YOUNGSTERS AND THEIR MUSICAL TASTE: MUSICAL STYLES AND TASTE GROUPS

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Abstract

In this study we examined sets of preferences and dislikes for different styles of popular music in order to identify the structure of the audience of contemporary pop music. A representative sample of 908 Dutch adolescents and young adults, aged 12 to 24, filled in self-report questionnaires giving their views of 20 genres of music. Factor analysis revealed a five-factor structure underlying this range of genres: Pop/Dutch pop, Afro-American pop, Elite, Rock, and Dance. Factor scores on these styles were used in a cluster analysis in order to identify groups within the audience. Six basic groups can be discerned, labeled pop/Dutch pop fans, Afro-American pop music fans, rock fans, 'white' dance fans, 'omnivores' and 'antis'. Omnivores show the broadest taste, liking pop/Dutch pop, Afro-American and dance, and have a neutral opinion on the remaining two. Pop fans enjoy (Dutch) pop music, have a neutral opinion on rock and Afro-American music and dislike dance and elite music. Afro-American, rock and dance fans adore the styles that give their group their labels, have a neutral opinion on one other style, and (strongly) dislike the remaining three. Antis dislike all kinds of music except, to a certain extent, pop/Dutch pop music. Though pop music has diversified into a wide range of genres, this variety can be reduced to five basic styles and the music audience itself can be structured into six basic taste groups.

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Introduction

Music is a tool for defining group and, more specifically, for in-group - out-group differentiation. Individuals like the music of their own group most and tend to have a less positive evaluation of music associated with groups other than their own (Tarrant et al., 2001; Tekman & Hortaçsu, 2002). Musical taste may even be part of a pattern of symbolic exclusion aimed at including or excluding groups from gaining access to social, economic and cultural resources. Bryson (1996) depicts how individuals use their cultural taste to reinforce symbolic boundaries between themselves and others. Persons who have negative attitudes towards certain other groups are inclined to actively dislike the music associated with those groups. Individuals with a high level of education are the most tolerant in their musical taste, but even they tend to dislike the types of music associated with people who have lower levels of education. The group of people with a broad taste, 'omnivores' (Peterson & Kern, 1996), reject the genres of rap, heavy metal, country, and gospel, indicating that taste is still a class- and race-based phenomenon. In the U.S. the music associated with lower-class white adolescents – heavy metal, country – and Afro-Americans – rap, gospel – are the least popular among the educated part of the audience (Bryson, 1996).

Another field of research addresses the structuring of (pop)musical taste. Genres relate to each other closely or in a more distant way, and underneath the multitude of genres, latent constructs can be made visible that delineate more general meta-genres or musical styles (review: Christenson & Roberts, 1998). Though individual artists and subgenres may come and go, these musical styles tend to have a more lasting character. For instance, hard rock started out as far back as the sixties as the loudest guitar-driven form of rock music of the moment, to develop more ballad-like offshoots in the seventies and eighties, and to produce literally dozens of even harder subgenres in the eighties and nineties. It was still popular around the turn of the century as (heavy) metal, nu metal and/or a fusion of metal and rap. Subgenres diverge and fans may passionately discuss differences between these genres but, unquestionably, an overall style of hard rock/metal can be identified since its rise in the late sixties (Ter Bogt, 1997; Weinstein, 1991).

While musicologists and music historians have described the history of pop music as a history of genres and have attempted to identify the key musical elements of certain styles, sociologists often started with the perception of these genres by audiences and tried to structure the large number of perceived genres and subgenres by using multidimensional scaling techniques and factor analysis. Fink, Robinson and Dowden (1985) assessed the structure of musical taste by performing multidimensional scaling on the preference for 13 genres. They found a seven-dimensional structure with two main dimensions. Musical gen-

res can be labeled according to their 'formality' or 'complexity', and their 'geographical base'. Fink et al. distinguish music that requires greater social organization, for instance, opera and big band music, from genres that require fewer performers, for instance, rock and soul. Their second dimension refers to the roots of genres, country and bluegrass being typical rural genres and jazz and rock more city-based.

Factor analysis was used in other studies to reduce a greater number of genres into fewer, more encompassing styles of pop music (Christenson, 1994; Christenson & Peterson, 1988; Hakanen & Wells, 1993). In a review of this type of research, Christenson and Roberts (1998) distinguish first and foremost the 'easy access, mainstream, chart music' from other more generic styles. Besides this style, which is always at the heart of popular music, a more 'elitist' style can be distinguished subsuming genres such as classical music, jazz, and blues. A number of other styles can be distinguished that share some internal consistency of instrumentation, singing style, or content themes, for instance, 'guitar-driven/rock' music' in various hard or soft variants, or 'romantic, ballad-like' pop. The last structuring principle is ethnicity. In particular in the U.S., music is always more or less directly associated with the Afro-American tradition of popular music.

Similar studies of the structuring of musical preferences have been conducted in the Netherlands and the Flemish part of Belgium (Janssen & Prins, 1991; Rutten, 1992; Stevens & Elchardus, 2001; Tillekens, 1993; Van Wel, 1993). These Dutch and Flemish authors have generally confirmed a four-factor structure of popular styles. Common to their work is that, first, a 'popular, chart-based, girlish' style is detected next to, second, a 'boyish, rock' style. Third, an 'elitist' preference is identified next to, fourth, 'black, rhythmic dance'. The results of these analyses of the Dutch and Flemish audiences resemble the structure found in the Anglo-American world of pop musical taste. Hence, there seems to be a certain commonality in the structuring of pop musical preferences in Europe and North America.

The present study

Pop music is an important medium to adolescents and musical preferences are constituents of group identity. Past research has revealed that genre preference acts as a bordering device for social groups and that the multitude of genres itself may be reduced to a small number of metagenres or styles. However, these lines of research did not address the basic question of the structure of the audience itself. Analyses with multidimensional scaling techniques and factor analysis empirically tested the structure of genres, but structuring preferences of audiences is not the same as identifying the structure of the audience itself. The analysis of pop culture is dominated by factor analytical designs that are

valuable for revealing the latent structure of genre preferences, but unsuitable for identifying taste groups.

In the present study we attempted to determine the composition of the pop audience. We departed from two basic assumptions. The audience is differentiated by preferences for different genres within pop music (1). Persons not only prefer certain genres, but they may more or less actively dislike other kinds of music (2). This implies that while groups within the audience may be identified as fans because of their preference for a certain genre, these same fans may have an aversion to other genres or be neutral about them. Defining the pop audience is not a question of simply reporting preferences for individual genres or the percentage of people that chooses a certain genre as their favorite. We tried to uncover associated sets of preferences and dislikes and to show how these patterns of attraction and rejection define groups within the audience. Therefore, we tried to answer a basic and straightforward question: what is the structure of the audience of contemporary pop music? In a consecutive analysis, differences in the composition of these groups were tested regarding gender, age, socio-economic status, educational level, and youth centrism. Thus, groups within the current pop music audience were not only identified, but also qualified. In addition to the classic background variables of gender, age, social class, and education, youth centrism (Zinnecker, 1982; Meeus, 1988) was added in order to check the extent to which these groups define themselves as opposed to the word of adults and live in a 'youthful' symbolic universe.

Method

Sample. The sample was derived from the Jongeren '99 (Youth '99) survey, a biannual cross-sectional study of Dutch adolescents and young adults. The 1999 measurement of this study was carried out among a representative sample of 2,136 adolescents and young adults; 1,236 answered questions on musical preference (Sikkema, 1999). This subgroup did not differ from the larger, representative sample with regard to gender, age, and educational background. None of the model variables resulted in either statistically (all p-values > .05) or substantially (effect sizes less than 'small', see Cohen, 1988) significant differences. The subgroup which answered the questions on musical preference had a heterogeneous composition by age (average age of the adolescents and young adults was 18.2 yrs, $\underline{SD}$ = 3.6, range 12-24), gender (60% female and 40% male), and educational level (9 possible levels with a median of 5).

Measures. Music is an evolving cultural field. Therefore, part of the biannual The Youth survey is a pilot study in which a number of representatives of the music industry, music journalists, D.J.s, and a panel group of young people are interviewed in order to check the list of genres of popular music. The updated 1999 list consisted of 20 popular genres (see Table 1). Respondents were

asked to rate each of these genres on a five-point Likert scale with answering categories varying from 'dislike this very much' to 'like this very much'. The respondents also had the opportunity to indicate that they were unfamiliar with certain types of music: 'don't know this genre'.

The Youth Centrism scale, originally designed by Zinnecker (1982), is used to assess an extreme orientation towards peers and distrust of adults and adult institutions; 16 items, for instance 'Adults and youngsters: two different worlds', 'Adults interfere too much with us young people', and 'Hardly any adult is able to understand the problems that young people face' (5-point Likert scale, answering categories from 1 'disagree totally' to 5 'agree totally', α =.77).

Strategy for analyses. We selected the group of respondents that filled in the questionnaire completely. Because only popular and well known genres were mentioned in the questionnaire, the majority of the respondents (74.3%) fell into this category. Their responses were factor analyzed with the aim of identifying latent musical styles. Next, the factor scores for these styles formed the basis of the cluster analysis meant to identify the audience groups.

In order to differentiate the pop audience, we conducted a hierarchical cluster analysis. This type of analysis requires a preliminary estimate of the number of groups assumed to be present. We assumed that the pop audience consisted of groups centered around the styles identified in earlier research: pop, rock, elite, and black rhythmic music. We hypothesized that two additional groups would be identifiable: a group of 'omnivores' (Peterson & Kern, 1996) with a broad taste in music and a group of 'antis' characterized by a general dislike not only of pop music, but of music in general. We checked which solution fitted the data best and, finally, we characterized the taste of the people belonging to the resulting clusters by computing mean scale scores on the different pop music styles for the individual clusters. The emerging clusters were also tested for their composition with regard to gender, age, socio-economic status, educational attainment, and youth centrism.

Results

Factor analysis of musical preferences: the emergence of musical styles
Principal component analysis of the 20 musical preferences revealed a clear, well-interpretable five components structure explaining 64% of the variance in preferences (see Table 1). The five components referred to the musical styles of 'Pop/Dutch pop', 'Afro-American', 'Elite', 'Rock', and 'Dance'. Both individual factor scores and individual scale scores were calculated, indicating the participants' preferences for each musical style. Each musical style scale scores was computed as the mean value of those musical preferences that loaded .50 or more on the component representing that style. This procedure resulted in quite reliable musical style scale scores (see Table 1).

Table 1: *Principal Component Analysis of Musical Preferences.*

Musical preferences	Components (Musical Styles)				
	1 Pop/Dutch pop	2 Afro- American	3 Elite	4 Rock	5 Dance
Dutch pop	.81				
Dutch tearjerker	.68				
Golden Oldies	.57				
Top-40 charts	.56				
Soul / R&B		.86			
Rap		.81			
Funk					
Jazz			.84		
Blues			.79		
Classical Music			.71		
World Music			.67		
Reggae					
Alternative				.84	
Hardrock / metal				.84	
Rock				.80	
Rock 'n roll					
House					.91
Trance					.87
Hardcore					.80
Drum & Bass					.75
Reliability of summated scale scores (α)	.86	.79	.82	.61	.73

Note: Only factor loadings with values of .50 or higher (after varimax rotation) are presented.
Decline of eigenvalues: 4.54, 3.29, 2.07, 1.66, 1.33, 0.85, 0.79 and 0.71, etcetera.

Three musical preference scores did not substantially contribute to the identification of the five musical styles. Preference scores for 'Funk' did not reach factor loadings of .35 or higher. The preference scores for 'Reggae' loaded moderately on both 'Elite'(.44) and 'Afro-American' (.43), while the preference scores for 'Rock 'n roll' added only moderately to the identification of both 'Elite' (.42) and 'Rock' (.42).

Cluster analysis of musical style scores: the identification of musical tastes
The factor analysis described in the previous section dealt with latent musical styles, underlying the various separate musical preferences (i.e., the grouping of variables based on their mutual correlations). In this section, we are primarily interested in the typology of musical tastes (i.e., the grouping of participants on the basis of the individual patterning of musical style appreciation in terms of the strength of the participants' attraction to and/or rejection of these styles).

For this purpose several consecutive hierarchical cluster analyses were performed on the five factor scores of the 908 participants, with each factor score representing the individual participant's overall evaluation of a specific musical style. The method of clustering participants was based on intragroup similarity in the pattern of evaluation of the five musical styles, rather than intergroup differences in these evaluations.

Each cluster analysis differed in the number of clusters (or groups of participants) that was allowed to emerge, ranging from two to nine clusters. Theoretically, we expected that a seven-clusters solution would deliver the best fit: one cluster representing the liking for each musical style, and two additional clusters representing the 'omnivore' and the 'anti' taste. Nevertheless, we empirically tested the results of eight consecutive hierarchical cluster analyses, representing solutions ranging from two to nine clusters.

Because of the large number of participants some additional criteria had to be formulated to determine which solution best fitted the data. Usually, this decision is based on specific characteristics of the agglomeration schedule, in which the results are reported of the hierarchical cluster algorithm that starts with each case in a separate cluster and then combines clusters until only one cluster is left. Clearly, such a report is only interpretable with substantially smaller numbers of units. With larger numbers of participants, it is more convincing to concentrate on the substantiality of the differences between the clusters, rather than the statistical significance of the numerous possible combinations of these clusters (Cohen, 1988). Therefore, four alternative criteria were considered in deciding which number of clusters represented the best fit. First, as a measure of general efficacy, the solution should explain at least 35 percent of the variance in musical style factor scores. Second, as a measure of discriminative efficacy, the solution should present clusters that showed large substantial differences (i.e., partial $h^2 > .14$) on each of the five constituent musical style factor scores, separately. Third, the amount of explained variance in the individual patterning of musical style factor scores should be as large as possible. And finally, the solution should be parsimonious, in the sense that greater numbers of clusters should imply only marginal improvements of the fit according to the first three, previously mentioned, criteria.

The results of these multivariate analyses of the differences in musical style factor scores between the clusters are presented in Table 2. Examination of

these results revealed that every solution was sufficiently efficient in explaining the joint distribution of scores (see the results reported in the first column of Table 2). When the number of clusters dropped below five, the differences in some style scores explained by the differences between the clusters became negligible (as demonstrated by the lowest values of the partial h^2s, reported in the second column of Table 2). Compared with solutions with less clusters, the solution with five clusters also showed a substantial improvement in the explanation of the differences in the individual patterning of musical style scores. However, in this respect, the solution with six clusters appeared to be superior, while larger numbers of clusters, in turn, delivered no further substantial improvements (see the results reported in the third column of Table 2). Therefore, it was concluded that the solution with six clusters showed the best fit to the data. These results show that the seven hypothesized clusters empirically collapsed into six clusters, mainly because two clusters showed a strong overlap in both preference and distaste for the five musical styles (see below).

Table 2: *Multivariate Analyses of Variance of Musical Style Factor Scores: Explained Variance by Different Numbers of Clusters.*

| | Explained variance (partial eta squared) of musical style factor scores | | |
| | Joint distribution of | Univariate analysis of | Pattern of scores |
Number of clusters	scores	scores (highest – lowest)	(repeated measure)
9	.45	.51 - .40	.51
8	.43	.51 - .37	.51
7	.39	.50 - .31	.51
6	.36	.50 - .18	.51
5	.38	.50 - .16	.32
4	.43	.50 - .04	.18
3	.47	.49 - .02	.18
2	.55	.43 - .00	.12

Characterization of musical tastes
To interpret and characterize the musical taste of the participants belonging to one of the six clusters, the means of the five musical scale scores were computed for each of the six clusters, separately. The results are presented in Table 3. The first cluster, labeled as 'Pop/Dutch pop' taste, had a clear preference for Pop/Dutch pop music. This preference was related to a strong aversion to Dance music, a common dislike for Elite music, and a neutral attitude towards both Rock and Afro-American music. The second cluster, labeled as 'Afro-American' taste, had a strong liking for Afro-American pop music together with a relatively moderate liking for Dance music and a dislike for the Rock and Elite styles. The third cluster, labeled as 'Rock' taste, disapproved strongly of

both Afro-American pop music and Dance music. Rock is associated with a dis-like for Elite music and a neutral attitude towards Pop/Dutch pop music and, of course, a strong liking for Rock music. The fourth cluster was labeled as 'Dance', because of its strong approval of this kind of music connected with a strong disapproval of Elite music and a dislike of Rock and Afro-American music. Taking into account its negative appreciation of Afro-American music, this group may be labeled more specifically as 'white' Dance. The fifth cluster had a relative positive attitude towards Elite music and an outspoken liking of Pop/Dutch pop, Dance, and Afro-American music while holding a neutral opin-ion on Rock. Having positive attitudes to most musical styles, this cluster was, therefore, labeled as 'Omnivore'. Finally, members of the last cluster, labeled as 'Anti' taste, disliked every musical style, except to a certain extent Pop/Dutch pop, and detested Dance and Rock music in particular.

We had hypothesized that seven clusters would be present but the interpre-tation of the set of cluster analyses indicated that a six-cluster solution showed a better fit of the data. The Pop/Dutch pop, Afro-American, Rock, Dance, and Anti clusters came out of the analysis as expected. The sixth, Omnivore, style overlapped with the expected seventh, Elite, style. Omnivores have the most positive views of the genres subsumed under the Elite style, indicating that peo-ple interested in the history of music in its broadest sense generally like all kinds of music. While factor analysis revealed an elitist style, elitists cannot be identified as a specific cluster within the audience. Adolescents and young adults who liked classical music, jazz, blues, and world music may be present-ed as elitists because they enjoy high status music, but they also have positive attitudes towards dance, pop, and Afro-American music and may, therefore, be considered to be people with a general affinity for historic and present day music. Their multifaceted taste, first, explains and legitimizes the integration of the hypothesized Elite and Omnivore clusters, and, second, shows that the qual-ification of 'omnivores' suits them better than that of 'elitists'.

Overall, Pop/Dutch pop music emerges as the most popular music with the Afro-American style nearly tipping that status. Rock is less popular and so is Dance, while the Elite style may be labeled as unpopular music. These prefer-ences are reflected in the size of the audience groups. The Pop/Dutch pop group is the largest group within the audience, and the Afro-American group the sec-ond largest. The group of Omnivores ranks third; the Antis fourth. The Rock group, ranked fifth, comprises a relatively small part of the total audience and the same holds for the smallest group, that of the Dance fans (Table 3).

Table 3: *Mean Musical Style Scale Scores of the Six Clusters of Musical Tastes*

| Cluster: Taste | N | (%) | Mean score (and standard deviation) on musical style scale | | | | |
			Pop / Dutch pop	Afro-American	Elite	Rock	Dance
1. Pop/D.pop	265	(29)	**3.60** (0.56)	2.95 (0.92)	2.37 (0.83)	2.94 (0.97)	*1.67* (0.70)
2. Afro-Am.	193	(21)	2.56 (0.57)	**4.09** (0.84)	1.89 (0.71)	2.29 (0.99)	2.78 (0.99)
3. Rock	111	(12)	2.63 (0.59)	*1.71* (0.68)	2.20 (0.83)	**3.84** (0.82)	1.82 (0.72)
4. Dance	55	(6)	2.99 (0.92)	1.86 (0.80)	*1.30* (0.41)	2.01 (0.78)	**3.68** (0.77)
5. Omnivore	153	(17)	**3.61** (0.60)	**3.43** (0.94)	2.85 (0.69)	3.10 (0.91)	**3.57** (0.69)
6. Anti	131	(14)	2.82 (0.71)	2.55 (1.01)	*1.77* (0.65)	*1.46* (0.51)	*1.65* (0.72)
Total	908		3.11 (0.78)	3.00 (1.17)	2.18 (0.85)	2.67 (1.12)	*2.36* (1.11)

Note: In bold, scores above 3.4 indicating preference (with scale values ranging from 1 to 5). In italics, scores below 1.8 indicating strong dislike.

In Table 4, the six clusters of musical taste are portrayed in terms of some social background characteristics and the youth centrism orientation. From the results reported in the table, it is clear that differences between the six clusters in gender, age, socio-economic background, educational attainment, and youth centrism are statistically significant. The differentiating effects of age, educational attainment, and the youth centrist orientation not only reach the level of significance but may be qualified as moderate to large in terms of effect size. The results show that, relatively to the expected count, females are under-represented in the Rock and Dance clusters and that they are over-represented in the Pop/Dutch pop and especially the Anti groups. The Afro-American and Anti clusters are composed of relatively young fans while Rock and Pop/Dutch pop fans and Omnivores tend to be older. The highest educated youngsters were over-represented in the Pop/ Dutch pop musical cluster, while the lower educated were strongly over-represented in the Afro-American, the Dance, and the Anti clusters. The people in the Dance group also tend to have a lower socio-economic status. The Dance cluster also shows a relatively strong youth centrist orientation compared with the other clusters, which do not differ from each other in this respect. The Dance group may, therefore, be qualified as the only group representing true youth culture with its relatively strong identification with peers and dislike of the world of adults (Table 4).

Table 4: *Differences in Social-Cultural Characteristics of Clusters of Musical Taste (N = 908)*

| Characteristics | Total Sample | Clusters of Musical Taste[1] (N) | | | | | | χ²/F | p | ES[2] |
		1 (265)	2 (193)	3 (111)	4 (55)	5 (153)	6 (131)			
Socio-										
Economic	17	17	20	22	11	16	15			
Status:	17	18	15	17	5	16	26			
percentages	29	32	28	27	27	27	29			
Upper	32	30	35	32	45	35	23			
Upper-	4	3	3	3	11	6	7	χ²(20)= 35.0	0.02	W=.40
Middle										
Middle-	6	10	4	3	2	5	4			
Lower	15	16	6	20	2	15	22			
Lower	15	16	15	24	5	15	8			
Educated	17	18	10	19	20	23	13			
Lower	13	12	22	8	15	12	6			
Uneducated	15	14	10	13	41	16	16			
Educational	19	15	33	14	15	14	31	χ²2(30)=103.1	<.001	W=.84
attainment:										
percentages	40	32	44	50	56	45	27			
1 High	60	68	56	50	44	55	73	χ²2(5)= 30.8	<.001	W=.18
2										
3	18.2	19.5ᶜ	16.5ᵃ	18.9ᵇᶜ	17.7ᵃᵇ	19.0ᵇᶜ	16.7ᵃ	F(5)= 25.4	<.001	η²=.12
4	2.78	2.68ᵇ	2.80ᵇ	2.74ᵇ	3.22ᵃ	2.83ᵇ	2.75ᵇ	F(5)= 15.2	<.001	η²=.08
5										
6										
7 Low										
Gender:										
percentages										
Male										
Female										
Age: Mean[3]										
Youth										
Centrism:										
Mean[4]										

Notes. [1] Clusters of musical taste: 1 = Pop, 2 = Afro-American, 3 = Rock, 4 = Dance, 5 = Omnivore, 6 = Anti.

[2] Measures of effect size: Chi-square test = W-index (cf. Cohen, 1988), Univariate analysis of variance: partial eta squared (η^2).

[3] Means in the same row that do not share superscripts differ at p <.05 (Scheffé-test).

[4] Youth Centrism scores ranged from 1 to 5; high scores reflect a strong identification with peers.

Discussion

The first step in our analysis was to identify the structure of music preferences and we found a five-factor structure that to a large extent corroborates the results of earlier analyses of the same kind (Christenson & Roberts, 1998). Four factors were more or less the same. At the heart of popular music lies the most popular, chart-based style identified as pop music. During the last two decennia, pop music of Dutch origin, i.e., music within the Anglo-American pop format with either Dutch or English lyrics, composed by Dutch artists, has become a more integral part of this style and for that reason we named it 'Pop/Dutch pop music'. In the Netherlands, music of American origin, and more specifically, Afro-American origin has played an important role in pop culture since the fifties. 'Black' music is still an identifiable popular style with hit appeal. American artists dominate the genres of rap, and soul/R&B, and this style was, therefore, called 'Afro-American' pop. Guitar-driven popular music, 'Rock', emerged as the third style, with rock, hard rock/metal, and alternative music belonging to this style. Interestingly, in the U.S. and also in Europe, hard rock or heavy metal music has always been a genre with a large working-class following, while alternative rock emerged as a genre with college appeal during the nineties (Arnett, 1996; Luitwieler, 2000). Fans of rock music may discuss the differences between various offshoots of rock in great detail (Luitwieler, 2000; Van Bree & Heijting, 2000) but our results indicate that differences within the rock style are smaller than those between the constituent genres and other non-rock genres. Classical music and jazz lie at the heart of the fourth style, called 'Elite', together with older popular music traditions like jazz and blues. Not only older forms of 'folk' music fall under this heading but a newer form of 'rootsy' music, in this case, the hybrid named 'world music', also belongs to this style. Pop, rock, Afro-American, and elite styles were identified before, but our fifth factor is indicative of major changes in the pop field during late eighties and the nineties: the emergence of rave culture and in its wake, new genres of electronic dance music. During the seventies and eighties, the prevailing dance music of the moment, disco, was subsumed under the broad category of Afro-American music (Sikkema, 1989). Genres like house, trance, techno, and drum & bass form the basis of a distinct style of electronic dance music, no longer intrinsically associated with the Afro-American tradition of danceable music. During the nineties 'Dance' became disconnected from 'black, rhythmic' pop music to appear as a distinct fifth factor. The appearance of a fifth style in our data can hardly be seen as a local, Dutch, phenomenon. Since the late eighties, electronic dance music attracted large crowds in the Netherlands and some of the best-known producers and D.J.s in the field originate from this country. In this respect, the Netherlands has been at the forefront of the emergence and popularization of a new popular style of pop music, however, dance

is an international phenomenon and rave parties a youth cultural phenomenon with cross-national appeal (Mutsaers, 1998; Reynolds, 1998). The identification of a distinct fifth style, Dance, in our results may be interpreted as an outcome that will be confirmed by analyses in other countries should they depart from the same genres.

The music industry is a multinational industry. Five majors – Universal, Sony, Warner, EMI, and BMG – control the market and account for about three quarters of the worldwide sale of music (Negus, 1999). Since the fifties this industry has promoted the Anglo-American pop format and rock 'n roll and all of its offshoots struck a basic chord in youthful audiences far beyond the U.S. and the U.K. In this way, pop music has developed into a global phenomenon and, to a certain extent, local traditions of music making have had to make way for an international format with its roots in American popular music: this is the globalization of music. Audiences in different countries may cultivate local talent and these artists may adapt to playing the dominant pop music format or find their own way to fuse international and local styles: this is known as localization (e.g, De Kloet, 2001).

However, when it comes to audiences listening to music and structuring genres, a global trend seems to appear. Cultural products, and more specifically, popular music styles evolve constantly but our results point (once more) to the fact that chart-based pop music, rock, elite, and Afro-American music not only exist as fairly stable basic musical styles but are also defined in much the same ways cross-nationally. The music industry and its intermediaries seem to be successful in adapting to, creating, and sustaining distinct musical styles and, consequently, markets for music, and in the process integrating local talent and musical formats in these basic styles.

Reducing the multitude of genres to five musical styles provided the input for the second part of the analysis. Though we assumed that the pop music audience would come out of the analyses divided into seven clusters, a six-cluster solution proved to be optimal. Contrary to our expectations, the elite group was not a distinct stratum within the audience, but overlapped with the omnivores. The necessary reduction, by means of factor analysis, of the multitude of genres to a limited number of musical styles is a widely accepted procedure, which is statistically justified by the fact that the resulting musical style scale scores explained about 64% of the variance in preferences for the various genres. Still, these musical style scale scores are summated scale scores, summarizing the preferences for several distinct though related musical genres. A groups' liking or disliking for a musical style may thus refer to different preferences for certain genres, compared with the liking or disliking of another group within the audience for the same style. Given our research goal of identifying audiences within the population of adolescents and young adults, this reduction of genres to styles delivers an irrelevant loss of information regarding the specific musi-

cal preferences of the participants. However, when studying the *development* of musical taste within and between audiences, it would certainly be relevant to extend the analyses to the detailed level of preferences for distinct musical genres.

The largest of the audience groups is the 'Pop/Dutch pop' cluster comprising 29% of our sample. This part of the audience clearly likes 'pop' music, in itself a mixture of genres from which the catchiest tunes are the most likely to end up in the charts. This cluster of people reports neutral attitudes towards the Afro-American style, another type of music that is heavily present in the charts as rap or R&B music, and rock music. Pop fans dislike the older and more serious forms of elite music and, surprisingly, disapprove strongly of dance music. This last result may be an artifact of the date of the research project, 1999. In particular, the genre of trance has had mass appeal during the last few years and the negative attitude of pop fans to dance music may have been mitigated by this fact. An alternative explanation may be that pop fans adore the traditional pop format of songs in which the performer and his/her voice is the central element. With its stress on booming rhythm, most electronic dance music reduces the role of the voice to simple repetitive melodic statements, thereby eliminating the human voice as the most essential part in a pop song, and this may be what pop fans object to. Earlier research qualified pop music as music for a predominantly female audience, with pop carrying qualifications like feminine, superficial, and commercial, and rock standing out as masculine, arty, and underground (Frith, 1981; Thornton, 1995). Our results confirm that female fans outnumber male fans within this group, but Pop/Dutch pop is by no means an all-female affair. Our results further point to the fact that chart-based music is not only popular with lower-class/lower educated teenagers, as was the case in the early days of rock 'n roll in the Netherlands (Ter Bogt, 1997). The pop audience group is relatively old and especially within the highest educational range pop seems to be the music of choice.

Traditionally, 'Rock' was conceived of as the opposite to pop, and qualified as progressive, arty, and vital music (Frith, 1981). Pop fans are more positive towards rock music than vice versa, but it is not especially pop music that bothers rock fans. Aficionados of guitar-driven music, an estimated 12% of the total audience, loathe Afro-American music and dance, so the prime opposition in popular music is no longer that between pop and rock, but seems to have been redirected to the opposition between danceable music with a strong rhythmic base, ultimately rooted in the black musical tradition (Afro-American music and dance music), and music not made especially for dancing (rock). The disapproval of Afro-American music by rock fans may reflect ethnic boundaries as well. Rock music is a genre predominantly played by white musicians and its audience is also predominantly white (Arnett, 1991, 1996; Ter Bogt, 1997). For this rock audience, the difference between danceable and non-danceable music,

between black and white music, may symbolically mark the distinction between themselves and the members of non-white ethnic groups. Females are still underrepresented in the Rock group. Interestingly, no educational or social class differences were found for this group, suggesting that a fan base once comprising nearly entirely lower-class, lower educated males (Arnett, 1991, 1996; Weinstein, 1991) has changed substantially over the last two decades, at least in the Netherlands.

Fans of 'Afro-American' music, 21% of the total audience, do not dislike rock music as much as the rock group dislikes Afro-American music. This greater tolerance may be attributed to the fact that, in the Netherlands, the audience for this type of music is multi-ethnic. However, the tolerance assumption is supported by the fact that this part of the audience shows a broader preference than rock and dance fans. There is not a single genre they strongly dislike, they view dance neutrally and their judgment of pop verges on the edge of neutral and negative. With their enthusiasm for Afro-American music, consisting of the popular rap and R&B genres, this group of people seems to be, next to the group of pop/Dutch pop fans, the second cluster of fans of music that is often chart bound and mainstream. It is remarkable that they dislike the elite style even though older black music is part of this style. The Afro-American cluster is generally younger than the other groups and its members have a lower educational level.

The 'Dance' cluster likes genres like house, trance, techno and drum & bass. Members of this group, 6% of the audience, have a neutral attitude to pop/Dutch pop music, but dislike Afro-American and rock music. This relatively small group is interesting for the fact that its members dislike two forms of popular music which have been part of the mainstream from the fifties on. For this part of the audience, the development of electronic dance music has been a true revolution in the sense that they perceive it as a whole new type of music, in no way associated with older traditions and genres in popular music. This cluster seems to be the most radical in embracing truly contemporary music and, in the same process, debasing older forms. This interpretation is supported by the fact that they strongly despise the elite tradition in (popular) music. To some extent, their preferences may not only reflect musical judgments but also class- and race-based preoccupations. While it is evident that they are no fans of white rock music, they also dislike the Afro-American style and, loathing the elite style of music, they show disapproval of the mainly black genres of blues, jazz, and world music. Cutting themselves off from the black tradition in popular music and being oriented towards on types of music predominantly produced by white musicians, D.J.s and producers, this part of the audience may be typified as 'white Dance' fans. In their severe rejection of the elitist style, they may also show a social-economic-based distaste for any genre with a hint of 'high', non-working-class culture. The dance cluster comprises

predominantly males with a lower educational level and socio-economic status. Interestingly, especially this crowd is awed by the prospect of having to become adult with all the duties implied. As youth centrists, on the one hand, they crave for 'adult' rights - drinking, sex, independence- on the other hand they would like to stay with their friends in a youthful subculture, never crossing the border to that despised grown-up status.

The rave party scene is not limited to what has been labeled the white dance cluster with their relatively narrow taste. The cluster of people defined as 'Omnivore' also shows a passion for dance music, however, they do not limit their preferences to one kind of (rhythmic) music. They distinguish themselves from the white dance group by their enthusiasm for Afro-American pop, and they like pop/Dutch pop as well. They have a neutral attitude to rock and, on the generally unpopular elite type of music, they score highest. Omnivores, 17% of the audience, show by far the broadest taste and with their approval of elite music they also show a keen sense of the history of music. While they like the music qualified as elite, they do not have an especially high socio-economic status or high education. With their broad taste and tolerance, they may be qualified as an elitist group distinguishing itself from other less tolerant groups. This social categorization may be self-approved, but, interestingly, this kind of elite position is an effect of personal cultural taste rather than class-based or educational sensibilities, typical of the higher strata.

The 14% of adolescents and young adults who belong to the 'Anti' cluster form the exact opposite of the omnivore group. They are more or less neutral regarding pop/Dutch pop, but they dislike the Afro-American style and show a strong distaste for dance, elite, and rock music. Though pop music is thought to be the pre-eminently youthful medium, about one in seven adolescents and young adults shows a common dislike of pop music and, in debasing the elite style representing important older musical forms, they in fact demonstrate a general distaste for nearly all kinds of music. Anti's tend to belong to the lower ranks of the educational system and the typical anti is more likely to be female than male.

By using preference scores on music genres we limited our sample to those respondents actually familiar with these genres. Our cluster analysis, therefore, seems only to account for the choices made by young people well acquainted with popular music. A further limitation may be that it is not precisely known what even these connoisseurs of pop music have in mind when confronted with the task of evaluating the 20 genres. For instance, rock is a broad category and so is top 40 music, and people may refer to very different artists and bands when they rate their preferences of these genres. However, first, the prevalence of knowledge of music is high in the researched group, with 74.3% of all respondents indicating that they know all genres, and second, the clear pattern of styles emerging from factor analysis indicates that respondents, no matter

what they think of individual genres and artists, structure the field of popular music in much the same way.

Furthermore, our results show that the audience of pop music can be divided in only six groups of people whose taste is more of less the same. This may not stroke with the image that people who like music have of themselves. Fans tend to think that their taste is a special, unique affair. Simon Frith (1996) argues that debating the intricacies of the music of bands and artists is part of the pleasure of liking pop music. Even people with roughly the same taste may argue passionately over differences within a certain style, and why some artists are better performers than others. Fans may have the idea that their taste is a highly individual matter, but they almost certainly overestimate differences between them, as is indicated by the fact that it is possible to identify a limited number of clusters within the audience.

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