

Seeking collective effervescence? Understanding the taste patterns of youth living in the Netherlands

Student Name: Sam Puk Lochs
Student Number: 579963

Supervisor: Timo Koren

International Bachelor of Arts and Culture Studies
Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication Erasmus University Rotterdam

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ABSTRACT

Previous research claims that youngsters are uninterested and unwilling to visit cultural activities such as theater, opera and ballet and prefer to take part in popular culture – specifically popular music. Popular culture (and specifically popular music) is characterized by high levels of collective emotion and participation, where audiences are encouraged to participate and sing or dance along. With this in mind this thesis explores the cultural consumption of youth, asking them what the importance of collective effervescence is in navigating their decisions to partake in cultural activities. In this sociological study, combining Durkheimian and Bourdieusian thinking, I explore this question through interviews with 7 people between the age of 18 and 25 living in the Randstad-area of the Netherlands. The results show that consumption patterns are not so black and white with young people expressing motivations from both collective engagement – in for example raves and concerts – but also in individual engagement – in museum visits and movies.

Key words: collective effervescence, distinction-theory, cultural participation, youth culture, cultural omnivores

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1. Introduction

'Density and equality become one and the same. In the end, there appears to be a single creature dancing, a creature with fifty heads and a hundred legs and arms, all performing in exactly the same way and with the same purpose. When their excitement is at its height, these people really feel as one, and nothing but physical exhaustion can stop them' (Canetti, 1973: 35-6 in Malbon, 2002: 70).

This process of a group experiencing intense feelings of togetherness is what influential sociologist Durkheim (2012) described as 'collective effervescence'. Although his idea of collective effervescence talks about religion, multiple recent studies (Vandenberg, Berghman & Julian Schaap, 2021; Gabriel et al., 2020; Liebst, 2019) have shown that collective effervescence can appear beyond religious experiences. Collective effervescence can for example come into being during cultural events such as a concert or festival (Vandenberg, 2022). In this thesis the limits of this concept will be explored by applying it to a broad spectrum of cultural activities, varying from elitist to popular, concentrating on the participation of youth in these activities.

Research done by Voorpostel and van der Lippe (2001) shows that youth participate little in elitist cultural activities while popular culture does receive their time and money. In their sample, existing of people between the age of 16 and 25, '26% visited a theatre play, classical concert, ballet performance, museum or gallery and 43% visited a pop concert, jazz concert or musical' (De Haan and Knulst, 2000 in Voorpostel and van der Lippe, 2001, p. 2). Although their research was conducted in 1995, the lack of participation in highbrow cultural activities by Dutch youngsters still proof to be relevant to this day (Van Den Broek, 2021).

Voorpostel and van der Lippe (2001) claim that the lack of participation in highbrow cultural activities is caused by the fact that high culture is something that seems to be enforced on youngsters by their parents and teachers. Similarly, Prieur, Savage and Flemmen (2023) also find that the reason for inactive participation in highbrow cultural activities is the tendency of youth to rebel against older generations. However, both research falls short in finding an explanation for the motivation of youth to participate in popular culture.

Therefore, instead of looking at reasons for why youth do not participate in highbrow culture, this thesis will focus on why youth have a desire to participate in lowbrow culture. This will be done starting from the knowledge that popular culture, and specifically popular music, is characterized by high levels of collective emotion or in Durkheimian terms; collective effervescence (Vandenberg, 2022). Cultural activities where music and dancing are

present such as clubs, concerts and festivals, encourage audiences to participate, for example by dancing and singing along (Collins, 2004). The ability to participate can create feelings of belonging, especially for youth (Malbon, 2002). Using the concept of collective effervescence to come to a better understanding of youth's cultural consumption patterns therefore has the ability to lead to an interesting academic contribution.

This thesis will explore the cultural consumption of youth, asking how do audiences between the age of 18 and 25 define the importance of collective effervescence in navigating their cultural consumption? In this sociological study, combining Durkheimian and Bourdieusian thinking, I explore this question through semi-structured interviews with 7 people between the age of 18 and 25 living in the Randstad-area of the Netherlands. This research method allows me to gain valuable insight into the decision-making process prior to cultural consumption and the experiences with various cultural activities of this age group (Lamont and Swidler, 2014).

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses all the concepts and theories that my research builds itself on. I will start by tracing back the origin of the main concept of my thesis; ‘collective effervescence’ and argue why this is a relevant concept to look at motivation to participate in cultural activities. Thus far, the application of collective effervescence to cultural activities limits itself to lowbrow music events. This might seem logical because all the conditions necessary for collective effervescence to come into being are present in such events. I would like to suggest however that it is useful to gain a deeper understanding into which cultural activities allow for collective effervescence and which do not. This is useful because youth’s current consumption patterns seem to align with cultural activities that have proven to bring about feelings of collective effervescence. After having discussed youth’s current consumption patterns, which is mostly shaped by their cultural capital and their friends, it will become apparent that theories for why youth prefer to participate in lowbrow cultural activities are lacking. I suggest that in order to still make claims about this, it is interesting to gain an understanding of the purpose with which youth consume culture. Using research from the field of musicology and education, I propose two reasons; 1. identity-forming and signaling and 2. deepening connections with peers. I suggest that the cultural activities that cater to achieving this purpose are more attractive than activities that do not serve this purpose.

2.1 Collective effervescence

In his book 'The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life', French sociologist Durkheim (2012) explains how feelings of ‘collective effervescence’ come into being. To do so he uses examples of ceremonies of Australian tribes. He starts by pointing out that in the social structure of these tribes, there is a strong contrast between everyday activities, which mainly happen in small groups of people or alone, and few-yearly sacred events. During their everyday life activities, the tribesman stick to a routine that becomes mundane, which stands in contrast to the sacred gatherings. During these sacred gatherings the whole tribe comes together, which means they are reunited with people that they only see a few times a year. These gatherings evoke extreme feelings of excitement. In Durkheim's (2012) words:

'The very fact of the concentration acts as an exceptionally powerful stimulant. When they are once come together, a sort of electricity is formed by their collecting which quickly transports them to an extraordinary degree of exaltation. ' (Durkheim, 2012, p. 205)

To understand the degree of exaltation that is experienced, the tribesmen look for a cause. The cause of their feelings of exalt is found in objects, which Durkheim (2012) defines as 'totems'. When a member who was part of the sacred gathering is exposed to a totem during the 'mundane' time, feelings of excitement and belonging are revived. Collective effervescence thus has long lasting positive effects for bonding a group together (Durkheim, 2012).

Collins (2004) proclaims various conditions that need to be present in order for collective effervescence to come into being. These are: 1. co-presence; 2. barriers to outsiders; 3. shared mood; 4. rhythmic entrainment (Collins, 2004 in Vandenberg, 2023). With co-presence he means that all the people that participate in the event need to be 'gathered face-to-face' (Vandenberg, 2023, p. 20). Barriers to entry refer to the importance of being able to distinguish participants from non-participants. This is achieved by a shared focus, for example on a totem. It is important that all participants are aware of each other's focus on this totem (Collins, 2004). Shared mood is relatively self-explanatory, it is important that participants share the same emotions (Collins, 2004). Lastly, rhythmic entrainment has to do with coordinated actions that happen during the gathering, for example singing or clapping together (Collins, 2004)

Little research has been done about what activities allow for feelings of collective effervescence to come into being and which do not. Gabriel et al. (2020) argue that collective effervescence can be experienced during everyday mundane tasks. They give multiple examples such as this one: 'seeing a bad driver and another driver sees it too'. In this and other examples some of the conditions as set up by Collins (2004) are lacking. Moreover, it stands contrary to how Durkheim approached collective effervescence, as he specifically points out that collective effervescence appears during activities that form an exception to these mundane moments. I would therefore like to argue that these are regular experiences of connectiveness, of feeling part of the bigger whole of humanity, rather than experiences of collective effervescence.

2.2 Collective effervescence applied to cultural consumption

When it comes to the application of the concept of collective effervescence to cultural activities, research into which activities allow for feelings of collective effervescence and which do not, remains limited. So far, research focuses on music events such as festivals, (non) classical concerts, club-nights and raves (Liebst, 2019; Vandenberg, 2019). My research applies the concept to a broad range of cultural activities, hereby creating a better

understanding of which cultural activities allow for feelings of collective effervescence according to young adults.

Feelings of connectiveness that appear during cultural activities, nevertheless, are explored beyond the scope of musical cultural activities. Hanich (2017) finds that cultural experiences change when they are done together with other people. She describes this as the ‘audience effect’ in her research about cinema experiences. By this she means that the co-presence of other people in the audience has an influence on how the movie is experienced by the individual (Hanich, 2017). People respond to other people’s responses to the movie, such as the sound of laughter or crying. If responses align, a feeling of collectivity can be experienced because the mood in the audience is shared (Hanich, 2017). Besides co-presence and a shared mood, a cinema theater also creates barriers to outsiders by simple things such as tickets. Despite this, collective effervescence will not come into being during this activity because one important condition is missing; rhythmic entrainment (Collins, 2004).

Since all musical events in essence allow for rhythmic entrainment, one might expect that during these cultural activities, feelings of collective effervescence could potentially always come into being. Yet, Vandenberg (2023) finds that during classical music activities, feelings of collective effervescence do not appear. This is because audiences of classical music genres display an individual mode of consumption. During these types of music performances, ‘the act of sitting together in joint silence fosters a collective experience’ (Vandenberg, 2023, p. 132). So, similarly to what Hanich (2017) identified in the movie theater, a collective experience comes into being, but it will not develop into one of collective effervescence. This is simply because collectively engaging by clapping and singing along is uncommon, and arguably undesirable behavior, in these highbrow music settings (Vandenberg, 2023).

Cultural activities in which collective effervescence does happen are thus suggestively limited to cultural activities in which people do actively engage by dancing, clapping or singing along. Such activities include mostly lowbrow music events such as festivals, non-classical concerts, club-nights and raves (Liebst, 2019; Vandenberg, 2019).

Besides rhythmic entrainment, Liebst (2019) found that the emergence of collective effervescence is far more likely to happen when people are in a dense crowd. Which is mostly the case during these lowbrow music events (Liebst, 2019). Especially the fluctuation between being in a dense crowd and being in a less densely populated area causes great excitement amongst people. This phenomenon called ‘social morphology’ is mostly present at festivals and raves (Liebst, 2019).

Another factor which is influential on increasing feelings of collective effervescence are the ‘cultural capital and related emotional energy of the respondents’ (Liebst, 2019, p. 30). If these match, then feelings of collective effervescence are more likely to happen (Liebst, 2019). Vandenberg (2023) even takes it so far as suggesting that if related energy and cultural capital are present bonds between people with highly different identity markers can be formed through collective effervescence. However, the stronger the homogeneity and shared emotion and knowledge of a crowd, the more connected they feel and the stronger the barriers to entry become, thus forming a more fertile breeding ground for feelings of collective effervescence (Collins, 2004).

2.3 Cultural consumption

French sociologist Bourdieu (2021) makes a distinction between highbrow cultural activities and lowbrow, or popular cultural activities. Voorpostel and van der Lippe (2001) make a similar distinction, calling it elitist and popular culture. Theater plays, cabaret, classical concerts, ballet performances and museum visits all fall under the category of elitist cultural activities. Popular cultural activities are things such as pop concerts, cinema visits, DJ events or dance-parties (Voorpostel and van der Lippe, 2001). This thesis follows this division.

According to Bourdieu, cultural consumption patterns are linked to people’s ‘cultural capital’. Cultural capital has to do with a person's familiarity with highbrow culture. This familiarity is gained through education, upbringing and socialization (Bourdieu, 2021). In the line of this theory, people with high levels of cultural capital participate in highbrow cultural activities and people with low levels of cultural capital participate in lowbrow cultural activities (Bourdieu, 2021).

Peterson and Kern (1996) bring some nuance to these claims. According to them people that have high social status in society, which is in line with Bourdieu’s high level of cultural capital, consume an eclectic mix of cultural products. This mix ranges from popular culture to highbrow culture, thereby operating as ‘cultural omnivores’. Their taste remains dissimilar to that of people with lower social status, as in Bourdieu’s theory. People with a lower social status tend to display a less diversified consumption pattern and mostly consume popular culture (Peterson and Kern, 1996).

Typical omnivores adapt their modes of engagement according to the cultural activity they are taking part in. Vandenberg (2023) clearly observed this with regard to music consumption. Omnivorous music consumers seamlessly changed their behavior from active engagers, during a pop concert to passive consumers, during a classical concert. This

flexibility was not observed in people with a lower educational background. They tended to only consume genres of music in which collective engagement was present (Vandenberg, 2023).

Prieur, Savage and Flemmen (2023) add the dimension of age to Bourdieu's theory, specifically focusing on the consumption patterns of young cultural elites between the age of 15 and 30. In line with the general consumption patterns of people with high social status, these young people display omnivorous consumption patterns. According to Prieur, Savage and Flemmen (2023) youngsters have specific reasons for consuming more and more lowbrow culture next to their highbrow consumption. They argue that this is rooted in our current social structure, in which social inequalities keep growing. Being an elite with an elite mindset is not favored by this generations' cultural elites. Mind here that cultural elites are not economic elites. In fact, cultural and economic capital are progressively becoming more detached over time (Prieur, Savage and Flemmen, 2023). Cultural elites downplay their position within society, by not merely consuming elitist culture but rather consuming a wide range of cultural products (Prieur, Savage and Flemmen, 2023). For cultural elitist youth this is a way to create boundaries between themselves and cultural elites from older generations, who still consume more elitist culture and take pride in displaying both their cultural as well as their economic capital (Prieur, Savage and Flemmen, 2023).

Voorpostel and van der Lippe (2001) also stress the importance of distinguishing cultural participation by youth from adults above 25. In their research, youth range from 16- to 25-year-olds. They find that young people are far less likely to participate in high cultural activities compared to adults (Voorpostel and van der Lippe, 2001). They find that youth are, however, motivated to take part in popular cultural activities. These conclusions are based on the fact that youth make both money and time available to be able to afford it, something they do not do for high cultural activities. Their research falls short in finding an explanation for the motivation of youth to participate in popular culture. I would like to argue that this is the case because they are using theories commonly used to explain differences in cultural participation for adults rather than looking at what navigates youth's decision for consumption.

Van Wel (1993) does look at what navigates youth's decision to take part in certain cultural activities. His research stresses the importance of the social aspect in navigating young people's cultural consumption patterns. Young people tend to harmonize their cultural consumption with that of their friends (Van Wel, 1993). This is not only the case for popular cultural consumption but also for highbrow cultural consumption (Van Wel, 1993). Although

van Wel's (1993) research succeeds in giving insight into how consumption patterns of youth are shaped, youth's motivation to participate in lowbrow rather than highbrow activities remains unexplained.

That it is important is for youth to invest time into lowbrow activities for youth is stressed again by the fact that 'the level and intensity of meaning invested in music by young people is unmatched by any other organized activity in society, including religion' (Ross, 1994 in Malbon, 2002, p. 77). I would like to suggest that to gain a thorough understanding of this motivation, it is important to first understand for what purpose youth consume culture.

Thornton (1995) suggests that young people use culture to signal their social status within society. The culture they consume becomes an important part of their identity, much more important than it is for adults (Thornton, 1995). Building from this idea that cultural products can *signal* identity, DeNora (1999) argues that they can also be used to *build* identity. This is interesting in general, but specifically when studying youth because young people are still actively, compared to adults, developing their own identities (Educating 21st Century Children, 2019). Both Thornton's (1995) and DeNora's (1999) research focuses on music as a cultural product. DeNora (1999) suggests that music is 'used' by people as an extension of themselves. They use it to experience certain emotions, to lower or heighten their levels of energy, set their mood or to evoke memories. I would like to explore whether youth are doing the same, but for a wider variety of products than just music.

Applying DeNora's (1999) framework to a wider variety of cultural products while keeping in mind the idea of collective effervescence, suggests that youth might be *using* cultural activities to deepen their connection with peers. The creation of strong bonds with peers as a motivation for youth to take part in cultural activities has not yet been explored. That the creation of these bonds is very important for young people specifically, however, has been established in the field of education studies (Educating 21st Century Children, 2019).

As has been stated, the experience of collective effervescence has the ability to create and maintain strong bonds between groups of people. Moreover, research into this concept has only applied to cultural activities that are granted the attention of youngsters; lowbrow cultural events where music is present. This thesis will therefore explore this novel idea of collective effervescence as a key factor in determining which cultural activities gain youth's attention and which do not.

3. Methodology

3.1 Method of data collection

To come to an understanding of how audiences between the age of 18 and 25 living in the Netherlands define the importance of collective effervescence in navigating their cultural consumption, I have used semi-structured interviews to collect the data. Using semi-structured interviews allowed me to reveal the emotional dimension my interviewees attach to their cultural consumption, which is hard to gain access to when using other research methods (Lamont and Swidler, 2014). Gaining this insight was of utter relevance since I wanted to gain insight into the abstract concept of collective effervescence, which is essentially a shared emotion.

All the interviews were conducted by me, Sam Lochs, a Dutch third year International Bachelor of Arts and Culture Studies student at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. The interviews varied in length from 1 hour and 15 minutes to 45 minutes. The shortest interview only lasted 20 minutes; this was the last interview I conducted. All interviews were based on the same interview guide, in which minor alterations were made after the first interview, to better serve the purpose of the research (see Appendix A for the interview guide). The interviews started with gaining insight into the interviewees' ideas around cultural activities, followed by their cultural consumption patterns, after which they were reassessed using the concept of collective effervescence. Using semi-structured interviews as a research method allowed for some freedom, which meant that not all interviews were exactly the same (Bryman, 2012). This allowed me to guide the conversations in a direction that was relevant for getting the best idea of the interviewees experience. It therefore enhanced rather than diminished the validity of the data (Bryman, 2012).

3.2 The sample

To gain access to relevant participants, I did purposeful sampling, selecting active cultural consumers with varying education levels living in the Randstad-area of the Netherlands (see Appendix B for an overview of my participants). I selected people that were active cultural consumers because I wanted to know what motivated them to take part in different cultural activities. I selected people with varying levels of education to see if this would have any influence on their experiences and cultural consumption patterns, as Bourdieu claims it does. I interviewed two people that studied vocational education (in Dutch, MBO), two that (had) studied at the university of applied sciences (in Dutch, HBO) and three that (had) studied at

university (in Dutch, WO). All my participants, except for one, were social climbers, as they all had finished or were currently doing higher levels of education than their parents.

I focused solely on people living within the Randstad-area of the Netherlands. This area is a network of the cities Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht and Rotterdam. In this area of the Netherlands most cultural and economic activity takes place (Kloosterman and Lambregts, 2001). I made the deliberate choice to solely interview people living in one of these cities because I did not want availability of cultural activities to play a role in the participants' lives. Besides mental distance, such as lack of cultural capital, which is of importance to my research, physical distance can also create a threshold for people to participate (Van Den Broek, 2021).

My sample was mixed in terms of gender. I purposefully interviewed four people that identified as male and three that identified as female, to get a balanced perspective of cultural participation.

Although previous research regarding the cultural consumption of youth defined youths' age to range from either 16 to 25 (in Voorpostel and van der Lippe, 2001) or 15 to 30 (in Prieur, Savage and Flemmen, 2023). I chose to focus my research on people between the ages of 18 and 25. I did this because I wanted my participants to have experience with participation in cultural activities such as clubbing and festivals. Such places often have an age limit of 18 and above. To gain valuable insight from my sample, I wanted to keep the differences in age between my participants to a minimum, I therefore chose to let my age range stop at 25 rather than 30.

Besides one Turkish female, all my participants were Dutch. This outlier might be seen as a deficiency, however, as it also gives a different perspective, it rather enriches the analysis. At one point for example she was describing how her experience of participating in big shared cultural events such as festivals and concerts changed after moving from Turkey to the Netherlands. This gives unique insight into how cultural activities not only differ when they are compared to each other but that the same cultural activity can also be experienced differently across borders. It thus gives a different cultural perspective on the matter studied.

With regard to cultural consumption, my participants displayed an openness to various types of cultural consumption, both highbrow and lowbrow. However, when it came to highbrow cultural activities, they visited them less frequently and less eagerly compared to their participation in lowbrow cultural activities. To ensure the relevance of my research, I specifically selected young people who engaged in a wide range of cultural products. This choice allowed me to explore how young people's motivations for consumption might vary

between highbrow and lowbrow, particularly in relation to experiencing collective effervescence.

3.3 Reflections

Solely using interviewing as a method to gain a thorough insight into people's lives has been under discussion for a long time (Lamont and Swidler, 2014). One of my participants even caught himself answering a question in a certain way, while he was not sure if that was how he would experience it in reality. The fact that he accounted for this himself, however, shows that my participants are aware of this and aimed at sharing their experiences as close to reality as possible (Lamont and Swidler, 2014).

To make sure all participants felt safe, I informed the participants about how I would use their input via a consent form. I made sure they all knew that they could opt out of the interview at any point and did not have to answer questions which they did not feel comfortable doing so. To protect the safety of my participants, all the names given in the results' section and the transcripts are pseudonyms.

Since I have interviewed seven people, my sample is too small to make any generalizable claims about cultural consumption of youth living in the Randstad-area of the Netherlands. However, because of the purposeful selection of my sample, the people I interviewed were able to answer my research questions in a rich and meaningful way. This helped me to get a clear idea of the motivations that navigated their cultural consumption patterns. My sample was large enough to reach a repetition of data amongst the interviewees. For full saturation further research is needed (Bryman, 2012).

3.4 Analysis of data

To analyze the data, I used reflexive thematic analysis. This method was chosen because it is a well-established method to use when analyzing qualitative data regarding collective effervescence (see for example; Vandenberg, 2021; Vandenberg, Berghman and Schaap, 2021.). The application of this analysis is based on Bryman's (2012) implementation of this type of analysis. After conducting the interviews, which were all recorded as audio files, I transcribed them. Before applying any codes to the transcribed interviews, I read all of them successively. This allowed me to draw parallels between the various interviews. I highlighted sections that stood out to me. This allowed me to make informed choices about how I would code the interviews. As I used reflexive thematic analysis, no codebook was used to code the

data. This allowed me to change, remove and add codes as I was working through the data. This was useful because it allowed me to interpret patterns across the data as I was going along.

I was the only person conducting the interviews as well as coding the interview transcripts, the overarching themes that flowed out of the dataset are therefore cohesive. The process of coding was done with the help of the software for qualitative data analysis, Atlas.ti. I started with open coding, in this part I read through the transcript again, breaking them up into discrete parts to which I attached codes. Thereafter I drew connections between the codes I had identified previously, breaking them up into various overarching themes (see Appendix C). These themes were thereafter structured in a network (see Appendix D), which allowed me to draw relationships between the themes. This helped me to gain an understanding of how youth go about their cultural consumption.

4. Results

In navigating their cultural consumption my participants are mostly guided by the social aspect of culture. Participation in cultural activities finds its roots in people's upbringing, which shapes their cultural capital. All the people I interviewed show omnivorous cultural participation, meaning they like to visit museums but also enjoy going to (non-classical) concerts. Despite their omnivore tastes, the respondents are not motivated to actively pursue highbrow culture.

The results of my research explain why collective effervescence is crucial for young people and how this explains why youth are not as interested in highbrow activities compared to lowbrow or popular activities.

My participants make a distinction between social and non-social activities. In which the social cultural activities have their overall preference, while non-social activities either lead to non-consumption or individual consumption. Consumption is either shaped by the knowledge of what a certain cultural activity can bring the consumer, or if this knowledge is lacking, by friends that take the participant along. In both cases, cultural capital is of importance, either embodied by the consumer themselves or by the people around them. The participants display three modes of consumption; 1. cultural non-consumption; 2. individual consumption and 3. social consumption, which subsequently are the key themes that flowed out of my analysis as well as the structure of this chapter.

4.1 Theme 1 Cultural Non-consumption

The activities that are visited least by the participants are highbrow cultural activities such as the theater, opera and ballet. Participants feel that these activities are less attractive to them because they cannot connect with the audience. They describe the audience as too 'old', 'white' and 'privileged'. Because connections cannot be made with the other people present at the activity, feelings of collective effervescence cannot come into being. My participants also feel like they do not share the understanding of the cultural product with the rest of the audience. They feel like they lack knowledge of what is happening; therefore, they cannot enjoy it. This shows that they feel like they lack shared cultural capital with the rest of the audience, once again lowering the ability of collective effervescence to come into being. Besides not feeling connected with the audience for the reasons just mentioned, some of my participants also show an active unwillingness to connect with the current audience present at

these events. They try to distance themselves as far as possible from them. The only way the youngsters can be motivated to participate in these events is if their friends ask them.

4.1.1 Friends

Existing research claims that the consumption patterns of youth are mainly shaped by the consumption patterns of their friends (Van Wel, 1993; Voorpostel and van der Lippe, 2001). The same research states that youth tend to consume more popular culture than high culture (Voorpostel and van der Lippe, 2001). An explanation for why popular culture is more attractive for youngsters, however, is not given.

My participants declare a relative openness towards visiting highbrow cultural activities. They claim however that they do not ‘come across that [these types of events] very often’. Living in the culturally rich Randstad-area of the Netherlands, reasons for not coming across these events are not unavailability or distance (Kloosterman and Lambregts, 2001). Their lack of participation in highbrow events can mainly be explained by their passive approach in seeking out such events, unlike their active approach in seeking lowbrow ones. However, when a friend invites them to a highbrow cultural activity, they are very much willing to attend. Oscar, a 23-year-old male describes this very well:

‘An activity which I do actively look for are movies, but for a museum, no I have never had that, the feeling ‘Oh I really want to go here!’. It is more like, if people ask me, ‘Do you want to go here?’, that I am like, ‘Yes! Let's go’. This, I really like. But, yeah, I am not the person who actively looks for it.’ (Oscar, 23 years old, male)

The ‘people’ that stimulate Oscar to attend highbrow cultural events, are not just any ‘people’. He describes them as people that are the same age as him with whom he has a ‘certain cultural connection’. This cultural connection comes into being because of shared cultural capital. Shared cultural capital leads to a shared understanding of a certain cultural product, which allows people to connect over the cultural experience (Vandenberg, 2023). Creating connections such as these are of great importance for young people specifically. The older you get, the more your bonds with people become settled, thus creating less of a need to create new bonds (Educating 21st Century Children, 2019). Young people are still forming these bonds, which explains why the social aspect in the motivation for cultural consumption of youth is of such importance.

If the youngsters have never attended a cultural activity before, being invited by a friend is the way to get them to attend. Often, however, their friends also do not take part in these activities. Because of this, my participants mostly choose to not pay a visit, even if they are interested in the activity themselves. Gijs, a 19-year-old male describes why:

‘I don’t do it, I think that’s because the people around me also don’t do it, so then I also don’t do it, like I said earlier, I enjoy doing things together with people’ (Gijs, 19-year-old, male)

‘Doing things together’ is of special importance when it comes to highbrow cultural activities, this is mostly the case because the youngsters do not feel motivated to do them on their own. If they go with friends, they at least know that they ‘will have fun’. Even when it comes to factors such as time and money, the social context is considered. Time is, for example, of less importance if friends are accompanying them. Money is of greater importance if they have never experienced a cultural activity before and thus lack information about whether they will enjoy it or not. However, money becomes a less important factor if one of their friends, whose cultural taste they trust, invites them to a cultural activity that is slightly above their initial willingness to pay.

4.1.2 Old, white, elitist

The second reason my participants give for not participating in highbrow activities is the feeling that these activities are ‘not for them’. Frits, a 22-year-old male, clearly describes this in the quote below:

‘If you would compare going out and going to the opera with one another, then going out definitely feels more for me and an opera more for old people, or, you know, more elitist people’ (Frits, 22-year-old, male).

Frits connects ‘old’ and ‘elitist’ to ‘opera’, a highbrow cultural activity. Other participants also root their reasoning for why a cultural activity is ‘not for them’ in the audience being too ‘high-class’. They mention that they do not feel ‘comfortable in such a setting, where ‘you have to drink your champagne and look all fancy’. Because they cannot identify with the audience present at highbrow events, they do not experience a ‘collective feeling’. This again stresses the importance of the social aspect of cultural activities in guiding young people’s consumption patterns. Mara, a 22-year-old female shared her

experience at a highbrow cultural event compared to her experience at a lowbrow event. Her experience aligns with those of my other participants.

‘If I’m going to a highbrow cultural activity, I cannot experience a collective feeling because I can’t connect with the people there. Those people there are all rich white people who probably all feel very connected with the person next to them but not with me. However, when I go to a club where there are a lot of young people, especially in a club where they are playing alternative music, attracting many creative people, well, young creative people, then I do feel connected with them. (...) Then I experience that feeling of collectivity a lot. I think that I can find this collective feeling mainly in lowbrow forms of art’ (Mara, 22 years old, female)

Interestingly Mara points out that the people with whom she does not feel connected are ‘rich’ and ‘white’. With her, a few other participants pointed out that an all-white crowd was problematic, and something they would not feel comfortable with. Even though, all my participants were white themselves. The fact that they critique homogeneous audiences can mainly be explained by the fact that young cultural elites feel the need to revolt against older generations (Prieur, Savage and Flemmen, 2023). Being inclusive towards marginalized communities is important to my participants. Places where highbrow culture can be consumed are perceived to speak only to the ‘white middle-aged privileged men’. Hereby lacking the ability to include marginalized groups, which is one of the reasons to critique rather than consume them.

My participants also feel like they lack the knowledge to properly understand and appreciate highbrow culture. Zoey a 21-year-old female, for example, reveals that she does not visit museums because she finds them too ‘cold’ and ‘unwelcoming’. The themes and subjects under discussion or on display are not the problem, rather it is the way in which they are presented. Places like these do not ‘stimulate’ her senses enough to spark interest or create a deeper understanding of the artworks. Which is another reason to stay away from them.

4.2 Theme 2 Individual Cultural Consumption

Cultural activities that my participants prefer to visit alone are mostly the museum and movies. They state that they do not feel connected with the audience present. However, they also do not want this. They deliberately choose to consume this activity for self-growth. The museum is for example visited to find peace of mind by being alone. The cinema is mostly visited to allow certain emotions to be

processed or to learn about oneself. Some participants declare to experience feelings of euphoria if a certain artwork has given them new insight or brought them on a new path. The fact that collective effervescence cannot be experienced at these places is thus not a problem because these experiences gain their success by allowing self-reflection.

4.2.1 Individual cultural experiences

When discussing collectivity in relation to the participants' cultural consumption there are multiple aspects that are addressed by all the participants. The theme of contrasting 'social' to 'individual' cultural experiences was called out as being an important factor in altering the experience of the participant. With this the participants did not necessarily mean the lack of co-presence of other people during certain cultural activities. Mara, a 22-year-old female, for example, described the museum as being a place where people are 'closed-of' whereas at a festival or concert people are 'open'. Similarly, Oscar, a 23-year-old male, described that he could experience a collective feeling during an individual experience, such as going to the movies. Interesting to note here is that the 'audience effect' as pitched by Hanich (2017) can thus come into being regardless of people's openness to making connections. Oscar does state that the feeling of collectiveness that he experiences would not be one he would not actively share with the people around him because making this connection would 'break the feeling'

An active connection is thus not made or sought in the consumption of individual cultural activities. Therefore, feelings of collective effervescence cannot come into being. Feelings of euphoria, however, can still appear, but are experienced on an individual level in the form of self-growth. These feelings are, however, mostly experienced during a cinema visit rather than a museum visit. This is because my participants feel like they lack the cultural capital to understand the deeper meaning of the artworks at display in a museum. It is interesting that despite this, most of them still feel attracted to the museum. Arguably, this is the case because my participants claimed that they were exposed to museums from an earlier age, compared to other highbrow cultural activities, during school trips. This causes them to, regardless of their self-judgment, have higher levels of cultural capital to make sense of an activity such as a museum visit. They therefore have a basic understanding of what the museum can bring them, namely a place to find peace. Another reason my participants give for being attracted to the museum more in comparison to other highbrow activities is that my participants feel like they can be themselves. They do not feel the need to 'dress all fancy' and 'act a certain way'. Which is a 'pressure' they do feel in other highbrow activities.

4.2.2 Culture as extension of the self

My participants thus do not prefer all popular activities over high cultural activities. All my participants would rather go to the museum than to a mainstream club. This mostly has to do with the fact that my participants ‘use’ their cultural consumption to signal their identity.

Oscar argues, that consuming popular music is mere ‘entertainment’ and that if he consumes it too much he would be ‘wasting a lot of time’. He describes this in the quote below:

‘I would find it a shame if I would listen to popular music a lot, because I know that there is so much music out there, I can still learn so much about music. I would love to know more about jazz, finding out every detail about old jazz musicians, if I would only listen to Taylor Swift, I would miss that, that would be very sad, I would judge myself for it and I would feel useless’ (Oscar, 23-year-old-male)

Besides signaling identity, the deliberate choice to not merely consume popular culture can mainly be explained by the fact that my interviewees are conscious consumers. They are aware of what various cultural activities can or cannot bring them and navigate their decisions based on their needs. If they, for example, feel the need to be inspired, they make the deliberate choice to see a documentary or go to a museum, knowing that these cultural activities have inspired them in the past. If they want to let loose and feel happy, they go out with their friends. If they feel the need to be entertained, they consume a ‘trashy reality show’. Mara explains how she goes about doing this:

‘I ask myself the question, what do I need right now? Do I want to experience a very social type of culture, then I am going there. Am I in need to be alone, then I am going to this or that. That is my motivation, when I am feeling like experiencing something, I look for something that fills that need’ (Mara, 22-year-old, female)

This shows that my participants are able to attach deeper meanings to cultural products and read them beyond ‘beautiful’ or ‘ugly’. This would suggest that they have high cultural capital, however, they show far greater abilities to do this in lowbrow cultural activities compared to highbrow. It is almost as though my participants are participating in lowbrow activities in a highbrow manner.

For my participants cultural activities become places that are actively sought to experience certain emotions. They thus also show great awareness of what various forms of

cultural activities can bring them personally. They ‘use’ cultural activities to enhance their current mood. This suggests that DeNora’s (1999) research about how people consume and use music as a resource for experiencing certain feelings, could indeed be meaningful in studying people’s general cultural consumption. Because my participants ‘use’ various cultural activities with different goals, they experience a cultural activity as ‘successful’ if the feelings that they initially seek are reached. Mara for example describes that a museum visit becomes successful if she is inspired by the art and has found ‘peace of mind’. Another way in which participants use cultural activities is to broaden their horizons and stimulate self-growth. They use cultural activities to take a break from their regular life and to ‘see other worlds and other traditions and visions’. The contrast that Durkheim (2012) observed between everyday activities and sacred gatherings was also pointed out by one of my participants in relation to cultural activities:

‘I feel like daily life can be a little boring (...) I think these events or like cultural activities just show a different world and I feel like you take a break from what’s outside or what’s going on in your life.’ (Celeste, 22 years old, female).

If the cultural activity indeed succeeds in broadening the horizon of my participants or allows them to experience ‘new emotions’, they perceive the activity as successful. Within the realm of individual activities, my participants do however state that it is harder for them to experience emotions during highbrow activities compared to lowbrow activities. Frits, a 21-year-old male for example says:

‘I think that some medium works better for me than others, a movie for example works really well for evoking emotions. (...) With sculptures or paintings, it is harder for me to experience certain emotions, mostly because I usually do not understand what the artworks mean.’ (Frits, 21-year-old, male).

In this quote it becomes clear that in order to evoke emotions, the participant needs to have the feeling they ‘understand’ the meaning of the cultural product that is being consumed. This asks for a certain level of cultural capital. Especially in the museum, having high cultural capital is required to understand the deeper meaning of artworks. The higher the cultural capital of my participant, the deeper the meanings connected to highbrow cultural activities. The more meaning participants attached to a cultural experience, the more they would see the

purpose of visiting this cultural activity again. In the case of these ‘individual activities’ meaning was mostly found in self-growth or experiencing certain emotions.

4.3 Theme 3 Social Cultural Consumption

Cultural activities that my participants categorize under the category social are (non-classical) concerts, raves and festivals. All of these activities allow for making strong connections with peers. This is of high importance to people within this age group specifically because they are still making these connections whereas grown-ups usually have more settled social positions. The activities at which music and dancing are present allow for feelings of collective effervescence to come into being. Experiencing collective effervescence allows for strong social connections to be made in a relatively fast manner. In order to experience feelings of collective effervescence shared cultural capital is important. Youth show a distinct type of cultural capital that most adults lack; subcultural capital. They bond over having this type of cultural capital. The most important thing to note here is that there is no high cultural capital necessary to consume these social cultural activities. So, almost all youngsters, regardless of their cultural capital, consume this.

4.3.1 Social cultural activities

As became apparent earlier, social activities are described by my participants as places where people are open to make connections. The places that my participant put particular focus on are festivals and concerts. Participants felt that at these places, connections were made effortlessly because the people present at such events share a mood, they were perceived to all be in a ‘euphoric state’. Frits, a 22-year-old male, describes this very well in the quote below:

‘You all come with the same purpose, which is seeing this DJ perform, or seeing this band perform. I think this creates more live contact, you also show your emotions more freely, which signals to other people how you feel, because others are doing the same thing, you can also see how they are feeling. This stands in contrast to a visiting an exhibition in a museum, during such an activity people show less of a strong emotion which causes the feeling of collectivity to be less’ (Frits, 22-year-old, male).

Both these aspects of co-presence and a visible shared mood are very important in allowing feelings of collective effervescence to occur (Collins, 2004). My participants connected the feeling of ‘euphoria’ and ‘intense feelings of happiness’ only to events where

music was present such as concerts, festivals or clubbing. This can be explained in two ways; firstly, the presence of music allows for rhythmic entrainment (Collins, 2004) and secondly, music is experienced more intensely by youth compared adults (Rose and Ross, 2014). Zoey, a 21-year-old female, describes how rhythmic entrainment creates a feeling of collectivity and euphoria in the quote below:

‘I think that these feelings can come into being during a party, a festival or a concert, maybe theater or a dance performance, because they do allow for people to collectively laugh and clap, but in a museum, or an opera, no, these feelings do not appear’ (Zoey, 21-year-old, female).

In this quote the distinction between cultural activities that allow for participation, such as laughing and clapping, and cultural activities that do not allow for participation is made clearly visible. If cultural experiences do not allow for participation, feelings of collective euphoria do not appear. For young people this either leads to non-consumption or individual consumption, as was discussed in theme 1 and 2.

The social activities are also shared more actively beyond the sphere of the activity itself compared to non-social activities. This happens in the form of ‘collectively getting hyped’ before participation in the cultural activity and ‘reminiscing collectively’ afterwards. Celeste, a 22-year-old female, describes why this is the case for her:

‘No, like, if I go to museum, I'm not going to get ready. Get all hyped and then you know, talk about it. I mean, if it was a really good exhibition and then, yeah, I might. But all in all, the feeling I think it's more subtle in other cultural activities whereas in concert there's like this big hype and excitement.’ (Celeste, 22-year-old, female).

This quote shows that because of the excitement experienced during the activity, the experience is something that she feels like sharing and discussing with her friends rather than keeping it to herself. This causes the activity to have a wider reach compared to the activities that youth attend individually. Because the experience is shared beyond the friends with whom attend the event, even more (young) people are stimulated to attend.

4.3.2 Youth's subcultural capital

Vandenberg (2023) claims that if participants share cultural capital and are willing to participate in 'ritual activities', such as a concert, solidarity can be established, even between people that are very different in age, gender and social background. This is, however, not the case for young people, as all my participants share that feelings of collectivity and connections occurred merely when the people that were present at the cultural activity were 'young, like me' or 'like-minded'. This shows the importance of a shared cultural capital and age to reach feelings of collectivity for my participants (Liebst, 2019). My participants display a distinct type of cultural capital; subcultural capital. Subcultural capital, a concept that draws from the work of Bourdieu (2021), represents the knowledge alternative youth have, to distinguish cool from uncool (Thornton, 1995). They use this mainly to distance themselves from anything mainstream, hereby, once again, 'using' their cultural consumption to signal their identity. Which is exactly what my participants are doing:

'With very commercial things, like popular music for example, if everyone likes it, I usually don't like it, mostly out of protesting against the mainstream' (Sebas, 20-year-old, male)

'I rebel against popular forms of art, I really do not want to take part in them, if you would ask me, they are only a distraction, not a good thing' (Oscar, 23-year-old, male)

Subcultural capital is strongly tight with youth specifically as they use it to signal their status where adults use their professional position to do so (Thornton, 1995). Both Sebas and Oscar are doing this by signaling that they invest in having cultural knowledge beyond popular culture. Investment in leisure is greater amongst youth compared to adults (Thornton, 1995). Being surrounded by people of a similar age is key for sharing (sub)cultural capital. With shared cultural capital feelings of collective effervescence are reached more easily. The effect of reaching these feelings of euphoria intensifies the feeling of connectivity with their friends (Durkheim, 2012; Vandenberg, 2023).

4.3.3 Collective Effervescence as the main motivation

If collective effervescence arises during a cultural activity and the participant reengages with it later, the sense of connection to those with whom the activity was shared is revived. Frits a 22-year-old male describes this in the quote below:

‘A while ago, I went to a festival in Germany together with a group of friends. We all had his one DJ that we really liked, and therefore we all listened to this one DJ a lot. If I listen to this DJ now, it really takes me back to those moments, to those good feelings of being together’
(Frits, 22-year-old, male)

This shows that collective effervescence indeed has a long lasting positive effect on bonding youngsters with their friends and peers. As I showed before, young people attach great importance to forming strong bonds with peers. This explains why, if feelings of collective effervescence are reached during a cultural activity, no other activity is better than this one. Frits describes why in the quote below:

‘If I would experience the same level of emotions in a museum as I experience at a festival, but at the festival I know I can experience this level of emotions together with four other people, than I would rather experience it together. (...) Sharing the experience and experiencing a friendship in such a way, it really deepens the connection you have with them [your friends], if you are sharing the emotion, yeah, I think that’s why I really enjoy the social side of art’. (Frits, 22-year-old, male)

This quote shows a strong preference for experiencing heightened emotions on a collective rather than on an individual level. Frits describes that even if both activities are successful, in the sense that it allows him to experience the emotions he is looking for, he prefers the shared emotional experience because it deepens the connection he has with his friends.

This shows that the main motivation for youth to take part in cultural activities is to strengthen the social bond with their peers and friends. Social cultural activities allow for collective effervescence to be experienced, allow for bonds to be strengthened whereas individual activities only allow for self-growth and experiencing emotions on an individual level. This explains the motivation behind the consumption of lowbrow culture, in specific lowbrow culture where music is present.

5. Conclusion

This thesis aimed to come to a better understanding of the cultural consumption of youth between the age of 18 and 25 living in the Randstad-area of the Netherlands. It asked the question: how do audiences between the age of 18 and 25 define the importance of collective effervescence in navigating their cultural consumption? Rather than solely looking for reasons for why youth do not participate in highbrow culture, the focus was mainly on getting to know why youth do participate in lowbrow cultural activities.

My participants show great awareness of what various cultural activities can bring them and ‘use’ them to fulfill their needs. They make a clear distinction between individual experiences and collective experiences. Sometimes they feel the need to experience the first and other times they feel the need to experience the last. My research suggests that young people display three modes of consumption: 1. cultural non-consumption; 2. individual consumption; 3. social consumption. These modes of consumption are strongly bound in the social aspect of cultural activities.

Cultural non-consumption was mainly noticeable when it came to participation in highbrow cultural activities. Youth did not see the purpose in visiting these types of activities because for them, they do not allow for emotional growth or creating strong bonds with peers. Highbrow events do not allow for emotional work because young audiences feel like they lack the cultural capital to find deeper meaning in the art forms. Furthermore, the youngsters felt like they cannot connect with the audience dominating at these events. An important aspect in this is that they also do not want to connect with the audience as they do not want to identify with the ‘old’, ‘white’ and ‘elite’ crowd.

Individual consumption was mainly the preferred way of consumption if the youngsters felt like the activity could be used to either ‘find peace of mind’ or allowed for development on an emotional level.

Social consumption has the overall preference of my participants. This was explained by the fact that social activities allow them to deepen their connections and bond with their friends and peers. This bond mainly comes into being because feelings of collective effervescence are reached. Having places to create strong bonds with peers is highly important for this age group specifically. Because the social aspect of culture is of such importance to young people they tend to be drawn to places where they feel like desired connections can come into being. Therefore they are drawn to places where people with whom they share subcultural capital are found. With their subcultural capital they draw boundaries

between themselves and everything that falls out of the category 'young and cool'. Because of these boundaries to outsiders, feelings of collective effervescence are re-enforced.

This thesis took a novel stance and explored the limits of the concept of collective effervescence in its application to cultural activities. Clarity was gained on which cultural activities allow for collective effervescence and which do not. My findings were in line with earlier research and found that the cultural activities that allow for collective effervescence are lowbrow music activities. These exist of pop concerts, DJ events and dance-parties. Nevertheless, it was still useful to gain insight as to why other activities did not allow for collective effervescence to come into being.

Cultural activities that do not allow for collective effervescence are all the highbrow activities, existing of theater plays, cabaret, classical concerts, ballet performances and museum. Apart from cinema and museum visits, which were visited for emotional growth and to find peace of mind, all the cultural activities which the youngsters most actively participate in are the cultural activities that allow for feelings of collective effervescence. Collectively experiencing an emotion, has youth's preference over individually experiencing emotions, which causes them to be drawn to lowbrow music activities rather than any other cultural activity. Collective effervescence thus proved to be an interesting concept to asses youths' cultural participation. It would therefore be interesting to expand the scale of my research to make even more significant contributions.

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Appendix A

Measuring instrument used: Interview Guide

Research question: How do audiences between the age of 18 and 25 define the importance of collective effervescence in navigating their cultural consumption?

General questions

- What is your name?
- How old are you?
- Where are you from?
- How would you identify your gender?
- What is your main occupation? Student/working/other?
- What is your level of education?
- What is the level of education of your parents/caregivers?

Questions regarding cultural consumption

- How would you define cultural activities?
 - If applicable (Why is going out not part of the cultural activities?)
- Describe your cultural consumption
- What are your motivations for participating in these types of cultural activities?
- What are your reasons for not taking part in other types of cultural activities?
- When choosing where you are going (with regard to cultural activities), what navigates your decision?
 - How important are your friends in shaping your cultural consumption?
 - How important are your parents in shaping your cultural consumption?
 - Both positively (your parents recommend you places to go and you go there) as well as negatively (your parents recommend you places to go and therefore you do not go there)
 - How important is the money you need to spend on a cultural activity in guiding your decision?
 - How important is school in navigating your cultural consumption?
 - Both positively (your teachers recommend you places to go and you go there) as well as negatively (your teachers recommend you places to go and therefore you do not go there)

- How do you interact with highbrow forms of art?
- How do you interact with popular forms of art?

Questions regarding collective effervescence

- Can you take me with your best cultural activity, how do you feel, when doing this activity?
- Do you do this cultural activity alone or with other people?
- How important is the component of togetherness in relation to your motivation in taking part in certain cultural activities?
- What do you get out of such an experience?
- What are the differences between such an experience and participating in a different cultural activity?
 - Is there a shared focus of all the people that are present?
 - Do you feel a certain connectivity between you and the other people taking part in this cultural activity?
 - Do you experience the same level of collectivity when participating in high cultural activities as in popular cultural activities?
 - Why (not)?
- Do you experience the same level of emotional attainment when participating in high cultural activities as in popular cultural activities?
 - Why (not)?
- Do you draw boundaries between the people that do not take part in ...[your cultural activity]... and yourself?
 - How do these boundaries play out?

Appendix B

Overview of respondents

Please note that all the names are pseudonyms to secure the privacy of my participants.

Name	Age	Gender	Level of Education	Level of Education Father	Level of Education Mother	Main occupation	Material collected
Gijs	19	male	MBO	HBO	WO	working	Semi-structured Interview
Zoey	21	female	HBO	HBO	HBO	student	Semi-structured Interview
Frits	22	male	WO	LTS	MBO	working	Semi-structured Interview
Sebas	20	male	MBO	-	HBO unfinished	student	Semi-structured Interview
Celeste	22	female	WO	WO	MBO unfinished	student	Semi-structured Interview
Mara	22	female	HBO	MBO	MBO	working	Semi-structured Interview
Oscar	23	male	WO	HBO	MBO	student	Semi-structured Interview

Appendix C

ATLAS.ti Report Thesis 'Seeking Collective Effervescence'

Themes	Codes
Active cultural participation	8 Codes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ active cultural participation ○ motivation for active cultural participation ○ effect of active cultural participation ○ breaking traditions ○ not being original active cultural participation ○ actively looking for ○ cultural experiences having an influence on cultural production ○ actively choosing companion
Activity which you can do alone	10 Codes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ activity which you can do alone ○ alone ○ alone is also okay ○ alone as positive ○ euphoria is different when experienced alone ○ experiencing euphoria alone ○ wearing headphones in museum ○ even if I am alone I would dance ○ alone is more difficult to not be ashamed ○ even if you are together the experience is individual
After the cultural activity	3 Codes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ after the cultural activity ○ feelings sticking after positive experience ○ expanding reach cultural activity
Agency	2 Codes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ agency over cultural consumption ○ importance of having agency over cultural consumption
Before cultural activity	2 Codes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ anticipation on cultural activity ○ influence on my decision
Collective effervescence	13 Codes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ re-experiencing euphoria ○ experiencing euphoria ○ experience 'in the moment' ○ experience 'longer effect' ○ similar energy ○ re-experiencing a cultural activity ○ feeling the freedom to let loose ○ loosing yourself in the activity ○ experiencing crazy stuff

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ deep experience ○ feelings of euphoria ○ creating a vibe ○ movement
Collectivity	<p>53 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ partners for cultural consumption ○ feelings of connectivity ○ reason for feeling of collectivity ○ togetherness ○ same focus ○ same goal ○ stimulating feelings of connectivity ○ stimulating feelings of emotional attainment ○ cultural activity that allows for collective effervescence ○ reason for preference together ○ similar energy ○ reasons for experiencing collective effervescence ○ sharing an experience ○ social side of art ○ togetherness: friends ○ sharing emotions ○ preference for smaller setting ○ connecting with new people ○ people with whom I feel connected ○ feeling of collectivity ○ crowded ○ rhythmic entrainment ○ importance of the crowd ○ co-presence ○ being one with the crowd ○ learning about the artist through their art ○ taking something physical from an experience ○ experiencing something together ○ talking about a shared experience ○ missing the audience ○ social experience ○ people make the experience ○ lacking feelings of connectivity ○ reason for experiencing connections ○ social cultural activities ○ being together ○ easy way of making connections ○ creating connections ○ place where I do feel connected ○ feelings towards the audience ○ no people no show ○ presence of creative people = positive ○ if I am going together it will be fun no matter what ○ experience is better when together ○ important that the other person also likes it ○ having at least one companion

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ if the music is good the crowd matters less ○ reading each other ○ interaction ○ standing in close proximity ○ feeling connected ○ signaling emotions ○ connections
Cultural activity	<p>6 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ cultural activity ○ every day activity vs. cultural experience ○ feelings during cultural activity ○ expected behavior during cultural activity ○ difference live versus recorded ○ preference cultural activity
Cultural consumption	<p>27 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ cultural consumption ○ motivation cultural consumption ○ reason for cultural consumption ○ being inspired ○ frequency of cultural consumption ○ navigating decisions ○ considerations for participation: environment ○ different point of view ○ making a conscious choice about consumption ○ art with function: higher form of art ○ not making a conscious choice for consumption ○ art is fun ○ art translates the world ○ crossing paths with cultural activity ○ art as personal ○ artist and art piece stay connected ○ art as self-portrait ○ needing some time to process cultural experience ○ being wild and young ○ rules of how to act are everywhere ○ rules are common sense ○ expected behavior feels right ○ more than just music ○ crossing paths ○ dissimulating: parents ○ being impressed ○ being amazed
Cultural non-consumption	<p>6 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ cultural non-consumption ○ reason for cultural non-consumption ○ disinterest cultural activity ○ dissimulating: education ○ overload of cultural participation ○ cultural activity that I have never experience
Dislike	<p>10 Codes:</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ having to do something ○ disliking discussions during cultural activities ○ debate after cultural experience ○ passive participation in debate after cultural activity ○ singing in a movie ○ do not like ○ disliking singing in movies ○ do not like unrealistic movies ○ I was bored ○ disliking lack of participation due to money
Drawing Boundaries	<p>42 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ not a cultural activity ○ distinction high/lowbrow ○ distinction partner cultural activity ○ distinction (not) for you ○ going out=culture ○ distinction cultural/non-cultural activity ○ distinction high/lowbrow: highbrow ○ distinction high/lowbrow: lowbrow ○ distinction people ○ distinction cultural activities ○ drawing boundaries ○ sharing emotions ○ distinction level of education ○ drawing boundaries ○ effect of no barriers ○ inactive participation ○ distinction art with function/without function ○ not my audience ○ having difficulties with making distinction ○ distinction audience: highbrow/lowbrow ○ distinction lowbrow/popular ○ difference in cultural activity ○ distinction success different cultural activities ○ people with whom I do not feel connected ○ I do not feel connected but they do ○ order art-entertainment ○ gray zone ○ distinction: age ○ experience with a person ○ expectation of a certain person ○ aware of having presumptions ○ what I expect of people ○ not a cultural person ○ presumptions are not right ○ anything but Andre Rieu ○ not my style ○ entertainment is not cultural ○ self judgment ○ wasting time ○ wasting time listening to popular music ○ you do not have to be like me ○ people like it when I dance weird

Emotional attainment	6 Codes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ experiencing emotional attainment ○ cultural activity that allows for emotional attainment ○ feeling experienced concert ○ experiencing emotions ○ more than just music ○ non verbal communication
Habitus	15 Codes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ occupation ○ level of education ○ level of education mom ○ level of education dad ○ habitus ○ non-active participation: education ○ positive influence stimulated education ○ negative effect stimulated education ○ denying cultural capital ○ having knowledge of what places are interesting ○ having different taste than parent ○ having similar taste to my parents ○ education not cultural ○ cultural activity - level of education ○ not aware of cultural capital
Highbrow culture	28 Codes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ participation highbrow ○ feelings during high cultural activity ○ feelings of connectivity highbrow activity ○ re-experiencing euphoria highbrow ○ judgment high culture ○ behavior high culture ○ reason for different behavior ○ feelings towards high art ○ feeling experienced highbrow ○ art as elitist ○ not welcoming: highbrow ○ high art ○ high art environment ○ audience highbrow art ○ places for highbrow art ○ expected behavior museum ○ behavior in a museum ○ not making the experience more positive when going with friends ○ opera last long ○ behavior if we would go to an opera ○ feelings towards museum visit ○ open for opera ○ high culture makes you think ○ high culture gives you more feelings ○ people with high education do not merely want to be entertainment

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ not knowing what other people feel ○ connection during activity is less ○ not understanding highbrow
Individual experience	<p>7 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ intimate experience ○ personal experience ○ making a connection in a museum ○ wearing headphones in museum ○ not wanting to make connections ○ individual experience ○ sharing emotion but not sharing them
Lowbrow culture	<p>14 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ effect going out ○ judgment low culture ○ behavior low culture ○ lacking feelings of connectivity lowbrow ○ feelings towards lowbrow activity ○ behavior during festival ○ behavior during concert ○ conditions concert ○ experimental art = more personal ○ experimental art ○ low threshold because popular ○ feelings towards lowbrow art ○ expected behavior cinema ○ festivals are more inclusive
No collective effervescence	<p>5 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ feeling disconnected ○ cultural activity that does not allow for collective effervescence ○ cultural activity that does not allow for emotional attainment ○ lack of freedom to let loose ○ not experiencing collective effervescence individual activity
No Collectivity	<p>4 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ re-experiencing euphoria highbrow ○ reasons for not experiencing collective effervescence ○ scared to make connection ○ they cannot connect with me
Not proactive	<p>4 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ not actively looking for ○ not crossing paths with cultural activity ○ not being proactive ○ when asked I say yes
Omnivores	<p>3 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ type of cultural consumer ○ feeling comfortable high/low culture ○ mixing media

Popular culture	<p>23 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ going out=culture ○ protesting against popular culture ○ feeling the need to be commercial ○ feeling the need to participate: social media ○ in music big names=pop ○ pop culture ○ popular art ○ low threshold because popular ○ popular art because of social media ○ using social media ○ piggyback popular art ○ social media ○ museum using social media ○ expected behavior in a club ○ social control ○ entertainment ○ negative feeling towards a club ○ entertainment distracts you from cultural life ○ entertainment distracts you from everyday life ○ Social media distracts me ○ feeling bad about myself ○ feeling useless ○ movie
Positive experience	<p>11 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ surprisingly positive experience ○ cultural activity with good vibe ○ applying value to art ○ different experience ○ art as adding something to life ○ adding something to the art piece ○ making connections with the artist ○ something has to cling on me ○ special art form ○ intrinsic value ○ accepting environment
Social experience	<p>3 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ social side of art ○ social experience ○ social cultural activities
Stimulating	<p>24 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ stimulating feelings of euphoria ○ stimulating cultural participation: parents ○ collective effervescence as motivation ○ stimulating cultural participation: friends ○ stimulating cultural participation: education ○ cultural non- to cultural consumption ○ stimulating cultural participation: social media ○ stimulating cultural participation: traditional media ○ motivation: knowing that you will like it

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ stimulating other people to participate ○ stimulating cultural participation: other artists ○ stimulating: being invited ○ feeling freedom in school excursions ○ low threshold to visit museum ○ low threshold social media ○ stimulating: promotion by cultural organization ○ effect alcohol ○ DJ that moves you ○ stimulating cultural participation: roommates ○ motivation: I want it ○ stimulating: peers ○ stimulating: people with shared cultural capital ○ lowering threshold ○ judgment of other people as a stimulant
Successful cultural participation	<p>22 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ successful cultural consumption ○ feeling experienced during successful participation ○ cultural activity for me ○ conditions for success ○ effect successful cultural experience ○ familiarity = nice ○ familiarity helps understanding ○ making it a positive experience ○ breaking walls between audience and artist ○ feelings after successful cultural participation ○ fresh experience ○ personal connection artist ○ exchange DJ's and audience ○ usually I enjoy ○ fun experience ○ new crazy music ○ quality of the product = important ○ being moved = successful ○ experiencing something new ○ enjoying a book ○ enjoying a painting ○ enjoying lowbrow more
Time and Money	<p>16 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ considerations for participation: time ○ considerations for participation: money ○ more special because expensive ○ high threshold to visit music ○ money as an excuse to not see pop-artists ○ theater is closely ○ time doesn't matter ○ money matters ○ money plays a role when going alone ○ not a lot of money ○ a lot of money ○ lack of participation due to money ○ risk is low if price is low

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ expectations rise if price rises ○ being disappointed if the price was high ○ in a new experience time does not play a role
Type of consumer	<p>24 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ openness to something new ○ reason for openness to new things ○ advantage of being an artist ○ getting to know artists via social media ○ immediately interested ○ seeking to be surprised ○ having a clear idea of how she likes to experience art ○ understanding why it was made ○ getting energy from social activities ○ museums can become more inclusive ○ I don't want it so I don't do it ○ friends already have a certain behavior pattern ○ not knowing why frequency is low ○ increasing awareness ○ easy to motivate ○ lack of self-motivation to go ○ open for anything ○ if I experience it I do like it ○ I can always have fun ○ easily inspired ○ I can learn so much ○ I just like to dance ○ not knowing what to expect ○ being able to ignore a bad vibe
Unsuccessful participation	<p>12 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ unsuccessful cultural consumption ○ cultural activity not for me ○ cultural activity with bad vibe ○ breaking success ○ getting you out of the moment ○ reason for lack of success ○ educational setting ○ losing connection with the audience ○ other people making the experience negative ○ they cannot connect with me ○ also fine if I did not enjoy ○ not new = less successful
Using Art	<p>5 Codes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ using art to relax ○ self reflection ○ knowing what a cultural activity will bring you ○ going to the museum to be alone ○ going to the museum for peace

Appendix D

Code Network Atlas.ti

