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Cultural globalization on the printed page: Stability and change in the proportion of foreign cultural products in European quality newspapers, 1960-2010

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Abstract

To bring empirical scrutiny to the often very general and theory-driven debates on cultural globalization and to broaden the geographical scope of previous studies on the topic, this paper presents an analysis of the changes in the relative weight of national and global culture in the

culture sections of quality European newspapers from 1960 to 2010. Through content analysis of newspaper articles, the paper examines how the composition of geographical origin of the cultural products discussed has changed over a half-century. The paper asks whether globalizing trends exist in newspaper coverage of culture or whether coverage of national culture remains dominant; to what degree is there variation, based on the art form discussed; and whether newspapers embedded in their national contexts differ from each other in these respects. The results show only a moderate increase in coverage of global products. However, clear trends were found that are associated with both the geographical origin of cultural products and art forms discussed in the articles, highlighting that post-1960s cultural globalization is best understood as being intertwined with the rise of popular culture and the corresponding decline of traditional – and very European – highbrow culture.

Keywords

Cultural globalization, culture, cultural flows, European culture, US culture, highbrow culture, popular culture, newspapers

Introduction

Cultural globalization is one of the key processes shaping cultural classifications and hierarchies in national contexts. One way to address the extent and national variation of cultural globalization empirically is to analyze media coverage of foreign cultural products. This paper provides both empirical details and a much-needed longitudinal perspective on discussions of cultural globalization by presenting a systematic content analysis of the prominence of international cultural products in the culture sections of quality European newspapers between 1960 and 2010. Thus, the paper contributes to extant literature – especially in relation to a seminal study by Janssen et al.

(2008) – on cultural globalization as a temporal process when examined through the trends in the newspaper coverage of cultural products with varying geographical origins. It shows that the ‘cultural globalization on the printed page’ cannot be fully grasped by the straightforward dichotomy between ‘domestic’ and ‘foreign’ since the geographical origin of the cultural product is highly significant. This underlines the need to understand cultural globalization as being intertwined with other aspects of the post-1960s cultural transformation that took place in the Western world, especially the rise and ever-increasing status of popular culture and the corresponding decline of classical highbrow culture.

Research questions

This paper concentrates on the visibility of foreign cultural products in quality European newspapers from five countries – Finland, France, Spain, Sweden and the UK – from 1960 to 2010. The purpose is to investigate cultural globalization through the coverage of foreign cultural products. Thus, following Janssen et al. (2008), the share of coverage of foreign cultural products is interpreted here as a measure of the level of cultural globalization. These criteria were used to shape our research questions: First, has the share of foreign cultural products discussed in the culture sections of quality European newspapers increased over the past 50 years? Second, does the geographical origin of the cultural product matter in terms of the shape of the trend? Third, what kinds of differences (if any) are there among cultural areas or art forms discussed in the newspapers’ articles? Fourth, what are the differences among the newspapers embedded in different national contexts?

To answer the research questions, a series of hypotheses will be tested. These hypotheses are built mainly on the basis of the study by Janssen et al. (2008) and its findings, and by retesting them with

a new data set, the paper adds to our knowledge on cultural globalization as seen through newspaper coverage.

Background and hypotheses

Both *globalization* and *culture* are central, but problematic, sociology concepts. It is no surprise that *cultural globalization* equals them in this sense, being a contested concept. While *globalization* has been defined as a ‘rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependencies that characterize modern social life’ (Tomlinson, 1999; 2), *cultural globalization* can be viewed as a dimension of globalization affecting peoples’ identities and experiences in their everyday lives (Tomlinson, 1999). On a larger scale, Appadurai (1996; 20) summarizes cultural globalization as a ‘tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization’. Various definitions exist, but typically, the assumption is that cultural globalization progresses and increases (for a review, see Turner and Holton, 2016).

Various attempts have been made to study cultural globalization empirically, one of which was to investigate cultural consumption and taste from a cosmopolitan point of view (see Lizardo, 2005; Pichler, 2012; Regev, 2013; Woodward et al., 2008). Globalized, cosmopolitan taste can be traced by measuring (e.g., through survey data) cosmopolitan cultural knowledge, tastes in world music, tastes based on preferences for foreign cuisines, or modes of actual cosmopolitan consumption (Meuleman and Savage, 2013; Rössel and Schroedter, 2015). Cosmopolitan cultural orientation and tastes also have been studied through qualitative methodologies (Cappeliez and Johnston, 2013; Savage et al., 2010; Wright et al., 2013).

One way to capture the temporal process of cultural globalization is to focus on longitudinal media data. This was done most notably by Janssen et al. (2008) in a seminal study investigating cultural

coverage in European and US newspapers. The study's focus was on the share of foreign cultural items (e.g., artists, artworks and other cultural products) vs. the share of domestic items discussed in selected quality newspapers from 1955 to 2005. The results showed that globalization – in terms of the coverage of foreign cultural items – had increased in the European newspapers studied (from Germany, France and the Netherlands), but not in the US (Janssen et al., 2008). Similarly, as all newspapers under scrutiny in the present study are European, we assume (H1) that the level of cultural globalization increases in our data.

When discussing homogenization or heterogenization of culture, the question of mobility in culture or cultural products surfaces, as cultural flows are not even. Taking newspaper coverage as a measure of cultural globalization, we can compare the situation to the study of news flows. Wu (2000) found several mechanisms that affect the directions of international news by analyzing international news flows in 38 countries. The main results were that trade volume between countries best predicted the volume of news flows from one country to another. The other factors that at least partly predicted global flows were population size, geographic size, economic power (measured by gross domestic product [GDP] and GDP per capita), the presence of an international news agency and geographical proximity to the country where the article was published. It is assumed that some of these factors apply to cultural journalism as well, with bilateral relationships and overall (cultural) power likely being the most notable.

One remarkable approach to investigating cultural flows from a longitudinal perspective has been the study of music charts (e.g., Achterberg et al., 2011; Bekhuis et al., 2013, 2014; Verboord and Brandellero, 2016). For instance, Bekhuis et al. (2014) studied top-100 pop-song lists in nine Western countries from the early 1970s to contemporary times, focusing on the geographic origin of the artist and the language used. The main finding was that after steady growth and years of

hegemony, the popularity of global – mostly US – pop music decreased slightly during the late 1980s and 1990s in many countries, while domestic popular music increased in popularity (Bekhuis et al., 2014). On the other hand, in their study covering the period from 1960 to 2010, Verboord and Brandellero (2016) found that pop charts clearly have become increasingly globalized in Western countries (except the US), and that songs from centrally located countries in terms of music production are more likely to become popular abroad. We do not concentrate only on music, but adopt the idea of certain countries having a culturally more central position than others (e.g., Janssen, 2008). Therefore, we think that beyond the dichotomy of domestic/foreign cultural products lie differences among the geographical origins of cultural products (H2). Considering our time span (1960–2010), we must consider the so-called Westernization or Americanization of culture (e.g., Tomlinson, 1999; Pieterse, 2003). We expect that the relative share of US cultural products will increase remarkably within our time span (H2a).

Considering the mobility of cultural products, the products themselves matter as well. Production varies regionally, and the distribution of different cultural products is uneven. The differences among geographical origins mentioned above very likely depend on the cultural area, at least on some level. Studies on pop charts show that pop music is a very global cultural area, and the US has dominated this genre (e.g., Achterberg et al., 2011; Bekhuis et al., 2013, 2014; Verboord and Brandellero, 2016). According to Janssen et al. (2008), several factors could be affecting the globalization level of a certain cultural area, varying from the format and distribution channels of the product to language dependency and the hegemony of certain countries. Some cultural products are easier to import and export than others, which is why we assume (H3) that clear differences exist among different cultural areas in their globalization levels.

A vast debate has ignited on the decline of classical highbrow arts (though little empirical evidence of this exists) amid the rise of new, emerging cultural genres (e.g., DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004; Purhonen et al., 2017). It can be argued that two major processes have been modifying the Western cultural world since the early decades of the 20th century: the rise of popular culture and increasing globalization. We tie these themes together and assume that the most relevant difference among cultural genres is whether they represent classical highbrow culture or popular culture (H3a). We also suppose that this is strongly intertwined with hypotheses H2 and H2a: Different cultural genres come from different parts of the world, and their trends in time develop hand in hand. The assumed decline of highbrow culture decreases the relative share of European cultural products, while the rise of popular culture is visible in the increase in US products.

The third kind of differences we expect to find from our data are among the newspapers studied (H4). While editorial decisions play a role, we emphasize that the newspapers are embedded in their national contexts. We assume (H4a) that there will be differences among newspapers according to the central or peripheral position of the countries in which they are published (Janssen et al., 2008). We think that the newspapers from the most central countries in terms of geographic size, population, widely spoken languages and even cultural centrality, i.e., the UK and France, cover fewer foreign cultural products than newspapers from more peripheral countries, e.g., Spain, Sweden and especially Finland. We also assume that several factors affect coverage of culture from certain countries in other nations' newspapers. One such factor would be trade (Wu, 2000), but we believe (H4b) that in the case of culture, common language and shared (colonial) history play a role as well (Janssen et al., 2008).

Contributions

Although our analysis was inspired by and follows to a certain degree the model of the study conducted by Janssen et al. (2008), our research makes three new contributions to extant literature. First, following the argument that cultural globalization is best researched from a scope that includes both central and peripheral countries, we broaden the geographical and cultural coverage of Janssen et al.'s (2008) analysis by using newspapers from different parts of Europe, ranging from two Nordic countries (Finland and Sweden) to central and large European countries (France and the UK) to one Mediterranean country (Spain). This brings the focus out of Central Europe and looks to the South and North. While Sweden is culturally less peripheral than Finland, the two Nordic countries are similar in many regards: Both are welfare states with similar cultural policy regimes and media-system models (Council of Europe, 2016; Hallin and Mancini, 2004). The UK, relatively liberal and market-oriented, both in terms of media-system model and cultural policy, has links to US culture due to a shared language, history and transatlantic connections (Wilford, 2007). France, a large and centrally located European country, represents a state-led, highly centralized cultural policy in which culture traditionally has been emphasized as a key element in national identity, including protectionist regulations against foreign cultural products (as exemplified by the idea of 'cultural exception' in global free-trade negotiations; see Council of Europe, 2016; Looseley, 2011). Finally, Spain, partly because of its late transition to democracy and its location in Southern Europe, can be considered, in comparison with France and the UK, to be a semiperipheral country. However, apart from the shared language, it has a remarkable colonial history and many links to the political and media systems of Latin America (Hallin and Papathanassopoulos, 2002).

Second, and as a more general argument, we argue that cultural globalization, at least when observed through media visibility, cannot be understood apart from the larger context of cultural transformation faced by Western countries in the latter half of the 20th century, namely the rise of (mainly US) popular culture and the decline of classical (European) 'highbrow' culture (cf.,

DiMaggio, 1987; Peterson, 1997, 2005; Purhonen et al., 2017). Thus, instead of examining our data through plain domestic/foreign divisions, we emphasize assumed differences between products originating in Europe, the US and elsewhere.

Third, we pay special attention to differences among cultural areas. While Janssen et al. (2008) scrutinized several features of different cultural areas, e.g., their methods of production (mass-produced or not), distribution (performance-based or recordings) and language-dependency, we concentrate mainly on one aspect: whether the cultural area represents classical highbrow arts or popular culture.

Research design

Newspaper data

From the perspective of the sociology of culture, the media data provide the researcher with a viewpoint on the dissemination of cultural classifications, legitimations and hierarchies (Heikkilä et al., 2017; Jaakkola, 2015; Janssen, 1999; Janssen et al., 2008, 2011). Collecting newspaper data is also one solution to the problem of finding suitable longitudinal data for sufficiently long periods of time and covering cross-national contexts (e.g., Peterson 2005; Reeves 2015). Cultural journalists can be considered influential gatekeepers and cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu, 1984; Smith Maguire and Matthews, 2014) -- selecting, representing and evaluating cultural products for their readers. Even if cultural journalism has faced some important changes and challenges over the past several decades (e.g., professionalization and, most recently, digitalization – see Jaakkola, 2015), the culture sections in quality broadsheet newspapers were a relatively stable institution in the latter part of the 20th century and, thus, an illustrative lens through which it is possible to study what counts as prestigious, legitimate taste (e.g., Bourdieu, 1993; Jaakkola, 2015; Janssen, 1999).

Therefore, from this perspective, an increase in the coverage of global culture in newspapers would signal not only an increase in cultural globalization as such, but also, and most of all, an increase in the legitimacy of, and value attributed to, global culture.

Newspaper data between 1960 and 2010 (from six time points – 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010) were collected and coded in a statistical matrix as part of a large-scale, international research project to analyze how the relationship between cultural and social stratification has changed in post-1960s Europe (see Purhonen et al., 2018, 2017). By purposively examining cultural changes over a rather long period of time (50 years), the data allow us to grasp the nature of the transformation of cultural hierarchies in many dimensions (globalization being one of them).

The newspapers included *ABC/El País* (hereafter *ABC/EP*), from Spain; *Dagens Nyheter (DN)*, from Sweden; *Helsingin Sanomat (HS)*, from Finland; *Le Monde (LM)*, from France; and *The Guardian (GU)*, from the UK. To control for the effects of seasonal variations in cultural coverage, the example of Riffe et al. (1993) and Janssen et al. (2008) were followed, and ‘constructed weeks’ were sampled for the study. Each research year was divided into thirds (January to April, May to August and September to December) with one full week randomly constructed for each, thereby totalling three weeks per selected year. This is considered enough for the sample, as Riffe et al. (1993) find that two weeks per year should be sufficient to avoid the problem of seasonal variation. The unit for the content analysis performed in this paper is an individual article, and the final size of the data is N=11,775. Because the origins of the cultural products – our measure of cultural globalization – were not possible to code in all articles in our sample, the effective sample size used in the analyses here is N=7322.

All newspapers analyzed can be regarded as nationally leading quality, or ‘elite’, papers with wide and comparable circulation levels (cf., Jaakkola, 2015; Janssen et al., 2008; Verboord et al., 2015). *HS* set the model for choosing the other papers. It has a moderate social-democratic tendency and is by far the most-read newspaper in Finland, with no actual competitors. Thus, the other newspapers were chosen with an eye toward *HS*. *GU* resembles *HS* both in its moderate centre-left tendencies and its circulation. *DN* is Sweden’s largest newspaper, and it also has a moderate centre-left voice. *LM* has the largest circulation of all French newspapers, and it shares moderate leftist political tendencies with the cases presented above. In Spain, *EP*, founded in 1976 just after Francisco Franco’s right-wing dictatorship ended, resembles the above newspapers in both political tendencies and readership size. Thus, for 1960 and 1970, we had to find a replacement for *EP*. With no moderate leftist options available in Spanish print media at the time, we chose the monarchist, but relatively liberal *ABC*. While not being nationally representative, the newspapers chosen form a large, geographically comprehensive take on quality European newspapers and cultural sections, providing a good source for evaluating the depth of cultural globalization (for more information on each newspaper, see Appendix Table 1). A noteworthy feature of our data is that they consist solely of items drawn from the ‘cultural sections’ of the newspapers we examine, not from possible articles on culture found elsewhere in the newspapers (unlike Janssen et al., 2008, 2011; or Schmutz et al., 2010).¹

After the newspaper data were collected in 2013–2014, the articles were coded by a team of 11 coders using ATLAS.ti software. The coding system included 41 variables, some of which were dichotomous, but most had several codes – up to 21. In addition to the main codes resulting from the coding process, some basic information was derived directly from the newspapers (e.g., the name of the newspaper and the year). Some variables were drawn from the coding system of Janssen et al. (2008, 2011) to allow for further comparisons.

Suitable inter-coder reliability tests were conducted (Krippendorff, 2004). The overall agreement percentage was 90.6, and Krippendorff's alpha was 0.71, which can be considered acceptable. However, there were expected differences in the level of inter-coder reliability among different codes and variables. Hence, the reliability of the variables used here is higher than in the coding system overall; the mean Krippendorff's alpha level of the variables used in this paper is 0.76. In the case of the most important variable for this paper, the cultural product's origin, Krippendorff's alpha is 0.77.

Variables

The variable defining the origin of the cultural product originally was defined as the country of origin of the first-mentioned original artist or piece of art in the article and was coded into 15 categories. There could be several cultural products discussed in the same article, but we coded only the first one. For the first analysis in this paper, the variable is used as a simple dichotomy separating domestic and foreign (including multinational) cultural products. For further analyses, however, the origin of the cultural product is recoded in four categories: domestic, other European, US and other world. The independent variables in the analyses are the year, the newspaper, the size of the article, the type of article, the primary cultural area discussed in the article and the format of the cultural product. All variables and their distributions are presented in Appendix Table 2.

The origin of the cultural product is used to measure the level of cultural globalization. The variable refers to the original artist or piece of art, not to the possible current performer. In this study, the focus is on the cultural product itself (e.g., the original composer of a symphony instead of the current conductor), not on the ways in which it is presented. The year and the newspaper are elementary independent variables in the analysis. A temporal approach is necessary, considering the

process-oriented nature of cultural globalization (H1, H2), and the different national contexts of the newspapers should not be underestimated (H4).

The primary cultural area originally was coded with 21 values, and for these analyses, it was recoded with eight: the seven most common – literature, music (with a distinction between classical and popular music), theatre, fine arts, film and TV – and all the other areas. We expect (H3) that there will be clear differences in the level of cultural globalization according to the cultural area or subgenre. We also use the primary cultural area as a recoded dichotomy – highbrow² vs. popular cultural area – following Janssen et al. (2011).

The format of the cultural product, referring to whether the article covers some sort of live event (e.g., concert, theatre play, etc.) or a recording (e.g., book, music record, etc.), is connected to H3 and the transportability of a cultural product. The cultural area itself does not explicitly reveal the format of the particular piece of art (e.g., the article on music can be about a live concert or a recording).

Two variables were used as control variables to account for the size and type of articles. The size of the article is related to the concept of ‘coverage’ used in this study. Besides the number of articles, we obviously also must consider the size of the article to account for coverage. Our measure of the size of an individual article is relative to the rest of the page. A relative measure is enough to adjust the size of the articles in the analysis. The type of article is used to distinguish among the most important article genres: aesthetically normative reviews (the core genre of traditional cultural journalism); news stories and, more specifically, reports/features; and other types of articles (for different classifications of the types of articles, see Jaakkola, 2015; Verboord and Janssen, 2015).

Methods

Besides presenting simple descriptive findings, we use multinomial logistic regression and binary logistic regression analysis. Multinomial logistic regression (MLR) is a form of logistic regression employed when the dependent variable has more than two categories. The results are presented as marginal effects, which make the comparisons more valid. According to the hypotheses of this study (especially H2), the use of multinomial, instead of binary, logistic regression analysis is justified because the latter could be used only to investigate the differences between domestic and foreign products. Our reason for using multinomial logistic regression here (in contrast with causal analysis in the strict sense) is mainly practical: It provides economical and effective means of examining the associations among the variables simultaneously. Finally, we turn the setting upside down and investigate the highbrow cultural areas (vs. popular ones) through binary logistic regression.

Results

First, we examined the proportions of domestic and foreign cultural products by year. These seemed to be relatively stable over the years, with only a slight increase in foreign cultural products (from 52.5% in 1960 to 58.1% in 2010) and a corresponding slight decrease in domestic products. Thus, this already suggests that the origin of the cultural product matters in a way that remains masked if the relationship between domestic and global products is inspected only through this simplifying dichotomy. Hence, Table 1 presents the trends by using a fourfold categorization of the country of origin.

Table 1. The origin of the cultural products according to the year (row percentages).

	Domestic	Other Europe	USA	Other	Total	N
1960	47.5	32.9	9.3	10.3	100.0	777
1970	46.7	31.7	9.2	12.4	100.0	1018
1980	50.3	27.9	11.0	10.8	100.0	925
1990	42.5	29.3	14.7	13.6	100.0	1246
2000	46.4	23.4	14.2	16.0	100.0	1834
2010	41.9	24.4	19.6	14.1	100.0	1522
Total	45.4	27.4	13.8	13.4	100.0	7322

Note: $p < 0.001$.

At least two substantial results are displayed in Table 1. First, domestic cultural products dominate the cultural pages throughout the time examined, with their share decreasing only slightly. Correspondingly, this means that the share of foreign cultural products does not increase markedly; thus, our first hypothesis (H1) gets only slight support. Second, the origin of the cultural product matters; thus, our second hypothesis (H2) is supported, and further in the sense that cultural products originating in the US doubled their share to 20% in 2010 (H2a). At the same time, the share of European cultural products decreased, accompanied by a slight increase in the proportion of articles on cultural products from elsewhere in the world ('other world' nevertheless remaining the smallest of the categories).

Next, Table 2 presents the origin of the cultural product according to cultural areas. As expected (H3), there are remarkable differences among the different cultural domains and even subgenres (in the case of music). Literature, theatre, TV³ and visual arts all have a clearly domestic orientation. In the case of literature and theatre, the most probable explanation lies in the language. In the case of visual arts, we might conjecture that arts exhibitions are more difficult to move across boundaries than, for instance, films. When it comes to TV, it might be that while the actual TV programs that are broadcast have an international orientation, articles written about TV concentrate on national

production. The articles on TV (when lists are excluded) are, compared with other cultural areas, more typically news or previews. It can be interpreted that news about TV usually is national or even local and that, for example, interviews are more easily done with domestic artists.

Unsurprisingly, cultural products in the domain of classical music originate mostly in European countries, generally in classical music and opera superpowers such as Germany, Austria and Italy. The coverage of popular music and film is more evenly distributed across different locations than several other cultural areas, but there is a clear tendency toward domestic and US cultural products. Very few high-culture items (literature, theatre, visual arts and especially classical music) covered in the culture pages originate in the US. This supports H3a, as the origin of highbrow and popular culture products clearly differ from each other.

Table 2. The origin of the cultural product according to the cultural area (row percentages).

	Domestic	Other Europe	USA	Other	Total	N
Literature	55.3	22.1	8.9	13.8	100.0	1823
Popular music	33.4	20.5	30.4	15.6	100.0	1081
Classical music	24.9	58.4	2.7	14.0	100.0	863
Film	31.0	24.3	30.2	14.6	100.0	898
Theatre	52.3	30.5	8.1	9.1	100.0	767
TV	63.0	10.6	19.2	7.2	100.0	292
Visual arts	52.5	27.3	4.6	15.6	100.0	520
Other	56.9	23.5	6.9	12.8	100.0	972
Total	45.4	27.5	13.8	13.4	100.0	7216

Note: $p < 0.001$.

According to the fourth hypothesis (H4), we expected that there would be differences not only among the origin of the product and the cultural areas, but also among the newspapers, published in their specific national contexts with their historical and linguistic particularities.

Table 3 shows that while the newspapers scrutinized concentrate largely on domestic cultural products, they have rather different orientations. The Spanish newspapers *ABC/EP* show the least interest in domestic culture, and a noteworthy feature is their rather high number of cultural products from outside Europe and the US. This is mainly due to the Spanish-language culture of Latin America, which is covered relatively often in Spanish newspapers. While in total, only 2.5% of cultural products discussed originate in ‘other America’ (i.e., parts of North and South America other than the US or Canada), in the Spanish papers, the share is 6.8%.

Sweden’s *DN* writes relatively often on European cultural products (most likely on high culture such as classical music and opera) and US cultural products (especially popular music and film). The United Kingdom’s *GU* has a high concentration of articles on domestic and US cultural products, offering a clear example of the importance of language in the transmission of culture. In the same vein, it covers less European culture than any other newspaper. Finland’s *HS*, in line with the other Nordic newspaper *DN*, covers less domestic culture, less US culture and more European culture than most other newspapers. Consequently, it not only has a highbrow orientation, but also is an example of a small-language area and a cultural periphery probably in need of greater foreign-product coverage than more central locations. France’s *LM*, like *GU*, concentrates widely on domestic culture, which fits well with the reputation of France as a culturally central and traditionally self-sufficient country. Thus, we can conclude that hypotheses (H4a) and (H4b) are supported: The smaller and more peripheral the country is, the more foreign coverage it tends to cover (as the Nordic newspapers exemplify), and language is essential (as demonstrated by the example of Spain’s *ABC/EP* and, from a different perspective, *LM* and *GU*).

Table 3. The origin of the cultural product according to the newspaper (row percentages).

Domestic	Other Europe	USA	Other	Total	N
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ABC/EP	42.5	25.9	13.7	17.9	100.0	1620
DN	43.5	29.5	16.2	10.9	100.0	1330
GU	48.8	20.8	17.5	12.8	100.0	1278
HS	43.0	33.7	10.9	12.4	100.0	1712
LM	50.6	25.3	11.7	12.4	100.0	1382
Total	45.4	27.4	13.8	13.4	100.0	7322

Note: $p < 0.001$.

As shown in Tables 1–3, the studied phenomenon is very complex. Multinomial logistic regression (MLR) analysis enables us to single out the effects of individual variables, or in the full model, to include all the variables in the same analysis, which means that co-effects are considered.

Table 4 shows the results of the MLR and clarifies the earlier findings above. In the full model, the year is mainly not statistically significant, but the results support the earlier ones: Other European cultural products become more unlikely in later decades, while US products become more common. Although the results are mainly not statistically significant or linear, H1 does not get support here. The year does not have a straight effect on the origin of the cultural product.

Table 4. The origin of the cultural product according to the year, newspaper, cultural area, format of the product, size of the article and type of the article. Average marginal effects (AME) and standard errors (SE) from multinomial logistic regression analysis. The reference category is "domestic".

	Domestic	Other Europe	USA	Other
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
<i>Year (reference: 1960)</i>				
1970	-.007 (.026)	.003 (.024)	.006 (.020)	-.001 (.019)
1980	.063* (.027)	-.044 (.024)	.004 (.020)	-.022 (.018)
1990	-.019 (.025)	-.015 (.023)	.025 (.019)	.009 (.018)
2000	.023 (.024)	-.055* (.022)	.008 (.018)	.024 (.018)
2010	-.019 (.024)	-.041 (.022)	.034 (.018)	.026 (.018)
<i>Newspaper (reference: ABC/EP)</i>				

DN	.024 (.021)	.026 (.020)	.014 (.014)	-.065*** (.015)
GU	.086*** (.021)	-.087*** (.018)	.037** (.014)	-.036* (.016)
HS	-.011 (.020)	.041* (.018)	.020 (.014)	-.050** (.015)
LM	.061** (.021)	-.015 (.019)	-.008 (.013)	-.039* (.016)
<i>Cultural area (reference: literature)</i>				
Popular music	-.240*** (.022)	.001 (.019)	.225*** (.018)	.014 (.017)
Classical music	-.338*** (.024)	.402*** (.024)	-.055*** (.010)	-.009 (.018)
Film	-.268*** (.021)	.033 (.019)	.210*** (.019)	.025 (.017)
Theatre	-.081** (.030)	.109*** (.026)	.025 (.017)	-.052** (.018)
TV	.062 (.035)	-.104*** (.023)	.096*** (.025)	-.053* (.023)
Visual arts	-.027 (.032)	.062* (.027)	-.027 (.015)	-.008 (.021)
Other	-.024 (.027)	.035 (.022)	.015 (.015)	-.026 (.018)
<i>Format of the product (reference: live)</i>				
Recording	-.016 (.019)	.026 (.016)	.039** (.012)	-.048*** (.013)

Note: Full model. Two control variables are included in the analysis but not reported: *the size of the article* and *the type of the article*. Log likelihood = -6967.3035 N = 5991 LR chi2 (66) = 1252.97 Prob > chi2 = 0.0000 Pseudo R2 = 0.0825. * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Compared with the reference category *ABC/EP*, there are several trends visible among the newspapers (H4). *GU* and *LM* are the most domestic-oriented newspapers, according to the centrality hypothesis H4a. Regarding the other Europe, typically the home of highbrow culture, *GU* orientates the least and *HS* the most toward it. *GU* is the only newspaper that has statistically significant results that consider the US, and this could be interpreted as supporting H4b. The US and UK have a common colonial history and share the language, which may explain it. The average marginal effects of the ‘other world’ are negative and statistically significant in all newspapers. This means that the reference category, Spanish *ABC/EP*, is the most oriented to the other world – and as we know, especially to Latin America.

Cultural area is a truly remarkable variable in this analysis. Compared with the reference category of literature, all areas except TV are less likely to be domestic. The least domestic area is classical music, followed by popular music and film. Classical music is very European, as expected. Other likely European cultural areas are theatre and visual arts, while TV is least likely European. Again, as expected, popular music, film and TV are highly US-based cultural areas, unlike classical music. These findings support both hypotheses H3 and H3a: There are clear differences among the culture areas – and differences between highbrow and popular culture.

The format of the cultural product differs interestingly by origin. As the reference category is live, referring to live shows such as concerts, the cultural products from the US are more likely recordings. Little surprisingly, the cultural products from the other world are more likely to be live shows.

We can conclude that the origin of cultural products is strongly connected to other developments in the field of culture, mainly to the decrease of (European) classical highbrow culture and the increase of (US) popular culture. To highlight this change, Table 5 presents the logistic regression analysis of highbrow (vs. popular) culture according to the year, newspaper and origin of the cultural product. The results are clear: Highbrow culture decreases in time, the impact of newspapers decreases when the year and the origin are adjusted, and there is a remarkable difference between cultural products originating from Europe and the US.

Table 5. Highbrow cultural area (versus popular) according to the year, newspaper and the origin of the cultural product. Conditional (CME) and average marginal effects (AME) and standard errors (SE) from logistic regression analysis.

	Unadjusted	Full Model
	<i>CME (SE)</i>	<i>AME (SE)</i>
<i>Year (reference: 1960)</i>		

1970	-.098*** (.019)	-.049* (.023)
1980	-.143*** (.020)	-.135*** (.024)
1990	-.172*** (.019)	-.129*** (.023)
2000	-.305*** (.017)	-.235*** (.021)
2010	-.299*** (.018)	-.253*** (.022)

Newspaper (reference: ABC/EP)

DN	-.024 (.015)	-.045* (.019)
GU	.073*** (.016)	.056** (.019)
HS	.168*** (.014)	.121*** (.017)
LM	.005 (.016)	-.034 (.018)

Origin of the cultural product (reference: domestic)

Other Europe	.124*** (.014)	.110*** (.014)
USA	-.286*** (.016)	-.266*** (.016)
Other	.030 (.019)	.043* (.018)

Note: Log likelihood = -4304.8354 N = 6794 LR chi2(12) = 807.03 Prob > chi2 = 0.0000 Pseudo R2 = 0.0857. * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Conclusions and discussion

In this paper, we set out to explore one dimension of cultural globalization by looking into the visibility of foreign cultural products in quality European newspapers from five countries between 1960 and 2010, a key period from the perspective of increasing global cultural influences (Appadurai, 1996; Held et al., 1999; Robertson, 1992; Tomlinson, 1999). We asked, inspired by the example of the study conducted by Janssen et al. (2008), whether the share of foreign cultural products covered in newspapers had increased, what effect the origin of the cultural product had, what differences there were among cultural areas and what differences would emerge among different newspapers, located differently within global hierarchies.

We hypothesized (H1) that the proportion of articles on foreign cultural products would increase in the newspaper culture sections in the time span examined. Contrary to our expectations, the share of foreign cultural items discussed increased only slightly. It seems that newspapers, in this sense, can be considered essentially a nationally oriented media. While this can be interpreted as a slight digression from the results by Janssen et al. (2008), there is, interestingly, a similarity with the results found by Bekhuis et al. (2014): In both our data and theirs, the year 1980 appears to be some sort of golden age for domestic cultural products.

Second (H2), we expected that the increase in the share of articles on foreign cultural products would not be evenly distributed by the geographical origin of the cultural product. More precisely, we expected (H2a) an especially accentuated growth in the proportion of US-based cultural products. While there is no remarkable growth in the overall share of foreign products discussed in the scrutinized newspapers, and, therefore, no straightforward trend toward general globalization in the newspapers, the relative coverage of US cultural products doubled between 1960 and 2010, with especially strong growth between 2000 and 2010. This can be related to the rise of US culture, or ‘Americanization’, which also was found, at least to some degree, in earlier studies (Bekhuis et al., 2014; Janssen et al., 2008; Verboord and Brandellero, 2016).

We also hypothesized (H3) differences among cultural areas and even subgenres. More specifically, we expected that (H3a) the main differences would follow the division of classical highbrow and emerging popular culture. There are remarkable differences among the cultural areas regarding the total share of foreign cultural products covered by newspapers and their development over time. Genres such as classical and popular music and film remained very international during the whole time period studied. Fine arts products discussed in the newspapers clearly became more international, and, interestingly, the share of foreign products in TV-oriented articles increased as

well. These differences are in line with Janssen et al. (2008), but our approach to these differences showing the importance of the distinction between highbrow and popular culture illuminates the cultural transformation and interconnectedness of the highbrow/popular distinction and cultural globalization in novel ways. There is clear evidence of a decrease in European classical highbrow culture, accompanied by an increase in US popular culture. If the focus is only on the difference between 'foreign' and 'domestic' cultural products, it remains invisible how strongly geographical origin matters and overlaps with the difference between US popular culture and European highbrow culture and their contrasting trajectories.

Finally, we expected that (H4) there would be differences among the studied newspapers connected to their national contexts and loci in the global world system. More specifically, we thought (H4a) there would be an inverse relationship between the level of global orientation in the cultural coverage and the centrality of national context of the newspaper. We also thought that (H4b) language and shared colonial history would play a role in the coverage of foreign culture. While keeping in mind that our data are restricted to one newspaper per country (or two in the Spanish case), we still can point out significant differences among the newspapers that are clearly linked to national contexts. *GU* appears to be internationally oriented solely toward the US, which can be explained by common language and historical affinities. The Spanish newspapers *ABC/EP*, in turn, are more oriented toward the 'other world' and particularly Spanish-speaking Latin America. According to Janssen et al. (2008), language is more important factor than geographical proximity, which supports our interpretation. Regarding the central or peripheral location of a country, our results resemble those of Janssen et al. (2008): In French *LM*, the share of articles on domestic cultural products is the most notable, while the Northern European newspapers, *DN* and *HS*, more peripheral than the others, are oriented toward both European and US culture, but not as much toward the rest of the world. Compared to Janssen et al. (2008), we find similar patterns of

centrality being more important than the geographical or population size of the country: in the study by Janssen and colleagues, German and Dutch newspapers had similar amounts of international culture content in 2005, and in our study the overall international orientation of Spanish, Finnish and Swedish newspapers were almost the same. Germany and Netherlands, on one hand, and Spain, Finland and Sweden, on the other hand, resemble each other more regarding the centre–periphery dimension than according to geographical or population size. *HS* is more conservative and has covered European highbrow culture longer, while *DN* started to write about US culture earlier – well in line with the fact that Sweden, while a relatively small country, has been an important exporter of international pop music (Seabrook, 2015). The Swedish- and Finnish-language areas are extremely small, thereby decreasing demand for domestic products abroad and making it easier to import than export cultural products. Finally, apart from their obvious socio-cultural contexts, it should be kept in mind that newspapers do not function in a vacuum, but are owned by media groups and conglomerates with different values and emphases. For example, from the six newspapers we studied, only two (*DN* and *EP*) are owned by international companies, and they are among the most internationally oriented (see Appendix Table 1).

Our main finding is that there is no evident or unambiguous ‘cultural globalization on the printed page’ in sight. Although we do find a higher overall ‘globalization level’ than Janssen et al. (2008), we interpret the increase in globalization to be rather modest. We believe that the main reason for the difference between the results of these two studies (that we have more foreign coverage) is tied to newspaper selection, as in our data, the newspapers published in the smallest and most ‘peripheral’ countries (*HS*, *DN*, *ABC/EP*) had the highest proportions of articles on foreign cultural products.⁴ This is perfectly consistent with Hypothesis 4a. While the changes that have taken place in the last 50 years appear to be neither linear nor large, our results point out other revealing

dimensions: the differences among geographical origins of the cultural products and the differences among the cultural areas or subgenres.

The increasing role of US cultural products found by Janssen et al. (2008) is clearly visible in our study as well. Likewise, there are lucid differences in the origins of the cultural products according to different cultural areas or even subgenres. This leads, again, to a conclusion that it is problematic to study cultural globalization as a whole. It seems to be more fruitful to concentrate on its smaller segments -- in our case, the proliferation of certain types of products from certain origins.

One reason for these findings might lie in the studied mediatic landscape itself. Newspapers are a slowly changing structure, strongly linked to their national contexts and moderated by cultural mediators on different levels (Jaakkola, 2015; Janssen and Verboord, 2015). They clearly do not form part of a cultural avant-garde institution, but rather the contrary. In other words, while cross-nationally comparative and longitudinal media data make it possible to investigate the changes and continuities over time and among different national contexts using several variables as indicators of cultural globalization, shifts in newspapers' cultural coverage are only a small and finite point in the discussion of cultural globalization. Also, in the context of this paper, we were not able to study the newspapers (or the countries involved) in a larger or more systematic political or mediatic context – a topic for future examination.

At the same time, we did witness trends that at least reflect and help highlight the flows of globalization. Connections such as common language and history clearly draw newspapers toward each other, and the global system makes some locations and cultural areas more attractive than others, thereby inviting smaller and more peripheral newspapers to write about them. Different cultural products flow through globalization differently, depending on their global accessibility and

transferability across cultural borders. For example, cultural areas strongly related to language are inevitably less global than those independent of language. Finally, we should not forget that the globalizing trends we are witnessing here are deeply linked to other grand Western cultural trajectories, such as the rise of popular culture and subsequent downturn in highbrow culture (cf. DiMaggio, 1987; Janssen et al., 2011; Peterson, 1997; Purhonen et al., 2017). Media representations of art and culture, such as the coverage in quality European newspapers' culture sections, are a good mirror to examine these transformations.

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Notes

¹ Our data include all journalistic content appearing in the culture sections of the studied newspapers (including not only journalistic genres such as reviews and news stories, but also announcements, lists, etc.). In this way, we let the newspapers define what was counted as culture in each given moment of time. This also means that our data include articles on not only predefined

fields of culture, e.g., literary fiction and visual arts (and its less-established forms such as literary non-fiction and all kinds of popular culture), but also other topics such as cultural policy, media and journalism, or politics. The cultural sections typically were marked by a vignette signalling it (for more details, see Heikkilä et al., 2017).

² See Janssen et al., 2011. We use the same definition for the following cultural areas or subgenres as highbrow culture: architecture; fine arts/visual arts; classical music (including opera); theatre; ballet; modern dance; and literary fiction. Cultural policy; media/journalism; science, society and philosophy; and ‘other’ cultural areas are defined as ‘other’, while all the other areas and subgenres of dance, literature and music are considered popular.

³ This analysis includes only articles on TV, not TV programme lists. Thus, this analysis does not provide information on the origin of the TV programs shown in a certain country at certain times.

⁴ It also can be noted that our result that France’s *LM* had a 49.4% proportion of articles on foreign cultural products was perfectly in line with Janssen et al.’s 49.5% proportion.

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Appendices

Appendix Table 1. Basic information about the newspapers studied.

	Circulation 1960	Circulation 2010	Current owner	Ownership
<i>The Guardian</i> (UK)	264,695 (1961) ^a	282,002 ^b	Guardian Media Group	British
<i>Dagens Nyheter</i> (SWE)	341,000 (1958) ^c	298,200 ^b	Bonnier AB	International
<i>Helsingin Sanomat</i> (FIN)	251,492 ^d	383,361 ^b	Sanoma Media Finland	Finnish
<i>Le Monde</i> (FR)	166,000 ^e	319,022 ^b	Groupe Le Monde	French
<i>ABC</i> (ES, 1960–1970)	180,000 ^f	–	Vocento	Spanish
<i>El País</i> (ES, 1980– 2010)	–	370,080 ^b	Liberty Acquisition Holding	International

^a Taylor G (1993) *Changing Faces: A history of The Guardian 1956–88*. London: Fourth Estate.

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^d The Päivälehti archives.

^e Kelly M, Mazzoleni G, & McQuail D (eds.) (2014) *The Media in Europe: The Euromedia Handbook*. London: Sage.

^f Davara Torregó FJ (2005) *Los periódicos españoles en el tardo franquismo: Consecuencias de la nueva ley de prensa*.

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Appendix Table 2. Distributions of the variables used in the analyses.

		Percentage	N
Origin of the cultural product	Domestic	45.4	3326
	Other Europe	27.4	2004
	USA	13.8	1009
	Other	13.4	983

<i>Year</i>	1960	10.6	777
	1970	13.9	1018
	1980	12.6	925
	1990	17.0	1246
	2000	25.0	1834
	2010	20.8	1522
<i>Newspaper</i>	ABC/EP	22.1	1620
	DN	18.2	1330
	GU	17.5	1278
	HS	23.4	1712
	LM	18.9	1382
<i>Primary cultural area</i>	Literature	25.3	1823
	Popular music	15.0	1081
	Classical music	12.0	863
	Film	12.4	898
	Theatre	10.6	767
	TV	4.0	292
	Visual arts	7.2	520
	Other	13.5	972
<i>Format of the cultural product</i>	Live	45.8	2804
	Recording	54.2	3314
<i>Highbrow/Popular</i>	Highbrow	47.0	3312
	Popular	48.5	3418
	Other	4.6	321
<i>Size of the article</i>	Small	54.6	3991
	Quarter page	23.1	1687
	At least half of the page	22.4	1638
<i>Type of the article</i>	Review	49.6	3600
	News	16.9	1226
	Report/feature	14.9	1081
	Other	18.6	1351
