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Abstract

In this article, the authors address the question of whether and how the appreciation of popular music consumers has globalized in the four decades since the mid-1960s. They use information from American, Dutch, French, and German popular music charts from 1965 through 2006. They find no corroboration for an overall trend toward an internationalization of hits. However, important shifts are noticeable underneath the surface. For the period up until 1989, the authors find increasing international diversity as well as increasing Americanization. From the 1990s onwards, they find a growing popularity of national music in all three European countries in the study.

Keywords

popular music, Americanization, glocalization, neonationalism

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, p. 1), thus confusing instead of clarifying

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the issues at stake (Van der Bly, 2005, p. 891). This underscores the need for a more precise conceptualization and a more strictly defined empirical focus. Such more-rigorous research may qualify or even disconfirm the assumptions of the globalization literature, uncovering unexpected consequences in the process (e.g., Achterberg & Yerkes, 2009).

Initially, the globalization literature has been mainly concerned with economic changes and political transformations after the collapse of communism. However, more recent research has included the international exchange of cultural goods and cultural globalization (see Crane, 2002, 2008; Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999; Held & McGrew, 2007; Hopper, 2007; Janssen, Kuipers, & Verboord, 2008). Whereas some studies have focused on more established forms of high culture, examining the world market for book translations (Heilbron, 1999; Sapiro, 2008, 2009), literature (Berkers, Janssen, & Verboord, 2010 [this issue]; 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 & Lee Harrington, 2002, 2005; Biltereyst, 1992, 2004; Biltereyst & Meers, 2000; Burton Harrington, 2007; Curtin, 2003; de Bens & de Smael, 2001; Havens, 2000, 2007; Kuipers, 2010 [this issue]; Ward & O'Regan, 2007), movies (Barthel-Bouchier, 2008; Kuipers & de Kloet, 2009), new media (Straubhaar, 2007), and popular music (Condry, 2004; de Kloet, 2005; Dolfsma, 2004; Regev, 2007). In studying the effects of cultural globalization, popular music seems very suitable because it is a highly dynamic field in which over time changes are perhaps more visible (Fiske, 1998/2006; Hall, 1981). Moreover, “music is one of the battlegrounds for power in the media” (Condry, 2004, p. 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, p. 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 study tendencies toward globalization of popular culture, focusing on how such a process—if it occurs at all—can be interpreted in terms of various theories of cultural globalization that are discussed below. More specifically, we examine changes in the international composition of popular music charts across a period of four decades (1965 to 2006) in the United States, the world’s alleged cultural center, 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* to (inter)national cultural products—like Janssen et al. (2008), who rely on the same country selection—but look at *consumer appreciation* of foreign as compared to national cultural goods.

Three Views on Cultural Globalization

Cultural globalization implies that cultural exchange between countries expands and that cultural consumers around the globe increasingly may enjoy foreign cultural goods

besides local products. 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. Although this is often labeled *cultural imperialism* in the domain of media studies (e.g., Crane, 2002, p. 2), it is referred to as *domination* or *hegemonization* in other fields. But independent of the terminology, the central proposition of this approach is that “certain dominant cultures threaten to overwhelm other more vulnerable ones” (Tomlinson, 2000, p. 80). The modern cultural core, in most cases represented by “the West,” the United States in particular, is believed to dominate increasingly 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 (see Beck, Sznaider, & Winter, 2003; Crane, 2002). Although this perspective of *cultural imperialism* or *American hegemonization* helps to explain some key dynamics in the cultural field, it is often criticized for being “overly simplistic” in presenting cultural flows as a mere one-way flow from core to peripheral countries (e.g., Kaplan, 2002, p. 208; see also 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*, that is, 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 (Cvetkovitch & Kellner, 1997; Robertson, 1992; Wilk, 1995), enabling local appropriations that constitute authentic expressions of local, national, or regional cultures (Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006; see also de Kloet, 2005). Following this perspective, local artists in peripheral countries can be expected to appropriate successful pop music in such a way that it renders national success.

A third interpretation asserts that increasing transnational cultural exchange leads to increasing cultural diversity. Various cultural forms and products, 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 believed to increasingly erode the distinctions between dominant “core” and dominated “peripheral” cultures inherited from the past. According to this theory, we are thus witnessing a diversification of cultures as time progresses, with multiple cultural forms increasingly playing a role in the cultural landscape of any given country (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). Although the notion of multiculturalization resembles that of an emerging cultural “melting pot” or of cultural “syncretism,” the latter assumes that various aspects of different cultures blend into a new culture, whereas the former takes cultural forms to 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, p. 10).

Although 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 and colleagues (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).

Studying Popular Music Charts

Whereas the United States can be seen as the core in the globalized popular culture, France, Germany, and the Netherlands are more peripheral countries that differ among themselves in their degree of “peripherality” and in their policies protecting national expressions of culture (see Janssen et al., 2008). For each of these countries, and for each year from 1965 to 2006, we coded the top 10 hits of the year-end lists into an SPSS data file. To get a clear picture of the developments in the most popular singles (i.e., individual songs) in these countries, we chose to concentrate on the “head” of the top 10 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 on the World Wide Web.¹ For each year from 1965 to 2006, top 10 hits of the year-end lists were coded into an SPSS data file. 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 was coded into 58 different categories.² 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 to 2006), demonstrating remarkable differences in the popularity of national and foreign artists between countries. In the United States, national artists appear most frequently, followed by British artists and artists from other (mostly Latin American) countries, respectively. National artists also account for the lion’s share of the French music charts, although to a lesser extent than in the United States. In France, music buyers appear less appreciative of American and British artists than in Germany and the Netherlands. For the latter two countries, we find a more balanced distribution of national and foreign artists, with artists originating in the United States, Great Britain, and the homeland itself.

The language in which the hits were sung was coded into seven categories: (a) English, (b) Dutch, (c) French, (d) German, (e) Spanish, (f) other, and (g) Instrumental. Table 2 shows the shares of hit records sung in different languages for the entire period

Table 1. Distribution of Nationalities of Artists per Country (in percentages)

Nationality	United States	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	12.5	17.7	24.6	25.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Boldface denotes highest percentage.

Table 2. Distribution of Languages in Which Hits Are Sung per Country (in percentages)

Nationality	United States	Netherlands	Germany	France
English	99.5	78.1	71.0	35.2
Dutch	—	11.6	—	—
French	—	2.6	1.0	57.1
German	—	1.1	21.0	—
Spanish	0.2	2.1	1.9	1.4
Other	—	1.9	3.2	5.8
Instrumental	0.3	2.6	1.9	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Boldface denotes highest percentage.

(1965 to 2006) per country. When it comes to the languages of the hit songs, English strongly dominates. The United States obviously takes the lead, with nearly all of the hits being in English. Songs in the English language also dominate the Dutch (78%) and German top-10 lists (71%). By contrast, in France, songs in the national language still outrank those in English (with 57% French songs), although English songs are popular in France as well (35%). As French protectionist 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 nonetheless show that French music consumers are more nationally oriented than their German and Dutch counterparts.

We have so far highlighted what may be interpreted as structural differences between the countries involved, demonstrating profound cross-national differences in the relative weight of national and foreign artists and songs. American artists and English songs have been strongly dominant in the U.S. charts. National artists and songs in the national language also dominate the French hit lists, reflecting national protectionist 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 their 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.

Not surprisingly, the number of national artists singing in their national language is very high. We find a strong correlation between nationality and language: American artists very often use the English language (Pearson's $r = .73$, $N = 1,720$), Dutch artists use Dutch (Pearson's $r = .83$, $N = 1,720$), the French use French (Pearson's $r = .98$, $N = 1,720$), and German artists tend to sing their records in German (Pearson's $r = .79$, $N = 1,720$).³ So we collapsed both measures for the popularity of national music into four single scales measuring the popularity of American (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$), Dutch (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$), French (Cronbach's $\alpha = .95$), and German music (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$). Increases in time on these scales hence indicate growing popularity of American, French, Dutch, and German music. 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 originating in foreign countries and hits sung in foreign languages.

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 fourteen 3-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 across 30 songs, which is less sensitive to volatility.

A Globalization of Popular Music?

Can we observe a tendency toward a more globalized popular music culture? To find this out, we consider (a) the development of the number of hits that enter the charts in more than one country during the same 3-year period as well as (b) the development of 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 to 1967), we counted 13 hits that entered the charts in two countries simultaneously. Artists' chances of being successful in two or three countries are obviously lower than being successful in just one country. As such, it is not surprising that only three hit records made it to the top end of the charts in three countries during these years, and only one

Table 3. Number of Pop Hits Entering the Charts During Same 3-Year Period in Two or More Countries (United States, 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

record (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 6 years later, the Swedish group Abba accomplished the same with “Fernando.”

The number of international hit records shows no clear increase, except for a clear 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 10. This seems, however, merely an exception to the general trend of a fluctuating rather than a systematically increasing or decreasing number of international hit records.

Shifting now to our second indicator for the globalization of the popular music charts, we find no increase in the proportion of music from abroad either (Figure 1). In the Netherlands and the United States, the share of foreign music has dropped, whereas the two other countries feature neither a decrease nor an increase. This contradicts assumptions of cultural globalization: The share of nondomestic cultural products does not grow, and national cultural production does not become less important either.

This empirical evidence does not point to a globalization of the popular music charts in these four countries, but it 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 in the share of music that is neither domestic nor American, whereas the idea of American hegemonization suggests an increasing share of particularly American hits rather than nondomestic ones generally.

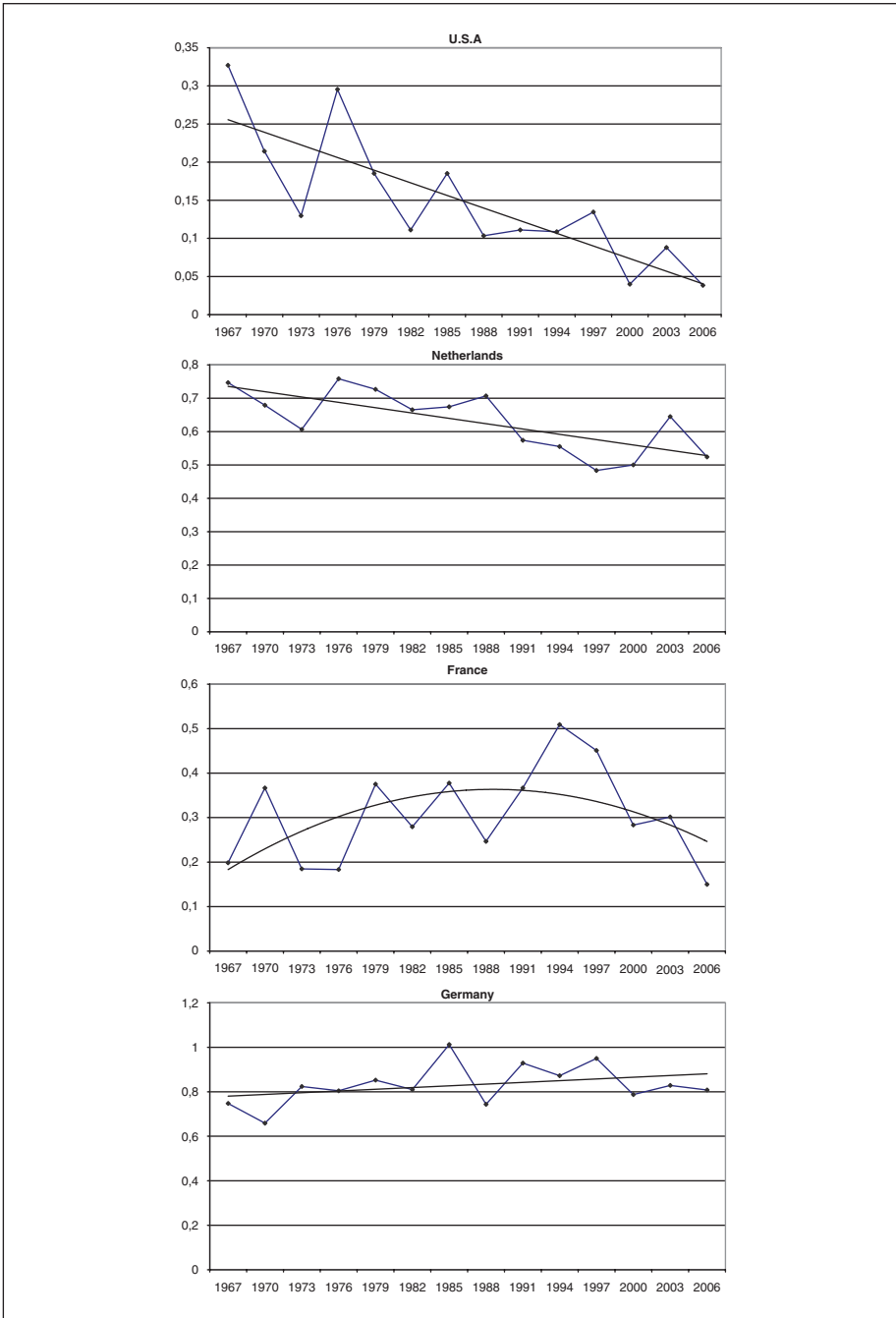


Figure I. Share of foreign music in the United States, the Netherlands, France, and Germany (1965 to 2006)

Table 4. Trends in the Number of Nationalities on the Popular Music Charts (Pearson’s Correlations Presented as Total Trends)

Country	Number of nationalities in 1965-1967	Number of nationalities in 2004-2006	Total trend 1965-2006
United States	4	5	0.34
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 (1965-1967) and the last (2004-2006) are omitted from the table. We checked for possible curvilinear associations, but there were none.

A Look Underneath the Surface

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 this increase is modest (see also Janssen et al., 2008). Even though the share of foreign music has not risen in the four countries, we do find some diversification of the charts. Consistent with the multiculturalization argument, the proportion of non-American and non-national music has become more diverse.

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 one hand and the sequence of fourteen 3-year periods on the other.

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, 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. Although before 1989, we find American hegemonization for these countries, the share of American music declines afterward.

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 bloc 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

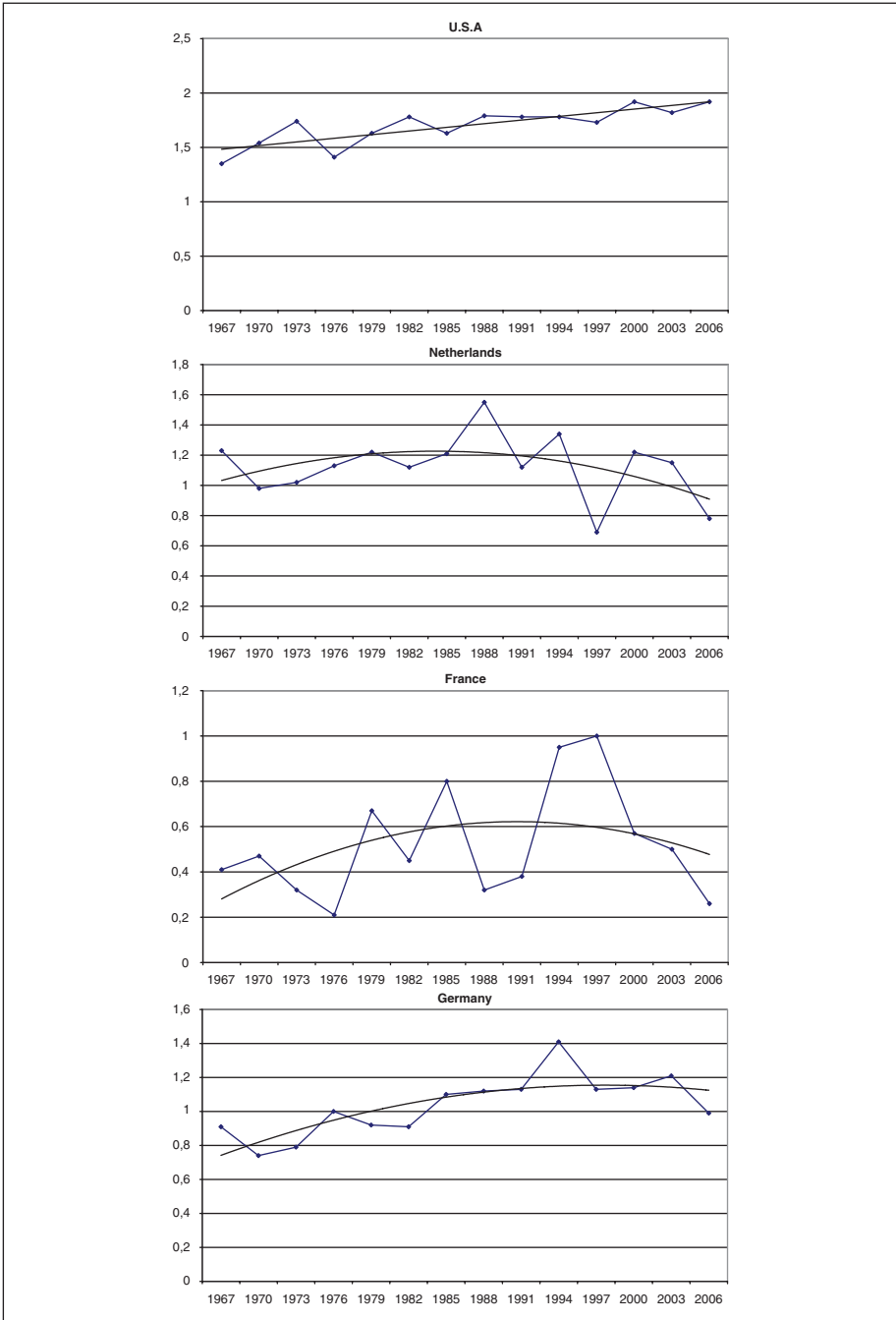


Figure 2. American hegemonization in the United States, the Netherlands, France, and Germany (1965 to 2006)

popular music coincide with concomitant decreases and increases in the popularity of national music in the three European countries. Hence, in the next section, we will take a closer look at the development of the share of national music in these countries.

Neonationalistic Tendencies?

So far, we have concluded that there is no general trend in the share of foreign music during the period from 1965 to 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.

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 from 1965 to 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 French 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, and the declining popularity of American popular music from 1989 onward was accompanied by a rising popularity of national music.

At least two interpretations for this remarkable pattern 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 has 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 points to an increase in neonationalism—an anti-American or even antiglobal reaction to the international hegemony of American popular music. 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 who sing in their native tongue (see Figure 4).

As could be expected from the scale reliabilities mentioned above, 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), 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 artists return to their native languages.

A final indicator 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 origins of the latter, we limit ourselves here to the last decade of national hits in the Netherlands. Figure 5 shows the trends in the share of hit records by Dutch artists produced by Dutch companies. It is clear that although most Dutch

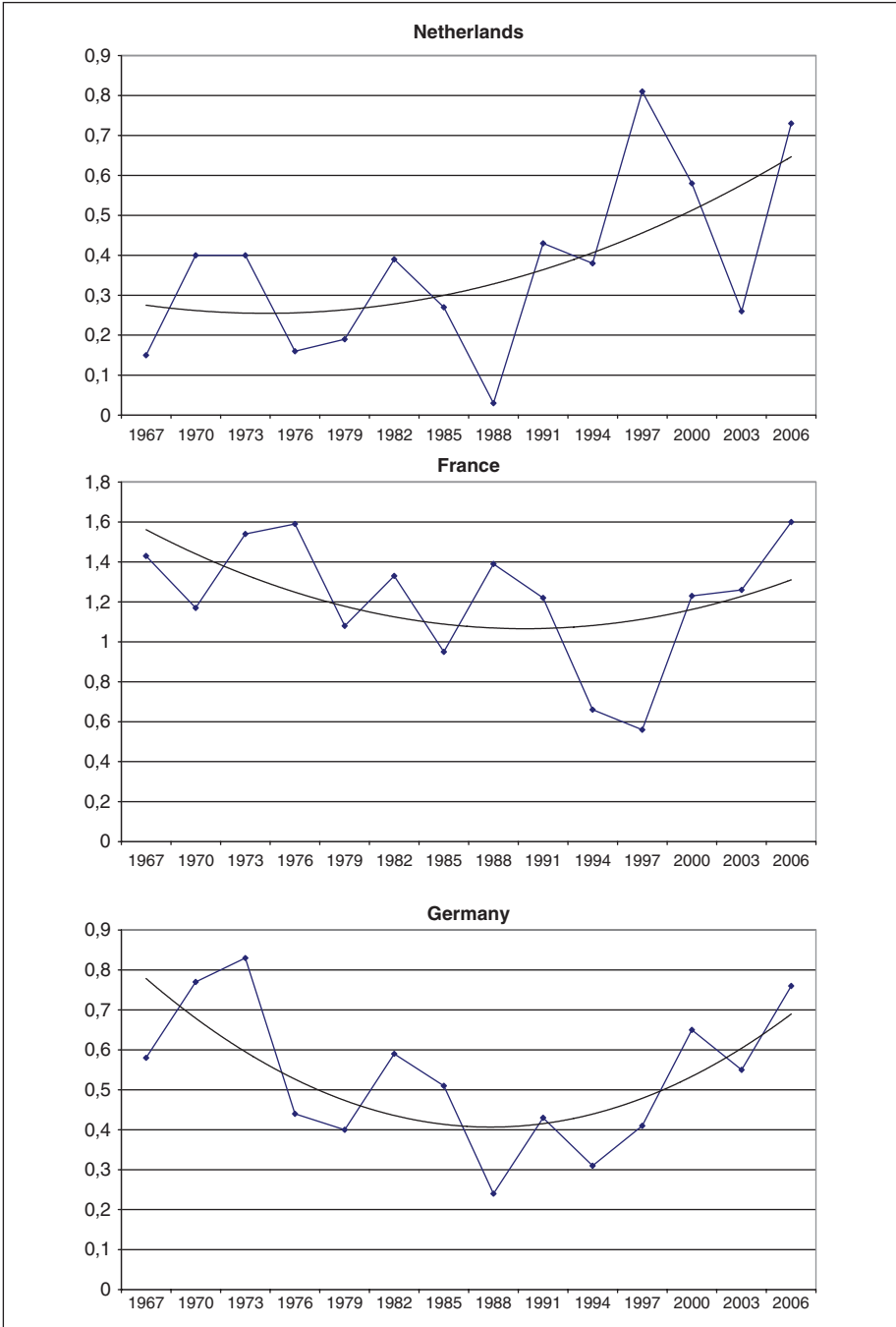


Figure 3. Trends in popularity of national music in the Netherlands, France, and Germany (1965 to 2006)

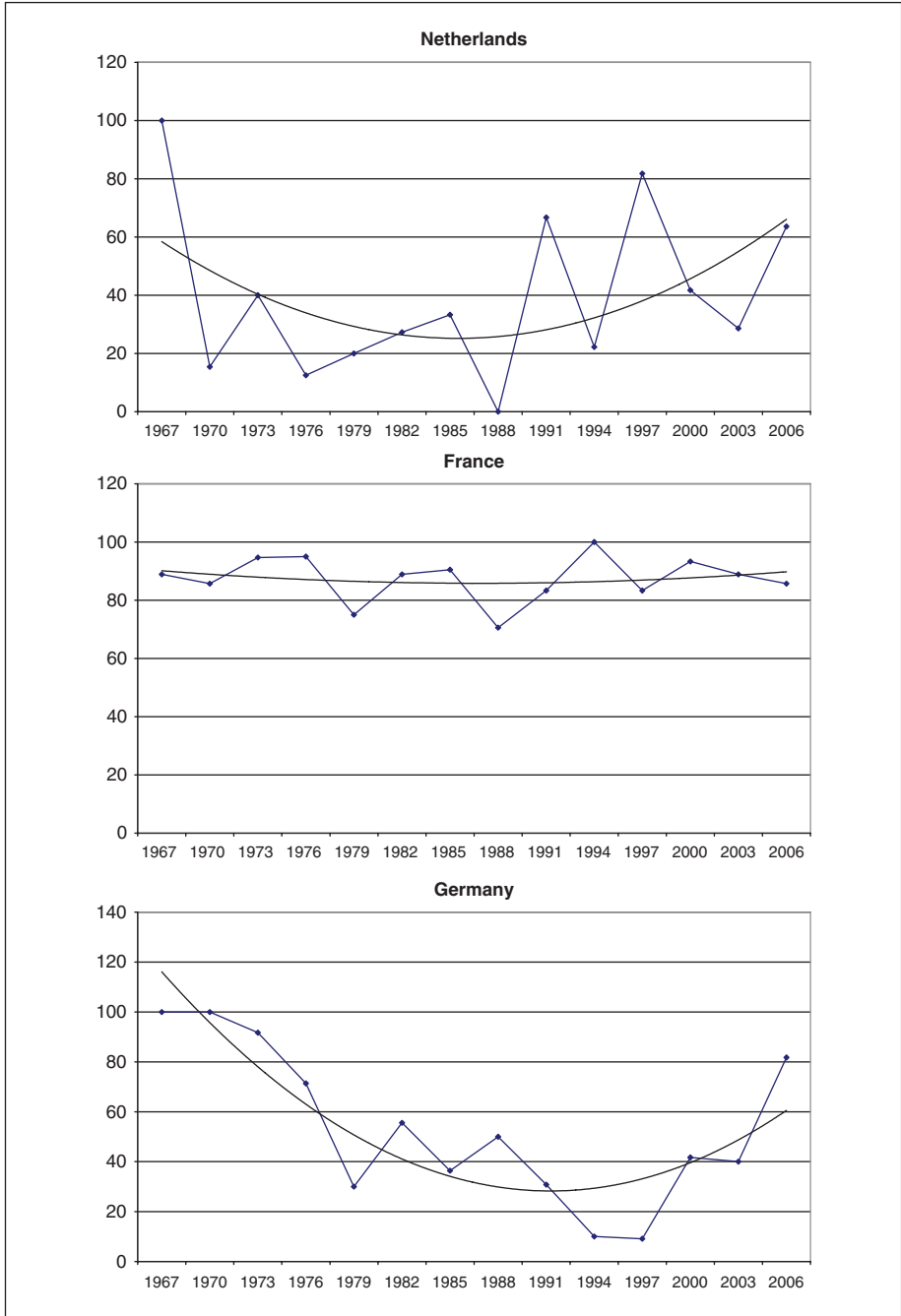


Figure 4. Trends in share of national artists singing in their national language in the Netherlands, France, and Germany (1965 to 2006)

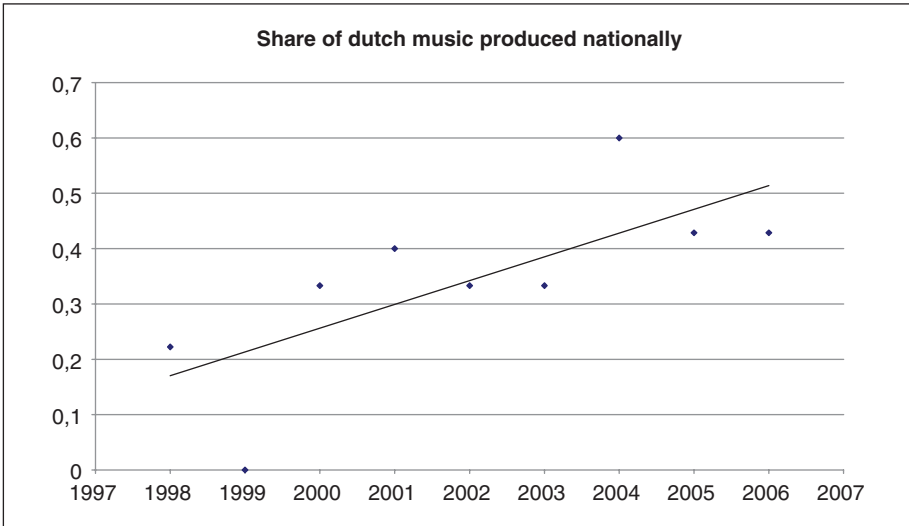


Figure 5. The share of Dutch music produced by Dutch production companies
As the number of hit records was sometimes very limited, we used the mean share of nationally produced national products during the last 2 years (compare the calculation of the Social Science Citation Index [SSCI] impact factors of scientific journals).

popular music in the late 1990s was produced by non-Dutch companies, the nationally rather than internationally produced part grew steadily during this period.

This finding seems to support the second interpretation of the increased popularity of national music after 1989—that is, the one in terms of neonationalist 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 points 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 neonationalistic and chauvinistic attitudes and to increases in electoral popularity of populist parties that endorse a strong focus on national identity and national boundaries.

Conclusion

In this article, we addressed the question of whether and how the appreciation of popular music consumers has globalized during the four decades following the mid-1960s.

First, we found no general trend toward a globalization of popular music: The share of international music in the four national charts we examined did not grow, 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 has also gained increasing popularity in Germany and France until the late 1980s, whereas it has always been popular in the Netherlands from the 1960s onward. 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 the three 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 onward. 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 globalization.

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, it 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 local 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 geopolitical and geocultural 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 Dolfma (2004) did for the consumption of pop music in the early 1960s, qualitative research on the motives of those consuming national pop music is required to see whether this really reflects a neonationalistic 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 toward 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, 2000/2003, p. 69). Popular culture, as authors such as Hall (1981) and Fiske (1998/2006) 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 past 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 and colleagues (Berger, Berger, & Kellner, 1974) argued more than 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 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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Notes

1. See <http://www.oldiehitparade.de/oldiehit.htm>.
2. 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.
3. That these correlations are not perfect—that is, 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 later.

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