**A Cultural Globalization of Popular Music?**

**American, Dutch, French, and German Popular Music Charts from 1965 to 2006**

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**Abstract**

*In this paper we address the question whether and how the appreciation of popular music has globalized in the four decades since the mid-1960s. We use information from American, Dutch, French, and German popular music charts from 1965 through 2006 and find no corroboration for an overall trend towards an internationalization of hits. Yet, important shifts are noticeable underneath the surface. First, we find evidence for increasing national diversity, increasing Americanization the period up until 1989 and from the 1990s onwards for increasing popularity of national music. At the end of the paper we discuss the relevance of our findings.*

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## 1. Introduction

In contemporary social science the notion of globalization has become a central concept in a growing number of areas, ranging from welfare state retrenchment and neoliberalization to cultural transformations. A common criticism of the globalization literature is that the concept is so ill defined that it may mean just about anything and explains about everything (e.g. Crane, 2002:1), thus confusing instead of clarifying the issues at stake (Van der Bly, 2005: 891). This underscores the need of a more precise conceptualization and a more strictly defined empirical focus, which have however so far not always produced confirmations of the assumptions of the globalization literature, uncovering unexpected consequences in the process (e.g., Achterberg & Yerkes, 2009).

While the globalization literature was initially mainly concerned with economic changes and political transformations after the collapse of communism, more recent research has included the international exchange of cultural goods and cultural globalization (for overviews see Crane, 2002, 2008; Held et al., 1999, 2007; Hopper, 2007). While some studies have focused on the more established forms of high culture, examining the world market for book translations (Heilbron, 1999, Sapiro, 2008; 2009), literature (Casanova, 2004), and the fine arts (Moulin, 2000, Quemin, 2006), others have concentrated on the dynamics and consumption of popular culture, in particular television (Bielby & Harrington, 2002; 2005; Biltereyst, 1992; 2004; Biltereyst & Meers, 2000; Curtin, 2003; Burton Harrington 2007, Havens, 2000; 2007; Ward & O'Regan, 2007, De Bens & De Smaele, 2001), movies (Barthel-Bouchier, 2008), new media (Straubhaar, 2007), and popular music (Condry, 2004 and De Kloet, 2005, Dolfsma, 2004, Regev, 2007). In studying the effects of cultural globalization, popular culture, is extremely suitable because it is a highly dynamic field of study in which changing dynamics are perhaps more visible (Hall, 1981, Fiske, 2006 [1998]). Moreover, Ian Condry argued that "Music is one of the battlegrounds for power in the media" (2004:344). Without its economic connotations, music 'brings to the fore the value of music in terms of what it means to ourselves, our family, and our friends' (Condry, 2004:359). This makes the global dynamics of popular music an important domain for research when one wants to study the impact of cultural globalization.

In this article we add to the latter literature by studying tendencies towards globalization of popular culture, focusing on how such a process – if it occurs at all – can be interpreted in terms of the various theories about cultural globalization that are discussed below. More specifically, we study changes in the national composition of popular music charts over a period of four decades (1965-2006) in the United States, the world's alleged cultural centre, and three more peripheral Western countries – France, Germany and the Netherlands. Our focus on popular music charts implies that we do not study *media attention* for (inter-)national cultural products – like Janssen, Kuipers and Verboord (2008), who rely on the same country selection – but address the *appreciation* of foreign as compared to national cultural goods in a more direct manner.

## 2. Three Views on Cultural Globalization

Cultural globalization implies that cultural exchange between countries expands and that countries around the globe increasingly enjoy foreign cultural goods besides their domestic production. This process can take very different forms and can result in highly divergent outcomes. According to a first interpretation, expanding transnational cultural exchange has been profitable above all to the West, and especially to the United States, which has established a firm hegemonic position. While this is often labeled cultural imperialism in the domain of media studies (e.g., Crane 2002: 2), it is referred to as domination or hegemonization in other fields. But independent of the terminology, the central proposition of this approach is "the idea that certain dominant cultures threaten to overwhelm other more vulnerable ones" (Tomlinson, 2000: 80). The modern cultural core, in most cases represented by "the West", the United States in particular, is hence increasingly held to dominate more peripheral (non-Western, non-American) cultures. In the western context, the allegedly increasing international domination by the United States is held to have resulted in a more homogeneous and uniform global culture (compare Crane, 2002; Beck et al., 2003). Although this perspective of *cultural imperialism* or *American hegemonization* is fruitful, it helps to explain some key dynamics in the cultural field, it is often criticized for being 'overly simplistic' in suggesting cultural flows as a mere one-way flow from core to peripheral countries (e.g. Kaplan, 2002: 208; Bielby & Lee Harrington, 2005). However globalization may be conceptualized, chances are high that receivers at the local level will respond to these global pressures.

A second interpretation of cultural globalization hence highlights processes of *glocalization*, i.e., a dynamic in which global cultural forms are not simply unilaterally imposed worldwide, but are actively adapted according to local circumstances. This theory of glocalization underscores the increasing importance of local cultural identity in counterbalancing growing global pressures (e.g., Castells, 1997). It predicts that in reaction to growing global interdependencies, localized versions of successful global brands or institutions will emerge (Robertson, 1992; Wilk, 1995; Cvetkovitch & Kellner, 1997), enabling local appropriations that constitute authentic expressions of local, national or regional cultures (Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006, see also De Kloet, 2005). Following this perspective we should expect to find that in peripheral countries native (Dutch, French and German) artists have appropriated successful pop music in such a way that it renders national success.

A third and final interpretation asserts that increasing transnational cultural exchange leads to *multiculturalization*, that is, increasing cultural diversity. Various cultural flows, originating from anywhere around the globe, are held to increasingly coexist side by side within one and the same cultural space (Crane, 2002). This process of multiculturalization is thus held to increasingly erode the distinctions between dominant 'core' and dominated 'peripheral' cultures inherited from the past. So, according to this theory, we are witnessing a diversification of cultures as time progresses, with various cultural forms increasingly playing a role in the cultural landscape of any given country (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). Although this theory of multiculturalization resembles the idea of an emerging cultural 'melting pot' or of cultural 'syncretism', the latter assumes that various aspects of different cultures blend into a new culture, while the former holds that cultural forms coexist rather than blend (Rex, 1996). According to the theory of multiculturalization, the newly emerging culture may hence best be described as a cultural 'salad bowl', featuring cultural diversity and, perhaps, intercultural dialogue (Curran & Park 2000: 10)

While these three approaches represent the main analytical models of cultural globalization, they do not necessarily exclude one another. In their study of media attention, for example, Janssen et al. (2008) find empirical corroboration for both Americanization (i.e., growing dominance of American products) and cultural diversification (i.e., increasing attention given to cultural products and actors from different countries).

## 3. Studying Popular Music Charts

Whereas, as said, the United States can be seen as the 'core' in the globalized popular culture, France, Germany and the Netherlands are peripheral countries. Moreover, within these peripheral countries, France, Germany and the Netherlands differ in their degree of 'peripheralness', and in their protective policies preserving national expressions of culture. For each of these countries, and for each year from 1965 up to 2006, we coded the top ten hits of the end-year lists into a SPSS-datafile. To get a clear picture of the developments in the most popular singles in these countries, we chose to concentrate on the 'head' of the top ten singles and study developments in the most popular and dominant hits, disregarding the less popular and the potentially more diverse 'tail' of other music that can be consumed in these countries.

The data for this analysis are available from the world wide web.[ii] For each year from 1965 up to 2006, top ten hits of the end-year lists were coded into a SPSS-datafile. Each of the 1,720 hits included in the study was coded on two aspects: the nationality of the performing artist(s) and the language in which the hit-record was sung. The nationality of the performing artist[iii] was coded into 58 different categories. We first compare the four countries involved – the United States, France, Germany and the Netherlands – in terms of the national and international origins of their most popular music hits.

Table 1 shows the shares of national and foreign artists for the period as a whole (1965-2006) demonstrating that there are remarkable differences in the popularity of national and foreign artists between countries. In the United States, artists from the United States appear most frequently, followed by British artists, and then artists from other countries (mostly Latin American). In France national artists also account for the lion's share, although to a lesser extent than in the United States. The French public is less appreciative of American and British artists and the distribution of national and foreign artists is more balanced in Germany and the Netherlands, with more artists originating in the United States, Great Britain, and the homeland itself.

**[Table 1 about here]**

The language in which the hits were sung was coded into 7 categories: 1) English; 2) Dutch; 3) French; 4) German; 5) Spanish; 6) Other, and 7) Instrumental. Table 2 shows the shares of hit records sung in different languages for the period as a whole (1965-2006) per country. When it comes to the languages of the hit-songs, there is a strong dominance of English. The

United States obviously takes the lead with nearly all of the hits being in English. In the Netherlands (78%) and Germany (71%) songs in the English language are also dominant. The single country in which songs in the national language are more important than English is France (with 57% French songs). Still, English songs are popular in France as well (35%). As French protective law prescribes that 40 % of the songs played on public radio and television should be in French, this result is perhaps not very surprising, but it does show that French culture is more protective and more nationally oriented than German and Dutch culture are.

**[Table 2 about here]**

We have so far highlighted what may be interpreted as structural differences between the countries involved, demonstrating that the relative weight of national and foreign artists and songs differs profoundly by country. American artists and English songs have been strongly dominant in the charts in the United States. Domestic artists and songs in the national language are also dominant in France, reflecting their national protective policies, but to a lesser degree than in the United States, whereas in Germany and the Netherlands songs in a foreign language (English) have been most popular. The only foreign language that has a large appeal in other countries is hence English. Neither German nor French have a significant share in the charts in the other countries we studied. These structural differences between countries relate to the two variables that determine the (inter-)national cultural orientation of countries: the size of their cultural production system and the international prestige of its cultural products (see Heilbron, 2002). The larger a national cultural production system is, the greater the probability that domestic producers can satisfy national demand. Countries with large cultural production systems thus tend to be characterized by a larger share of domestic products and a smaller share of foreign ones. In addition to size, international prestige plays a major role: the greater the international prestige of national cultures, the smaller the attention for and appreciation of foreign products.

Unsurprisingly, the number of national artists singing in their national language is very high. We find a strong correlation between nationality and language in which is sung: American artists very often use the English language (Pearson's $r$=0.73, N=1,720), Dutch artists use Dutch (Pearson's $r$=0.83, N=1,720), the French use French (Pearson's $r$=0.98, N=1,720), and German artists tend to sing their records in German (Pearson's $r$=0.79, N=1,720).[iv] So, we collapsed both measures for the popularity of national music into four single scales measuring the popularity of American (Cronbach's α=0.84), Dutch (Cronbach's

α=0.88), French (Cronbach's α=0.95) and German music (Cronbach's α=0.88). Increases in time on these scales hence indicate growing popularity of American, French, Dutch and German music. In order to gain insight into the prominence of foreign (besides American and indigenous) music for each country we also calculated scales for the popularity of foreign music by adding records stemming from foreign countries and hits sung in languages other than the national one.

To address the issue of globalization of popular music, we will now use these scales to investigate changes over time, collapsing the 42 separate years into 14 three-year periods. For each of the combinations of country and period this increases the number of cases from 10 to 30, thus enabling a calculation of the means on the scales over 30 songs which is less sensitive to volatility.

## 4. A Globalization of Popular Music?

Can we observe a tendency towards a more globalized popular music culture? To find this out, we consider changes in the number of hits that enter the charts in more than one country during the same three-year period on the one hand and changes in the proportion of music from abroad in the four national popular music charts. We discuss the former first.

As Table 3 indicates, there have always been records that were successful in two or more countries at the same time. In the first period under observation (1965-1967) we counted 13 hits that entered the charts in two countries simultaneously. Because logic dictates that the probability of being successful in more countries is lower than being successful in less countries, it is not surprising to find that only three hit-records made it to the top ends of the charts in three countries during these years, while only one (Frank Sinatra's *Strangers in the night*, 1966) managed to do so in all four countries simultaneously. In 1970, the English rock band Mungo Jerry scored a hit that reached top classifications in all four countries (*In the summertime)* and six years later the Swedish group Abba accomplished the same with *Fernando*.

**[Table 3 about here]**

There is no clear increase in the number of international hit records, although it must be noted that there is an exceptional peak from 1995 to 1997. During this period, all four national

charts featured Brian Adams (*Have you ever really loved a woman*, 1995), the Spice Girls (*Wannabe*, 1996), Los del Trio (*Maccarena,* 1996), Fugees (*Killing me softly*, 1996) and Aqua (*Barbie girl*, 1997) in their top ten. This seems however merely an exception to a general trend of a fluctuating rather than systematically increasing or decreasing number of international hit-records.

Shifting now to our second indicator for the globalization of the popular music charts, i.e., a change in the proportion of music from abroad, there proves to be no general increase in this either (Figure 1). In the Netherlands and the United States the share of foreign music has decreased, whereas the two other countries feature neither a decrease, nor an increase. This contradicts assumptions of cultural globalization, because the share of non-domestic cultural products does not increase, while national cultural production does not become less important either.

**[Figure 1 about here]**

While this empirical evidence does not seem to indicate a globalization of the popular music charts in these four countries, it yet remains to be seen what happens underneath the surface of these crude trends. The arguments of multiculturalization and American hegemonization, after all, suggest changes in the composition of the general category of 'foreign' music that we have not yet addressed. More specifically, the argument of multiculturalization predicts an increase of the share of music that is neither national, nor American, while the idea of American hegemonization suggests an increasing share of particularly American hits rather than 'non-national' ones generally.

## 5. A Look underneath the Surface

### *5.1. A Salad Bowl of Freshly Cut Chunks of Culture?*

Table 4 shows changes in the mean number of nationalities in the four national popular music charts. For all countries, including the United States, the number of different nationalities has increased, although it must be noted that this increase is modest. Even though the share of foreign music has not risen in the four countries, then, this does not mean that no multiculturalization of the charts has occurred. Consistent with the multiculturalization

argument, the proportion of non-American and non-national music has become increasingly diverse.

**[Table 4 about here]**

*5.2 American Hegemonization?*

To study the possibility of American hegemonization, we computed trends for each of these countries by means of correlations between the popularity of American music on the one hand and the sequence of 14 three-year periods on the other. Figure 2 shows the results.

**[Figure 2 about here]**

Figure 2 shows an increasing popularity of American music in the United States, France and Germany, indicating an increase of American hegemony in these three countries. Although the trend for the Netherlands declines weakly, it must be noted that the overall level of Americanization was by all standards already high during the 1960s in this country. Moreover, visual inspection of the relevant scatter plots indicates major changes in the trends for the three European countries around 1989. While for the period before 1989 we find American hegemonization for these countries, including the Netherlands, the share of American music declined after 1989, while continuing to expand in the United States itself.

This remarkable rupture may well be related to the transformation of the world order that took place as the bipolar divide between an America-centered western alliance and an eastern block led by the Soviet Union collapsed. The end of the Cold War may have weakened the strict orientation toward the dominant core of the west, the United States, that seemed 'natural' until then. If the declining popularity of American music in the three other western countries after 1989 is indeed related to these shifting geopolitical sensibilities, the question is whether the rise and subsequent fall of American popular music coincide with concomitant decreases and increases in the popularity of national music in the three European countries. In order to find out whether such is indeed the case, we finally move to changes in the share of national music in these countries.

*5.2 Neo-Nationalistic Tendencies?*

So far, we have concluded that there is no general trend in the share of foreign music during the period 1965-2006, and that American popular music first rises, and then declines in

popularity. How does this relate to changes in the popularity of national popular music in the three European countries? Figure 3 features the relevant trends.

**[Figure 3 about here]**

For the Netherlands, we find an increasing share of Dutch music. This overall result, however, is completely accounted for by the rising trend in the period after 1989. For France we find a declining trend in the share of national music for the entire period 1965-2006, but if we split this trend into these same two periods, we find the same pattern as for the Netherlands: a decline in the share of national music until 1989 and an increase since. The same goes for Germany, where we find exactly the same pattern. In all three European countries, then, the increasing popularity of American popular music until 1989 was matched by a decreasing popularity of national music, while the declining popularity of American popular music from 1989 onwards was matched by a rising popularity of national music.

Two interpretations for these remarkable patterns suggest themselves. According to the first one, this indicates a process of 'glocalization': Dutch, French and German artists have appropriated successful American popular music formats in such a way that it has rendered national success and hence driven out American hit-records and artists from the pop-charts. A second and almost opposite interpretation suggests that the rising popularity of national popular music indicates an increase in neo-nationalism – an anti-American or even anti-global reaction to the international hegemony of American popular music. In order to find out which of the two interpretations is the more plausible one, we first computed trends for the share of national artists in the Netherlands, France and Germany that sing in their native tongue (see Figure 4).

**[Figure 4 about here]**

Figure 4 shows that, as could be expected from the scale reliabilities mentioned above, national artists mostly sing in their national language. Judging from the total trends, nothing much has happened to the degree to which French, German and Dutch artists sing in French, German and Dutch, respectively. Yet, this simple observation obscures major changes that coincide with the trends observed above. In the period preceding 1989, i.e., the period of American hegemonization and retreat of national music, national artists abandoned their native tongues and switched almost universally to English. Although this finding may point in

the direction of either American hegemonization or glocalization, the trend reverses after 1989, when increasing proportions of national artists return to their native languages.

A final piece of evidence is the degree to which national hit records are produced by either national or international production companies. As we experienced some difficulties in ascertaining the nationalities of the latter, we limited ourselves to the last decade of national hits in the Netherlands. Figure 5 shows the trends in the share of national products produced nationally. It is clear that although most Dutch popular music in the late nineties was produced by non-Dutch producers, the nationally rather than internationally produced part grew steadily during this period.

**[Figure 5 about here]**

This finding seems to support the second interpretation of the increased popularity of national music after 1989, i.e., the one in terms of 'neo-nationalist' cultural resistance against cultural Americanization and globalization rather than the one in terms of 'glocalization'. National music is increasingly sung in the native tongue and produced nationally. This interpretation is moreover consistent with suggestions by Crane (2002), who pointed out instances of national resistance to global domination by reaffirming local identities, taking the form of anti-American or anti-global national policies aimed at protecting national culture. Likewise, drawing on a study of a strongly globalized community in Ireland, Van der Bly (2007) has demonstrated how globalization spawned reassertions of local identity, history, and language. Finally, and much more closely related to our own findings, Lubbers (2008) has recently demonstrated that the popularity of Dutch national pop-music is strongly related to neo-nationalistic and chauvinistic attitudes and to increases in electoral popularity of populist parties which endorse a strong focus on national identity and national boundaries.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper we addressed the question whether and how the appreciation of popular music has globalized during the four decades following the mid-1960s. First, we showed that there is no general trend towards a globalization of popular culture: there is no general increase in the share of international music in the four national charts we examined, and the international circulation of successful hit records did not increase either. By looking more closely at the

changes over time, however, we observed that American music has continuously become more important in the United States and also gained more and more popularity in Germany and France until the late 1980's, while it has always been popular in the Netherlands from the 1960s onwards. At first sight, this seems to support the idea of globalization as increasing American hegemony and a one-way traffic of cultural flows from the United States to Europe. In addition, we found that until the late 1980s national music was declining in popularity in these European countries, with national artists increasingly making it into the popular music charts with songs sung in the English language.

Yet, our analysis demonstrates that this situation changed from 1989 onwards. Since then, American music rapidly lost popularity and national music experienced a revival. National artists returned to their native tongues and, at least in the case of the Netherlands, their music was increasingly produced and sold by national production companies. This is a remarkable finding, because it contradicts theories that propose unambiguously American hegemonization and glocalization.

How, then, can this sudden renaissance of national music be interpreted sociologically? These nationalistic trends could, of course, be explained by institutional and industry-level developments causing an upsurge in nationally produced music. For instance, whereas in the past is was relatively difficult to produce music at a mass-scale (it was difficult and costly to produce vinyl records), nowadays almost anyone can produce music in the form of cheap CDs'. Moreover, whereas in the earlier days MTV was very internationally oriented and could be seen as a driving force behind America's growing cultural imperialism (Banks, 1996), MTV changed its programming and increasingly concentrated on national music. These developments could account for some of the variation in time – but do not necessarily lead to more emphasis on national music.

As noted, the sudden renaissance of national music also seems related to geo-political and geo-cultural shifts and it seems plausible that we are dealing here with a neo-nationalistic reaction to American domination and increasing global interdependencies – a reaction that manifests itself in other realms of society as well (the political in particular, see Houtman, Achterberg & Derks, 2008). Like Dolfsma (2004) did for consuming pop music in the early sixties, it is necessary to do a qualitative research on the motives of those consuming national pop music and see whether this really reflects a neo-nationalistic reaction.

The study of developments in popular culture may be a fruitful avenue to shed light on this type of local resistance against globalization, because it avoids biases towards celebrating the global that tend to come with studies of consumption of high culture by cosmopolitan

national elites. Studying popular culture enables researchers to escape from such an elitist bias, not only because the consumption of pop culture is more widespread, but also because 'the popular is political' (Barker, 2003: 69). Popular culture, as authors like Hall (1981) and Fiske (2006[1998]) have argued extensively, is the domain *par excellence* where *any* cultural hegemony is negotiated and contested. From this perspective, our analysis of pop music thus may show a local resistance against globalizing forces and the cultural 'power-bloc' of the United States in the last decades.

But the revenge of the national and the local in contemporary pop music may also be the result of the cultural rootlessness caused by globalization and the feelings of nostalgia that accompany it. Modernization, Berger et al. (1974) argued over three decades ago, generates a 'homeless mind' and it seems plausible that globalization has only deepened such sentiments. The juggernauts of globalization and Americanization erode well-defined cultural boundaries and solid identities. Could it be that the increased popularity of national music in the European countries under study is motivated by a nostalgia for such boundaries and identities? Needless to say, these are just scenarios about underlying motives that can not in any way be backed up by our statistical analysis of developments in popular music. To uncover such motives, it is necessary to do a follow-up, in-depth, qualitative research on the motives to produce and consume national pop music in an alleged age of cultural globalization.

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**Figures and tables**

**Table 1 The distribution of nationalities of artists per country (entries are percentages)**

| Nationality | U.S.A | The Netherlands | Germany | France |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| American | **62.6** | **28.1** | **24.5** | 12.4 |
| British | 22.3 | 25.3 | 17.1 | 9.3 |
| Dutch | 0.2 | 20.7 | 5.0 | 1.2 |
| French | 0.5 | 1.9 | 2.9 | **48.1** |
| German | 1.2 | 4.2 | **24.5** | 1.9 |
| Spanish | 0.7 | 2.1 | 1.4 | 1.4 |
| Other | 13.6 | 17.6 | 24.5 | 25.7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

**Table 2** **The distribution of languages in which hits are sung per country (entries are percentages)**

| Nationality | United States | The Netherlands | Germany | France |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| English | **99.5** | **78.1** | **71.0** | 35.2 |
| Dutch | -- | 11.6 | -- | -- |
| French | -- | 2.6 | 1.0 | **57.1** |
| German | -- | 1.2 | 21.0 | -- |
| Spanish | 0.2 | 2.1 | 1.9 | 1.4 |
| Other | -- | 1.9 | 3.3 | 5.7 |
| Instrumental | 0.2 | 2.6 | 1.9 | 0.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

**Table 3** **Number of pop hits entering the charts during same three-year period in two or more countries (U.S.A, Netherlands, France, Germany).**

| Period | Two countries | Three countries | Four countries |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1965-1967 | 13 | 3 | 1 |
| 1968-1970 | 9 | 2 | 1 |
| 1971-1973 | 7 | 2 | 0 |
| 1974-1976 | 8 | 2 | 1 |
| 1977-1979 | 13 | 5 | 0 |
| 1980-1982 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| 1983-1985 | 15 | 2 | 0 |
| 1986-1988 | 10 | 3 | 0 |
| 1989-1991 | 17 | 3 | 0 |
| 1992-1994 | 17 | 8 | 2 |
| 1995-1997 | 6 | 7 | 5 |
| 1998-2000 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| 2001-2003 | 10 | 4 | 2 |
| 2004-2006 | 9 | 4 | 0 |

**Table 4 Trends in the number of nationalities on the popular music charts (Pearson's correlations presented as total trends)**

| | *Number of nationalities in 1965-1967* | *Number of nationalities in 2004-2006* | *Total trend 1965-2006* |
|---|---|---|---|
| U.S.A | 4 | 5 | 0.34 |
| The Netherlands | 6 | 10 | 0.42 |
| France | 6 | 8 | 0.37 |
| Germany | 5 | 8 | 0.25 |
| N | | | 14 |

The values for the intermediary periods between the first (1965-67) and the last (2004-06) are omitted from the table.[v]

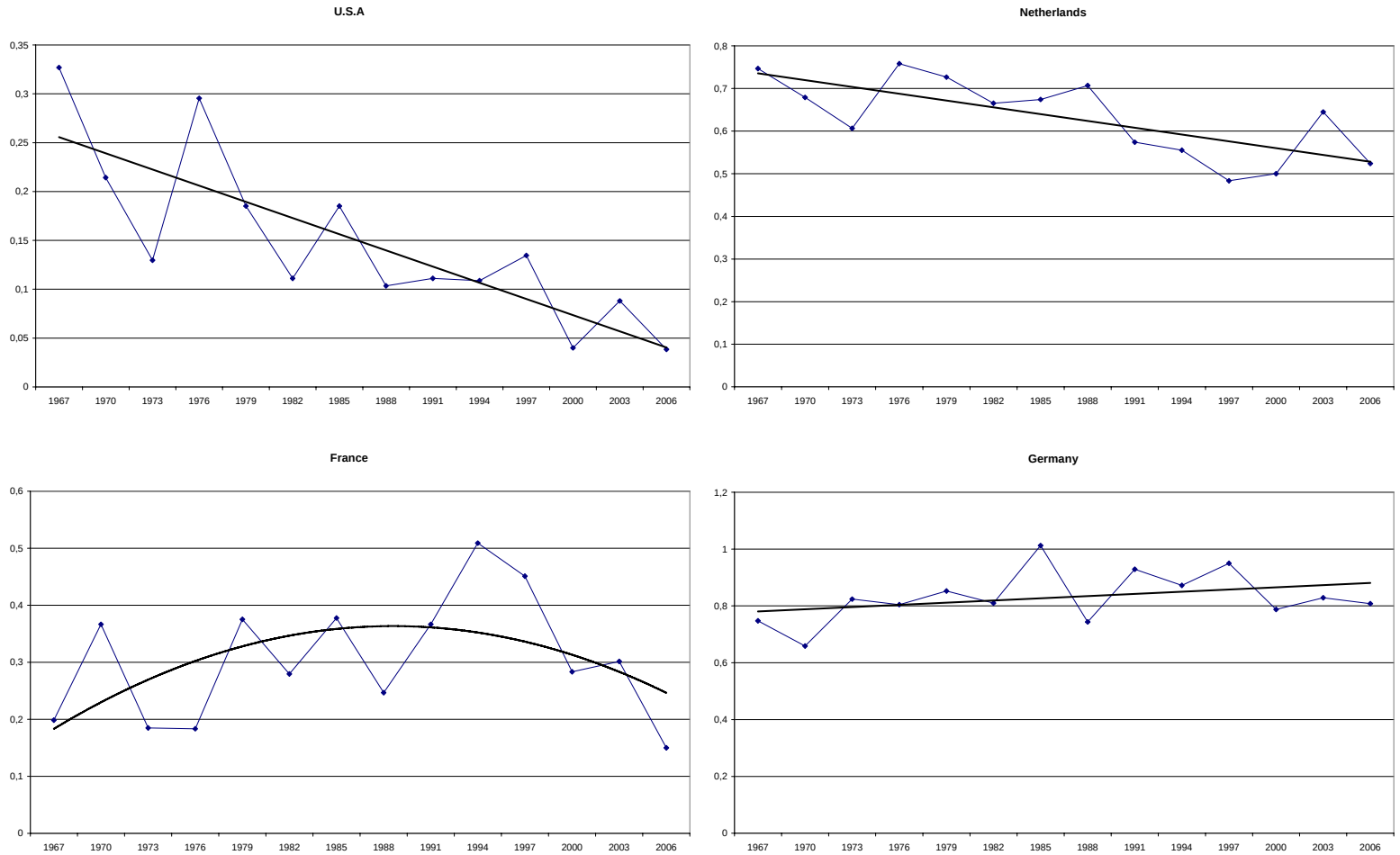


**Figure 1: Share of foreign music in the USA, the Netherlands, France and Germany (1965-2006)**

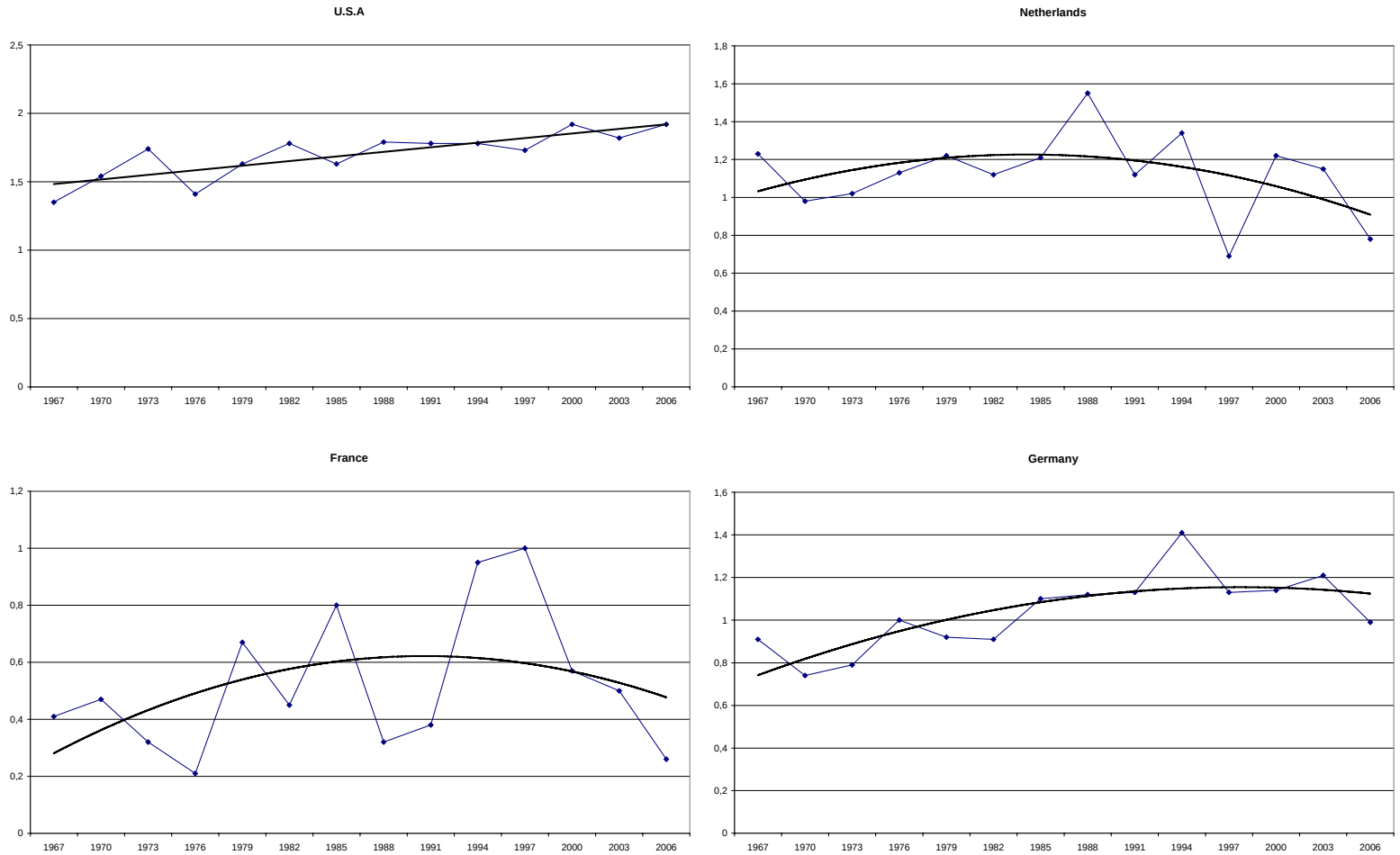


**Figure 2: American hegemonization in the USA, the Netherlands, France and Germany (1965-2006)**

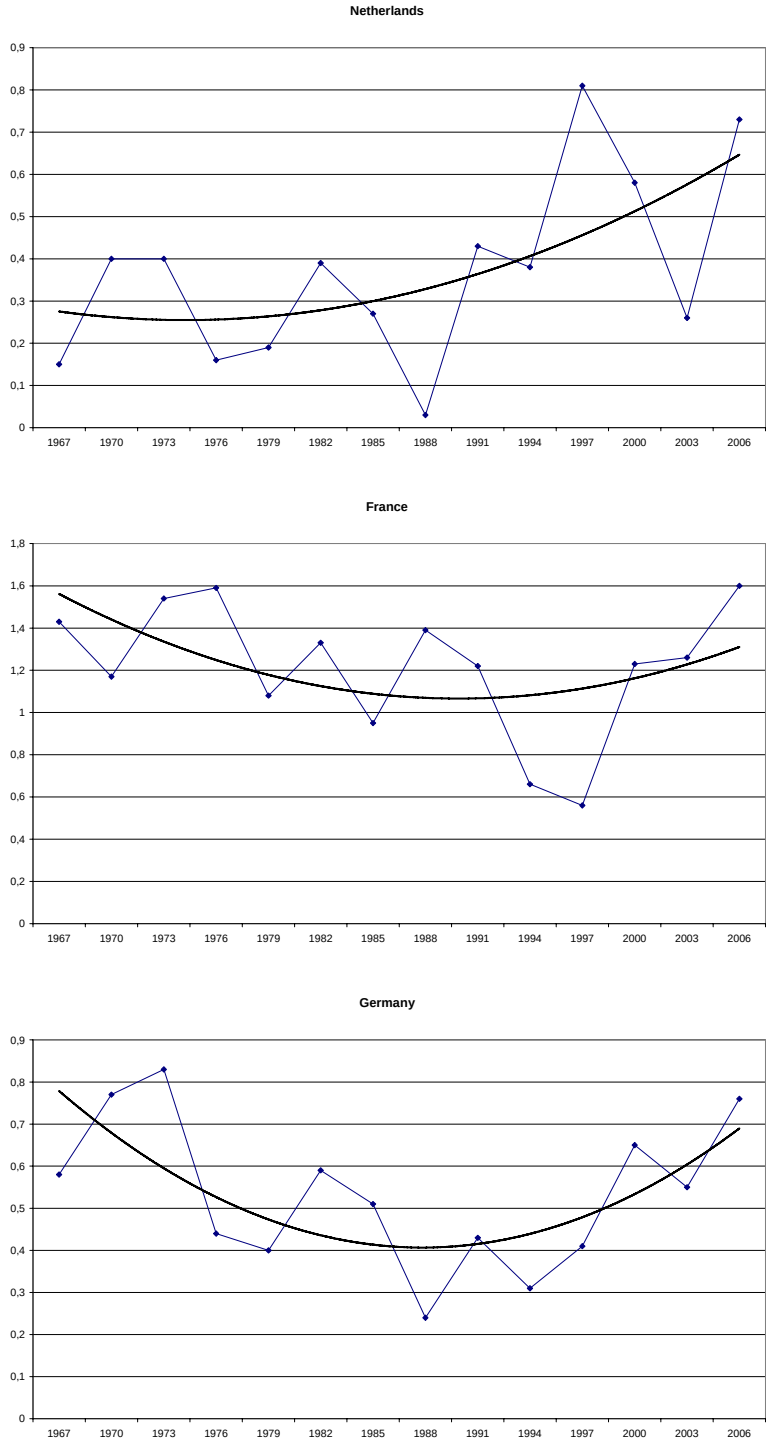


**Figure 3 Trends in popularity of national music in the Netherlands, France and Germany (1965-2006)**

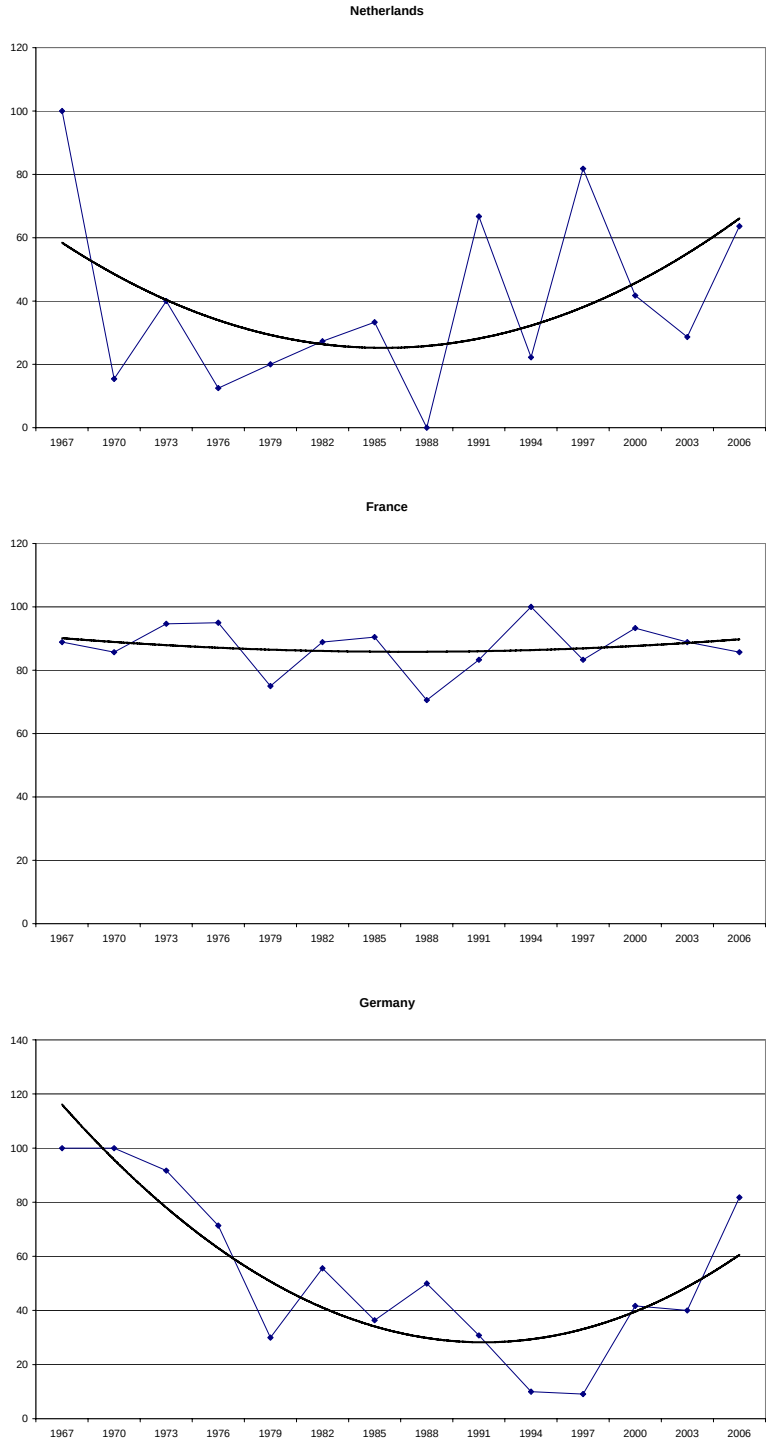


**Figure 4 Trends in share of national artists singing in their national language in the Netherlands, France and Germany (1965-2006)**

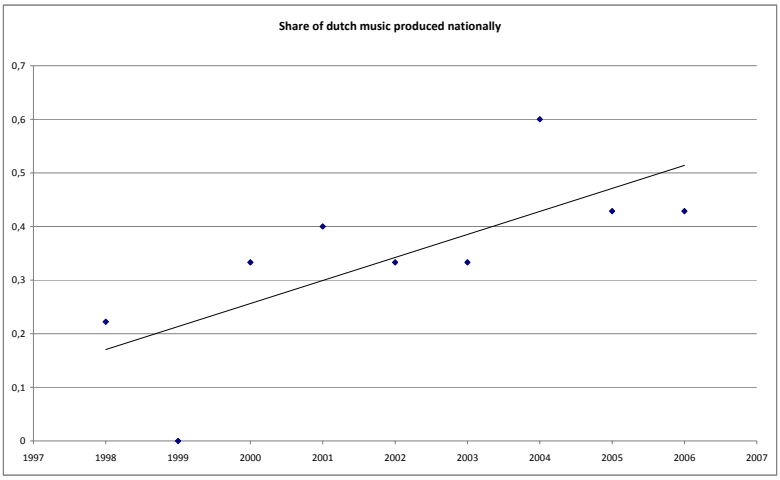


**Figure 5 The share of Dutch music produced by Dutch production companies[vi]**

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[i] We thank Robbert van der Meij for his invaluable research assistance. We also thank the anonymous reviewers and the editors for their comments to (an) earlier draft(s) of this paper.

[ii] http://www.oldiehitparade.de/oldiehit.htm

[iii] If two or more artists of different nationalities collaborated, the nationality of the first-mentioned one was coded. For bands, the nationality of the majority of the band was coded.

[iv] That these correlations are not perfect – i.e., do not equal 1 – indicates that not all American, Dutch, German and French artists use English, Dutch, German and French respectively. The strength of these relationships can also be taken as an indicator for the degree to which they do sing in their native tongue, as addressed below.

[v] We checked for possible curvilinear associations but there were none.

[vi] As the number of hit records was sometimes very limited, we used the mean share of nationally produced national products during the last two years (compare the calculation of the SSCI's impact-factors of scientific journals).