeans in the space 1-2 (cloud of individuals 60% of the sample)**
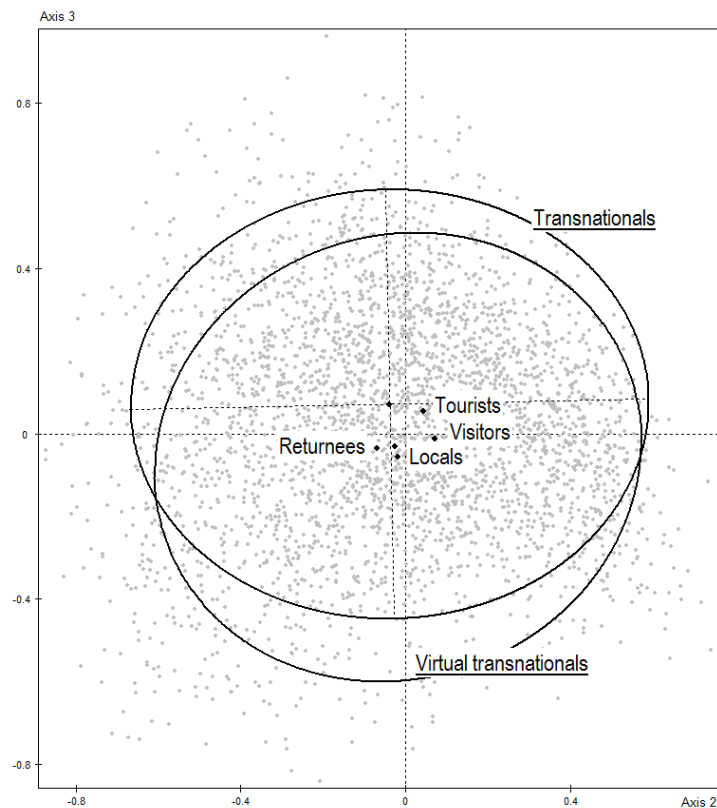
Figure 12 Types of cross-bordering Europeans in the space 2-3 (cloud of individuals 60% of the sample)

Conclusion

This chapter offers new insights in the making of cultural tastes. Compared to standard research in cultural sociology, EUCROSS provides us with exceptional data to evaluate the role of concrete or symbolic geographic boundaries in people's tastes. Although our analysis was limited to three areas of tastes (music, food, and sport), it showed quite different patterns compared to previous similar research focusing on only one country or region (e.g. Bennett et al.). The first axis is not strictly speaking dedicated to an opposition between cultural engagement versus disengagement but rather illustrates a tension between openness and localness especially in terms of music. We can assume that those who are more open tend to be more omnivorous but omnivorousness is not standing alone here and is entangled within another distinction between global and local. Similarly if there exist highbrow mechanisms of distinction, they are more complicated than often assumed and have different implications whether one is more a food or a music lover. By distinguishing a love for music from a culinary taste, axis 3 shows that specific areas of tastes can be more salient in some cultural profiles than in others. Axes 4 and 5 are also very interesting as they underline very well the role that cultural affinity among different cultural groups can play in what one likes, showing that the socio-economic background doesn't explain everything when it comes to cultural profiles. Axis 5 illustrates an interest for European or non-European culture (through food) but also an opposite attraction to what is close and familiar or to what is more exotic.

We have also seen that countries have to some extent different cultural profiles according to their proximity with culture within Europe or not but also according to their past interactions with other cultural groups. Mobility practices can also be related to tastes with the more mobile having more cultural resources to acquire a diversity of tastes. Our results underline again the link between education and openness, while both seem also associated with mobility practices. This tends to be in line with an idea of highly mobile cultural elites, opposed to more locally anchored and less cultural and economically rich groups.

In terms of identity the different configurations of tastes don't appear to be linked to specific forms of sub- or supra-national identity. Only specific tastes, such as those for World music or for Southern and Northern food, develop links with a sense of belonging to specific geographic areas.

In conclusion our results open new perspectives to think about cultural tastes and show the interest of large-scale research able to account for other forms of symbolic domination and distinction within the European space.

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