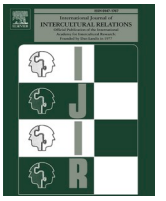
International Journal of Intercultural Relations 103 (2024) 102092

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

International Journal of Intercultural Relations

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ijintrel



Geographical and aesthetic inclusiveness: A new cultural worldview? The case of nine European countries

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Inclusionary cultural worldview
Exclusionary cultural worldview
Cultural openness
European identity
Migration

ABSTRACT

The European social landscape has changed due to Europeanization, globalization, and migration processes, leading to more transnational exchanges, personal relations connecting people from different European countries, and greater cultural and ethnic diversity. Our research explored whether these processes have led to a new inclusionary cultural worldview and the possible social underpinnings. We analyse the inclusionary cultural worldview on two levels: geographical inclusiveness, reflecting an openness to other cultures, and aesthetic inclusiveness, reflecting an openness to go beyond a traditional hierarchical highbrow view of culture. In our research, based on a recent survey conducted in nine European countries, we find evidence for both inclusionary and exclusionary orientations in both geographical and aesthetic worldviews, with the inclusionary and exclusionary orientations correlating with each other and constituting a cultural worldview. We further find that the inclusionary worldview is more pronounced among better educated and older people, among women, and in more socioeconomically developed countries. In contrast, the exclusionary worldview is more common among less educated and older people, men, and in less socioeconomically developed and less economically stable countries.

Introduction

The European societal landscape is changing due to different simultaneous processes of Europeanization. These processes, which significantly influence the daily lives of European residents, occur at the social, political, and economic levels through societal exchanges via migration, working abroad, extended travel, social media connections with friends and relatives in other European countries, and bi-national marriages (Eigmüller et al., 2022; Fligstein, 2008; Gerhards & Rössel, 1999; Held et al., 2000; Janssen et al., 2008; Kuhn, 2011, 2015; Mau & Mewes, 2012; Medrano, 2010, 2020; Rössel & Schroedter, 2015). This connectedness and the

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https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2024.102092
Received 11 July 2023; Received in revised form 22 October 2024; Accepted 24 October 2024
Available online 1 November 2024

pervasiveness of global media and cultural flows have led to changing attitudes towards culture and cultural products and services, and even to the emergence of a European outlook and identity (Kendall et al., 2009; Pichler, 2012; Robertson & White, 2008). However, current research is equivocal on the question of whether the increasing scope and diversity of social interactions within and beyond national boundaries is associated with more openness to learning of, participating in, and reflecting on new and culturally inclusionary practices and experiences (Cleveland et al., 2009, p. 119; Hannerz, 1990, p. 239; Ley, 2004, p. 159; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007; Szerszynskiand & Urry, 2002; Woodward et al., 2008, p. 209). This question is even more timely because of current discussions on xenophobia, racial exclusion, and right-wing populism within Europe (Bornschier, 2010; Rooduijn, 2018). In this article, we demostrate that inclusionary and exclusionary worldviews are distinct dimensions within the broader cultural cultural landscape, shaped by individuals' social positions and the socioeconomic development of their countries. By worldview we mean a set of attitudes, values, narratives, and expectations that shape how people perceive and interact with the social world around them. Like Bourdieu's concept of habitus, a world view infouences everyday experiences and guides actions In contrast to Sire's compehensive notion of worldviews (Sire, 2004, 2009), we focus especially on the socio-cultural dimensions of worldviews, which shapes how individuals perceived others and their cultural artifacts. They represent how cultural norms and values are lived out in social practices, and they are situated within specific individual, geographic, and temporal contexts.

Modern Europe has been geopolitically shaped since the downfall of the western part of the Roman empire and the colonization of the southern and eastern Mediterranean by the Arabs in a process of military defense against invasions, internal colonization, and military state-building and, later on, external colonization (Bartlett, 1993). Its current version of modernity is characterized by liberal democracy and tolerance and, in contrast to other models of modernity, also by a strong welfare state and a comparatively strong secularism. This is also clearly visible in what persons in Europe perceive as European (Datler et al., 2021). The historical roots of this European model of modernity are found in different waves of critical discourse (enlightenment) and of social mobilization of working classes, women, and cultural dissenters. This has led to a rather inclusive and open society, however, with a still existing backside of religious fundamentalism, xenophobia, and rising right-wing populism (Eisenstadt, 2003). This makes Europe an outstanding historical case to test the prevalence and limits of inclusionary and exclusionary worldviews.

This paper explores Europeans' cultural worldviews on two different levels. First, on a geographical level, we ask whether Europeans express positive attitudes towards culture (customs, values, culinary, religion, clothibng, and other expressins of ordiinary life) beyond the boundaries of their home country, or whether they remain spatially bounded in their cultural outlook and exclude non-national (from other European countries) and non-European cultures from what they deem valuable. We call this *geographical inclusiveness*. Second, on the level of aesthetic dispositions towards artistic expressions)the works of artists, musicians, sculptures, writers, comics, film directos, and other folk, commercial and *Cultural* expressions), we ask whether Europeans abide by a traditional highbrow model of culture that devalues the popular and diverse forms of culture that have become more widespread with increasing globalization and Europeanization. We call this *aesthetic inclusiveness*. Based on Rössel and Schroedter's (2015) assertion that different dimensions of openness and inclusiveness empirically go together, we hypothesize that geographical inclusiveness goes with aesthetic inclusiveness. Hence, we are interested in exploring the pervasiveness of these two types of inclusiveness, the relationship between them, and how they vary according to country of residence.

Given that globalization and Europeanization processes are deeply fragmented along different dimensions of inequality (Fligstein, 2008; Heidenreich, 2022), the corresponding advantages and disadvantages are more substantial for different social strata, thus contributing to the social inequalities associated with globalization and Europeanization (Fligstein, 2008; Mewes & Mau, 2013). We, therefore, focus on how the sociodemographic and national location of Europeans shape geographical inclusiveness, therefore, we focus on how the sociodemographic and national traits of Europeans shape geographical and aesthetic inclusiveness.

Theoretical framework

Geographical inclusiveness

Research has been scant into the geographical boundaries of cultural attitudes and perceptions of non-national and non-European cultures. However, three different research traditions partially address these issues: European identity research, which focuses on different levels of territorial identification, research into everyday transnational practices and relations of ordinary people, and studies of non-national or global consumption.

European identity and foreign cultures: the territorial challenge

The emergence of a European cultural identity is an essential issue for the EU in terms of binding together many countries with different languages and cultural traditions. Eurobarometer data show that persons identifying as only Europeans are a small minority of less than 10 % of respondents. The percentage of persons identifying only with their national culture or with both their national culture and with Europe, as a kind of more inclusionary identity, is reported to be around 40 %-50 % of the population. Still, this proportion has fluctuated strongly over the years. In the last decade, there seems to have been a trend towards a positive attitude to other cultures, with more purely national identities losing out to a certain degree, although still reflecting a third of all respondents (Heinemann et al., 2020).

Using data from 2005, Pichler (2008) found that Europeans' attitudes toward other cultures and the recognition of differences were socially stratified, with positive attitudes towards other cultures being more prevalent among younger and better-educated people in professional or managerial occupations. Persons of migrant background exhibit a weaker European identity and perceive European identity as a "white identity" (Begum, 2023). Overall, empirical results on the social distribution of a sense of European identity,

opinions on European integration, engagement with foreign cultures, and attitudes toward cultural exchanges are pretty straightforward, as social groups (within and between countries) that benefit from European integration and globalization display more geographically inclusionary identities (Feder, 2022; Fligstein, 2008; Meuleman & Savage, 2013; Münch, 2001; Rössel & Schroedter, 2015; TNS Opinion & Social, 2007). Young people, in particular (at least in the Western societies studied to date), interact in multicultural spaces characterized by dynamic cultural flows, resulting in developing a multicultural orientation consisting of cultural awareness, openness, knowledge, and competence (Seo & Gao, 2015). Recent research into the national identity of individuals has found that feelings of national superiority are negatively related to education, employment, and being female. At the country level, national superiority is negatively associated with the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, the Human Development Index (HDI), and quality of life and happiness indicators (Fabrykant & Magun, 2022). While a geographically broader European mindset is slowly emerging within the population, it appears to be heavily stratified according to age, education, and occupational status and unevenly distributed geographically.

Transnational cultural practices

Regarding research into transnational social relations and practices going beyond the borders of existing nation-states, mainly cross-sectional results are available, and information on the development of such ties and practices over time is scant. It is well documented that the population without a migratory background also has transnational and social relations with friends and relatives in foreign countries (Fligstein, 2008; Kuhn, 2015; Mau, 2012; Medrano, 2010). Nevertheless, Kuhn (2015) reports that, except for a small elite of highly transnational, older, and better-educated Europeans, most people do not regularly interact across borders. Additional research indicates that individuals with more educational and monetary resources and those proficient in languages exhibit more transnational ties (Mau & Mewes, 2012; Medrano, 2010; Waldinger, 2015). Most importantly, transnational social ties are correlated with positive attitudes toward supranational cultural entities like the EU (Favell et al., 2014; Gustafson, 2009; Kuhn, 2011, 2012; Mau et al., 2007).

Studies on non-national consumption

Cultural repertoires (knowledge, skills, behaviors, practices, and artifacts that individuals possess within a particular society) that have spread beyond the specificities of a particular society or region generate increasing cultural heterogeneity within societies (Cicchelli & Octobre, 2017; Regev, 2007). Several studies have explored taste preferences for cultural products from around the world (Katz-Gerro, 2017; Meuleman & Savage, 2013; Rössel & Schroedter, 2015), and also aesthetic experiences reflecting a wide array of tastes, genres, and practices (Cappeliez & Johnston, 2013; Meuleman & Savage, 2013).

Previous research investigating European cultural consumption and aesthetic dispositions has tended to be limited to single countries: Germany (Mau et al., 2007), the Netherlands (Meuleman & Savage, 2013), Denmark (Prieur & Savage, 2013), Switzerland (Rössel & Schroedter, 2015), and France compared to the USA (Maxwell & DeSoucey, 2016). Most of those studies have identified a general increasing trend in inclusionary preferences and practices in cultural consumption. However, an international comparative analysis of Eurobarometer 2013 data by Katz-Gerro (2017) found that a positive attitude to consuming non-national cultural products is still minimal across EU countries.

A taste for non-national cultural consumption is associated with economic and cultural capitals (Meuleman & Savage, 2013; Savage et al., 2004). Katz-Gerro (2017) reported that students and older respondents tend to score higher on consumption indices for non-national culture, that education is positively associated with indicators of inclusionary geographical consumption in most countries, and that living in a large city is associated with a more positive attitude to other cultures.

We find broadly consistent patterns regarding all forms of geographical cultural attitudes, namely, that younger and better-educated people employed in professional and managerial occupations and inhabitants of wealthier countries tend to have a more positive attitude toward foreign cultures and a broader cultural identity.

Aesthetic inclusiveness

A long tradition in the literature has shown that aesthetic dispositions and competencies to interpret cultural expressions are social outcomes of formal and informal learning processes based on the living experiences produced by a particular social position (Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mukhtar, 2004), and characterized by the economic, cultural, and social capitals in the possession of individuals. Enduring aesthetic dispositions are what link certain social positions to different cultural consumption patterns (or lifestyles). Consequently, cultural consumption research has long assumed a homology between the space of lifestyles, constituted by an opposition between highbrow and popular cultures and between particular combinations of resources in the class structure (Daenekindt, 2017; Daenekindt & Roose, 2017).

More recent evidence reports that the classic highbrow-lowbrow distinction has been replaced by a distinction between the cultural omnivore and the cultural univore, with cultural omnivores having an inclusionary cultural attitude regarding a diverse set of aesthetic genres (Peterson, 1992, 2005; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Peterson & Simkus, 1992). Schulze (1992) and Bennett et al. (2008) report that while a cultural disposition towards highbrow culture continues to be prevalent among better-educated people, non-highbrows no longer feel any awe for the objects of the formerly legitimate culture. This introduces the question of an inclusionary cultural worldview.

Recent discussions about the dimensionality of the space of lifestyles have tended not to use the term inclusiveness, while the similar concept of openness, which subsumes a variety of meanings, has been widely discussed (Ollivier, 2008; Roose et al., 2012). Firstly, openness is a personality trait reflecting a disposition to new experiences that is statistically related to an inclusionary and

tolerant approach to aesthetic experiences and art objects (Chamorro-Premuzic et al., 2009; Roose et al., 2012). Secondly, cultural openness denotes an aesthetic attitude towards different cultural expressions and participation in foreign cultural activities (Daenekindt & Roose, 2017). Lizardo (2005) empirically demonstrates that people who consider themselves world citizens have a broader range of tastes and are more culturally open. Thirdly, an aesthetic attitude toward various cultural expressions and engagement in foreign cultural activities have been linked to pro-immigrant attitudes (Cho & Kim, 2023). This is a somewhat meaningful signal that the concept of geographical inclusiveness is linked to aesthetic inclusiveness in the breadth of taste combined with a non-hierarchical view of different genres (Gerhards et al., 2013). Finally, several authors have indicated that the current transformation of the space of lifestyles leads towards a new crucial dimension with local versus global poles. Thus, cosmopolitans exhibit a higher level of inclusiveness in that they include and combine a broader set of genres in a non-hierarchical way, which contrasts with the traditional notion of highbrow culture with a hierarchical concept of levels (Holt, 1997; Prieur & Savage, 2011, 2013).

Since aesthetic preferences and practices create boundaries between groups, shape social relations, and reproduce or challenge an individual's social position, we ask how social background shapes more open, more inclusionary worldviews (Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Varriale, 2016). One variable consistently related to indicators of inclusiveness (whether in consumption, attitudes, or identities) is cultural capital in educational terms (Eijck, 2011; Roose & Stichele, 2010). Beyond the relationship to education, furthermore, a more

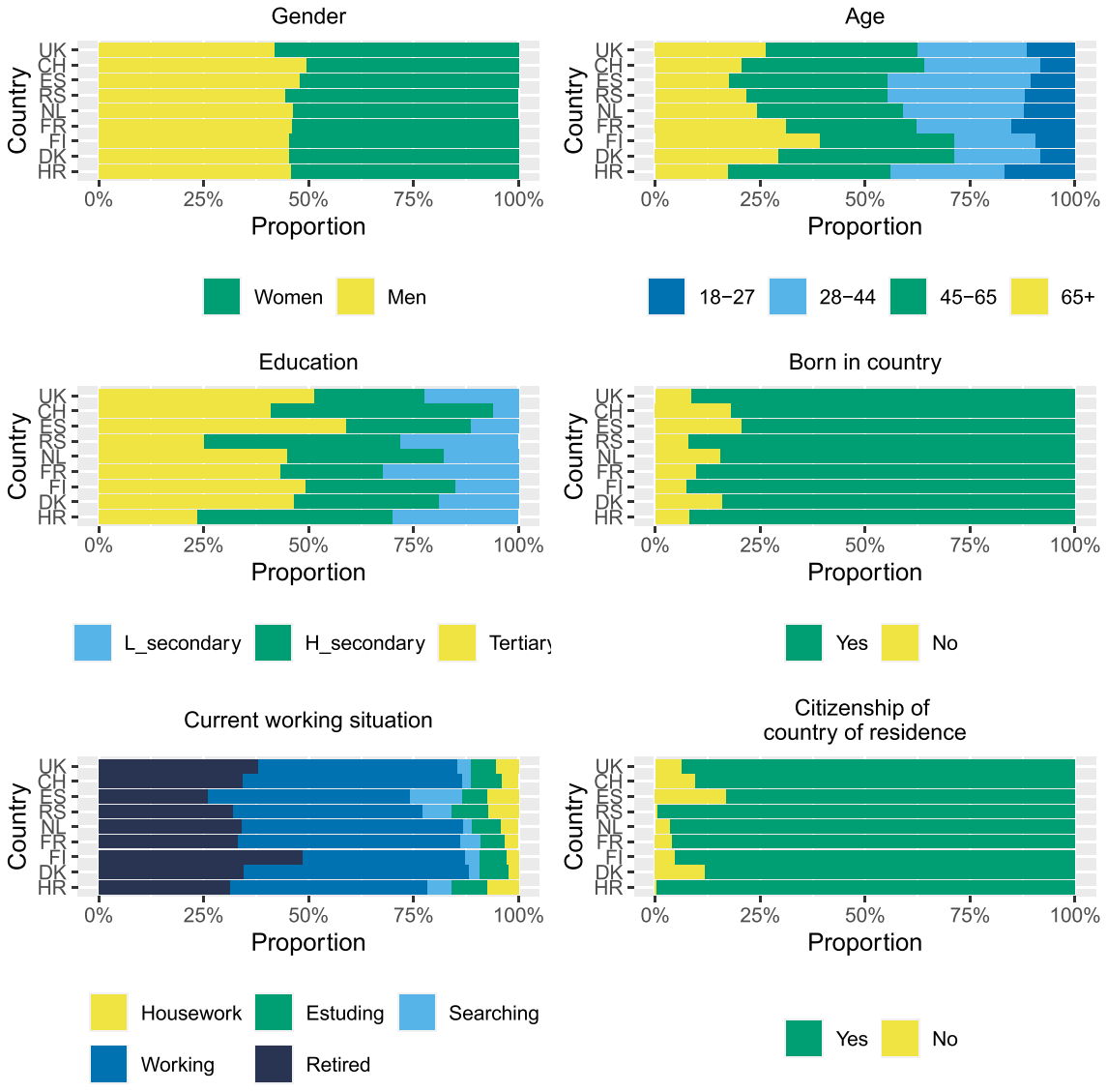

Fig. 1. : Country distribution of social categories: gender, age, education, current working situation, born in the country, and citizenship of the country of residence.

inclusionary and non-hierarchical aesthetic orientation is often found in younger people in high-status occupations and is more prevalent in wealthier countries.

Therefore, overall, the literature review suggests that geographical inclusiveness and aesthetic inclusiveness are empirically related, and both are reasonably clearly related to privileged social positions and country contexts (Feder, 2022). We thus formulate the following research questions:

RQ1: How are attitudes towards geographical and aesthetic inclusiveness structured among Europeans?
RQ2: To what extent are Europeans' geographical and aesthetic inclusiveness related and form an inclusionary cultural worldview?
RQ3: To what extent are the dimensions of an inclusionary cultural worldview shaped by Europeans' geographical location and social position?

Methods

Sample

The data for this study were collected within the framework of a European research project [covered for blind peer review] in the

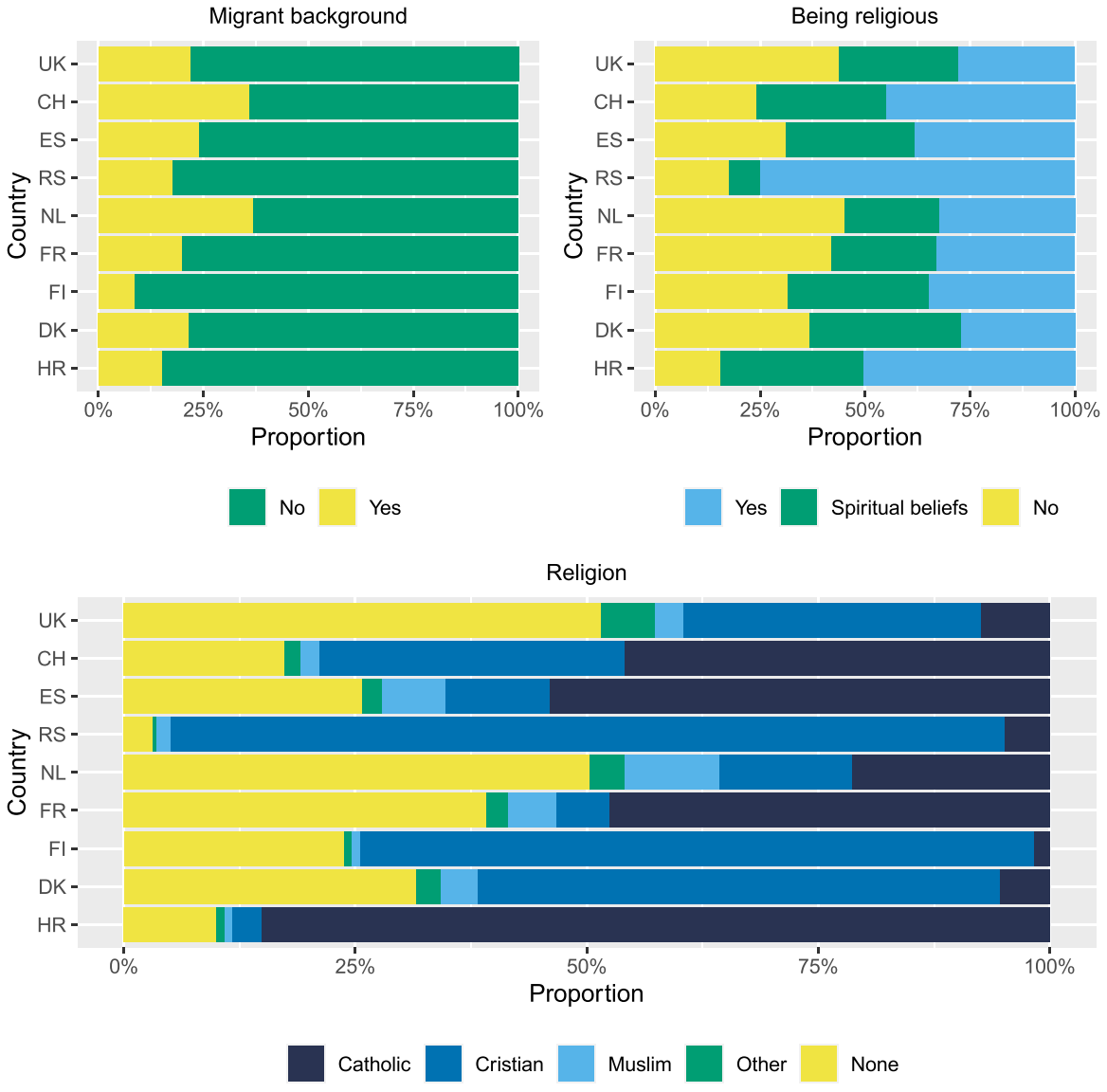

Fig. 2. : Country distribution of social categories (II): Migrant background, being religious, and religion.

spring of 2021. A survey was simultaneously fielded in nine countries: Croatia (HR), Denmark (DK), Finland (FI), France (FR), Netherlands (NL), Serbia (RS), Spain (ES), Switzerland (CH), and the United Kingdom (UK). The countries were chosen according to a most different systems design (Przeworski & Teune, 1970) to enable us to study geographical and aesthetic inclusiveness in heterogeneous societal conditions. Therefore, we covered diverse geographic regions of Europe, countries of different levels of socioeconomic development and EU-member states and non-EU-member countries. However, due to budget limitations, it does not cover a balanced sample of all European or EU-member states. Even though this is a limitation for maintaining generalizatbility, our results provide evidence regarding the different regions of Europe that are included in our sample.

Data collection, coordinated in each country by the national survey body, covered a sample of adults aged 18 years and older, representing age and education. A minimum of 1200 respondents per country completed the questionnaire. A detailed description of sampling is provided in the Web appendix.

The research project aimed to explore various topics, including how people understand culture–ranging from everyday expressions to established artistic forms, whether traditinal, commercial, or highbrow–and how Europeans use culture as a means of incusion or exclusion. The survey covdered a wide range of questions, such as respondents' definitions of culture, their attitudes toward the cultures of others, participation in diverse cultural activities, media consumptoin, life satisfaction, views on Europe and cosmopolitanism, and socidemographic background. The key focus of this research is understanding how Europeans use cultural references to include or exclude others, both geographically–embracibng or rejecting European and non-European cultures–and aesthetically, through patterns of taste and preferences.

Before conducting the statistical analysis, the missingness in the data for the nine countries was evaluated. For cultural indicators measuring geographical and aesthetic inclusiveness (see Figs. 1 and 2 for their distribution among countries), missing values, randomly distributed, amounted to under 0.7 %. Almost no data for the cultural capital indicator, i.e., respondent's education, was missing (0.16 %) for gender, age, and other social categories. However, for cultural and economic capital (indicators of position in the social space like the education of the father and mother, occupation status, current employment status, income, and possessions), the amount of missing data was large in particular countries (see web appendix for detailed information). The analysis excludes these variables because missing data was not randomly distributed (Madley-Dowd et al., 2019; Sinharay et al., 2001).

The *mice* package (Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn, 2011), implemented in R Language and Environment for Data Analysis, imputed missing data. The procedure imputes missing values with the best estimate (which depends on the measurement of the data) from all the other observations in the set of geographical inclusiveness, aesthetic inclusiveness, social position, and sociodemographic variables.

Social description

Figs. 1 and 2 depict the distribution of socioeconomic categories (only the ones reported in the findings). Gender is relatively evenly divided in the samples throughout all countries, with Switzerland having a higher proportion of men and the United Kingdom having a higher proportion of women. The age distribution varies by country: France and Finland have a higher share of older citizens, while Spain, Serbia, and Croatia have the lowest. The educational level is evenly distributed among countries as well as the current working situation. In Switzerland and Spain, the proportion of inhabitants who were not born in the country is higher, and the pattern is repeated in terms of citizenship. However, the proportion of people with a migrant background is higher in Switzerland and the Netherlands. Being religious and religious denomination follow a similar pattern for most countries.

Geographical inclusiveness indicators

To understand to what extent Europeans use cultural refeences to include or exclude others geographically, we asked them whether they agreed to a set of four indicators: (1) *I take pride in artistic heritage from other European countries*; (2) *Europe's cultural heritage should be taught at schools, as it tells us about our history and culture*: (3) *European culture is better than other cultures*; and (4) *There is no common European culture, because European countries are too different from one another*. ÇT he first two indicators measure an inclusive attitude toward a pan-European culture, and the last two, an exclusive arritude toward others' culture. All indicators were measured on a 5-point Likert scale, from totally disagree (=1) to totally agree (=5). These indicators were measured as an ordered categorical variable that was transformed into a numeric variable with values 1–5.

Fig. 1 shows that agreement was not equally distributed among countries. Regarding the different statements, Europeans that most strongly agree with statement 3 (top left) were located in Spain, Serbia, and Croatia; those who least strongly agree were located in Switzerland, Netherlands, France, Denmark, and the UK; Europeans that most strongly agree with statement 1 (top right) and statement 2 (bottom left) were mainly located in Spain, Switzerland, France, and Finland. Europeans that most and least strongly agreed with statement 4 (bottom right) were located in Spain, Serbia, and Croatia, and in Finland and Denmark, respectively.

Aesthetic inclusiveness indicators

The aesthetic inclusiveness of Europeans was measured with four indicators: (1) *High artistic quality can be found in popular and folk culture just as much as in high art*; (2) *Even if tastes differ, one can draw a distinction between more and less valuable culture*; (3) *One needs to know more about art and classical music than I do to enjoy them fully*; and (4) *Sometimes I feel that other people are not as refined in their cultural tastes as I am*. These indicators distinguish aesthetic dispositions and habitus making it possible to discern between inclusive and exclusive aesthetic attitudes toward different kinds of cultural expressions. All indicators were measured on a 5-point Likert scale,

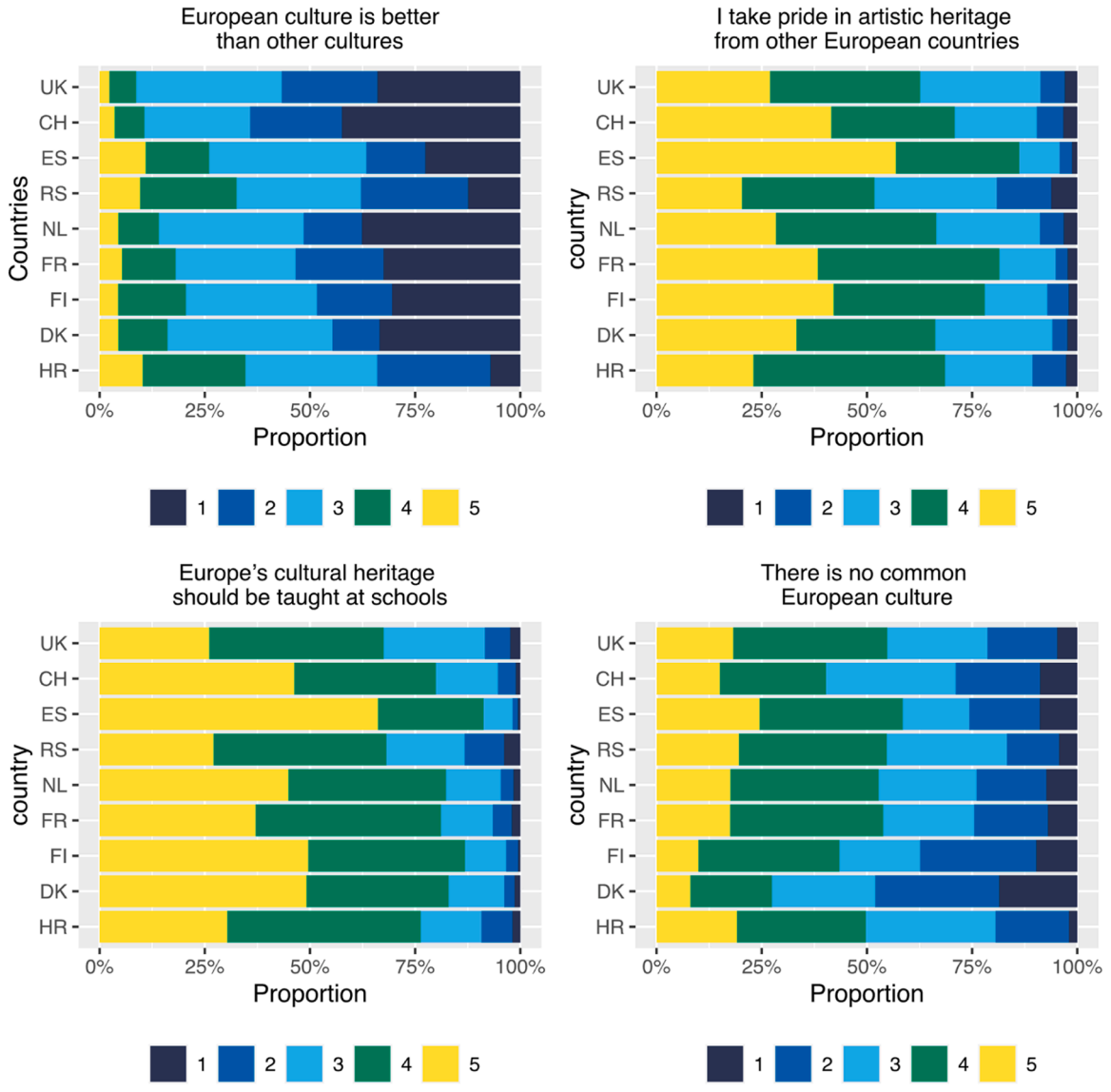

Fig. 3. : Country distribution of geographical inclusiveness indicators.

from totally disagree (=1) to totally agree (=5). Fig. 2 shows that agreement with the statements was unequal among countries. Thus, agreement with statement 1, *High artistic quality can be found in popular and folk culture just as much as in high art*, (top left) was mostly found in Spain, Finland, Denmark, and Switzerland; agreement with statement 2, *Even if tastes differ, one can draw a distinction between more and less valuable culture*, (top right) was found mainly in Spain, Switzerland, France, and Finland; and agreement with statement 3, *One needs to know more about art and classical music than I do to enjoy them fully,* (bottom left) and statement 4, *Sometimes I feel that other people are not as refined in their cultural tastes as I am,* (bottom right) was mostly found in Spain, Serbia, and Croatia.

Analysis of geographical inclusiveness and aesthetic inclusiveness

The researchers analysed the two sets of cultural attitudes to build an optimal geographical and aesthetic inclusiveness scale that captures the data structure. Even though several methods such as correspondence analysis (CA) and multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) were tested to explore the structure of geographical and aesthetic inclusiveness spaces, only PCA results are reported here because they are easier to interpret, and all interdependence methods point to the same interpretation of components (PCA) or dimensions (simple CA and MCA). To uncover the association between geographical inclusiveness/aesthetic inclusiveness, social position, and sociodemographic indicators, the optimal scales were regressed on the social position and sociodemographic indicators on the scales yielded by PCA. All statisticial analysis have been docucted on the R Langhuage and Environment ofr Statistical Computing (R Core Team, 2024) and RactoMineR package (Lê et al., 2008).

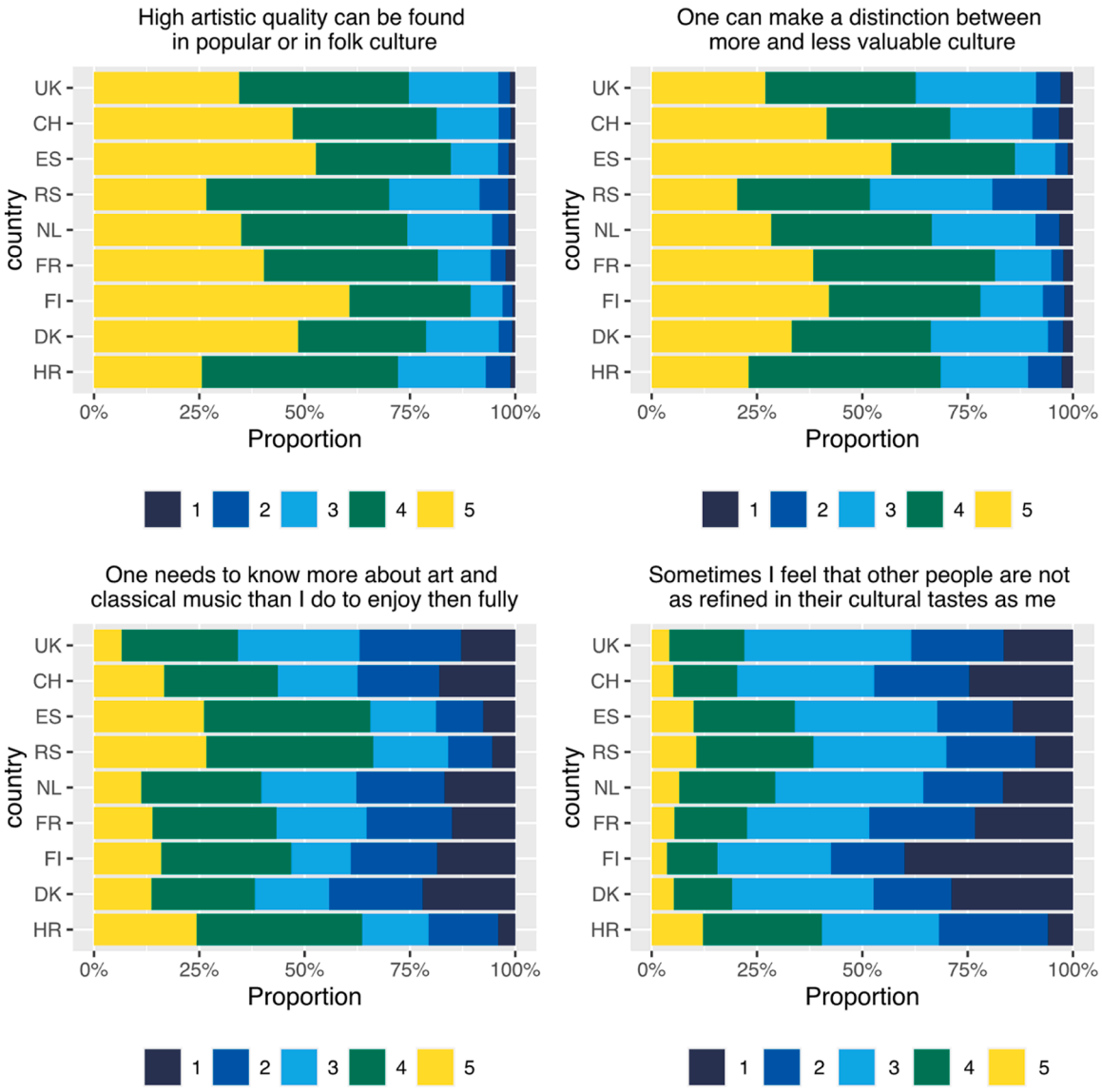

Fig. 4. : Country distribution of aesthetic inclusiveness indicators.

Findings

Europeans' cultural worldview indicators were measured as Likert scales with five levels of agreement. Therefore, it was possible to treat the indicators as ordered categories or as numerical indicators measured on a Likert scale (Abdi & Valentin, 2007). Before looking for the data structure, we tested the data adequacy for data reduction. The Bartlett test and KMO overall measure of sampling adequacy for geographical inclusiveness and aesthetic indicators suggested that the data seems appropriate for data reduction: Bartlett test Chisq=3944.78, $p<.001$, for inclusiveness, and 2073.56, $p<.001$, for aesthetic indicators; and KMO overall measure were 0.52 and 0.58, respectively. PCA is a flexible procedure that produces optimal scales from the numerical original data with no explicit model (Jolliffe, 2002 Chapter 7), like Multiple Correspondence Analysis for categorical data. the PCA function provided vy the FactoMineR package (Lê et al., 2008) automatically performs a varimax rotations, and the biplots presened below visually display the correlation between the indicators and the components. In these biplots, the coordinates of the variables represent their correlation with the principal components. The angle between a variable and a components is proportional to the variable's correlation with that component–the smaller, the stronger the correlation. Additinally, the length of a vector indicates the variable's contribution to the variance of the principal componet–longer vectors signify a higher contribution. Full details on the loadings and correlations are provided in the web appendix.

Geographical inclusiveness in Europe

Fig. 5, which reports the geographical inclusiveness of Europeans, shows structuring according to inclusiveness towards European cultures (the first dimension), and exclusiveness towards other cultures (the second dimension). Inclusiveness and exclusiveness were therefore considered not to be two extremes of the same geographical spectrum but entirely independent dimensions.

Inclusiveness towards European cultures was correlated with the EC_P and EC_E indicators *(I take pride in artistic heritage from other European countries* and *Europe's cultural heritage should be taught at schools, as it tells us about our history and culture*, respectively), while exclusiveness towards other cultures was correlated with the EC_S and EC_NC indicators (*European culture is better than others* and *There is no common European culture*, respectively). A third component split the latter dimension between EC_NC and EC_S, but since our focus was on geographical inclusiveness and exclusiveness, only the first two components are reported as they explained 70 % of the variation.

Countries were introduced as supplementary variables according to correlations with the dimensions. Referring to the quadrants, residents of Serbia and Croatia showed more exclusiveness and less inclusiveness (upper left quadrant); residents of Spain simultaneously showed both more exclusiveness and more inclusiveness (upper right quadrant), which is possible because the two dimensions are independent (as mentioned above). Residents of Denmark tended to show more inclusiveness and less exclusiveness (bottom right quadrant), while residents of the UK also showed less exclusiveness, but tended to be neutral regarding inclusiveness. Finally, France, Switzerland, and Finland were all located close to neutral on both dimensions. Therefore, for the nine countries studied, Europeans' geographical inclusiveness can be structured according to two opposing attitudes: inclusiveness towards European cultures and exclusiveness towards other cultures.

Aesthetic inclusiveness in Europe

Fig. 6 depicts how aesthetic inclusiveness is structured according to the PCA of the matrix of indicators in a similar manner to geographical inclusiveness, with aesthetic exclusiveness and aesthetic inclusiveness as the two main dimensions, each entirely independent of each other. Exclusiveness was correlated with T-IDoNotKnow (*One needs to know more about art and classical music than I do to enjoy them fully*), T-Distinction (*Even if tastes differ, one can draw a distinction between more and less valuable cultu*res), and T-NotAsRefAsMe (*Sometimes I feel that other people are not as refined in their cultural tastes as me*), while inclusiveness was only correlated with T-ArtQuality (*High artistic quality, which can be found in popular or folk culture just as much as in high art*).[5]

Countries were introduced as supplementary variables according to correlations with the dimensions. Thus, residents of Spain, Serbia, and Croatia showed more exclusiveness, while residents of Spain, Denmark, and Finland showed more inclusiveness. According to their aesthetic inclusiveness profile, countries were located (in quadrants) as follows: Spain, Serbia, and Croatia (righthand quadrants) showed more exclusiveness; Finland, Switzerland, Denmark, France and UK (lefthand quadrants) showed less exclusiveness; and Finland, Switzerland, Denmark, and Spain (top quadrants) showed more inclusiveness.

To what extent are geographical inclusiveness and aesthetic inclusiveness associated?

To uncover the association between Europeans' geographical and aesthetic inclusiveness, with the collected scores a PCA was conducted for the four main scales of the spaces corresponding to attitudes towards European cultures and aesthetic attitudes. Fig. 7 depicts how the association is structured. The fact that exclusive aesthetic attitudes and geographical exclusiveness regarding other cultures contributed to the first component indicated that geographical and aesthetic exclusiveness go together. The second component positively correlates with an inclusive aesthetic disposition and geographical attitude. Croatia and Serbia (located in the bottom right quadrant) reflect a, in comparison, more exclusionary cultural worldview and a negative attitude to other cultures; Spain and the Netherlands are located on the mean (the center of the plot) and Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, France, and the UK reflect a profile below the mean (on the left).

The first and second components were labelled exclusionary cultural worldview and inclusionary cultural worldview, respectively. Regarding the average cultural profile, Denmark, France, and Spain appeared to have a more inclusionary cultural worldview than the other countries. The following section presents a regression analysis to.

Europeans' cultural worldviews and the association with social indicators

The exclusionary cultural worldview

Table 2 reports the numerical results for four linear regression models. Model (1) reports the association of countries with the exclusionary cultural worldview (UK is the reference country), Model (2) introduces education, Model (3) reports the interaction of education with country of residence, and Model (4) introduces all social categories that have a meaningful effect on the exclusionary cultural worldview.

All country effects were interpreted relative to the UK. Model (1) indicates that, on average, residents of Croatia, Serbia, Spain, the Netherlands, and France had a more exclusionary cultural worldview. In contrast, Denmark, Finland, and Switzerland residents had a

[5] A third component split two views of the dominant aesthetic, T-IDoNotKnow and T-NotAsRefAsMe. Since the interest is in comparing aesthetic inclusiveness and exclusiveness, only the first two PCA components are presented, as they explained 66.4 % of the variation.

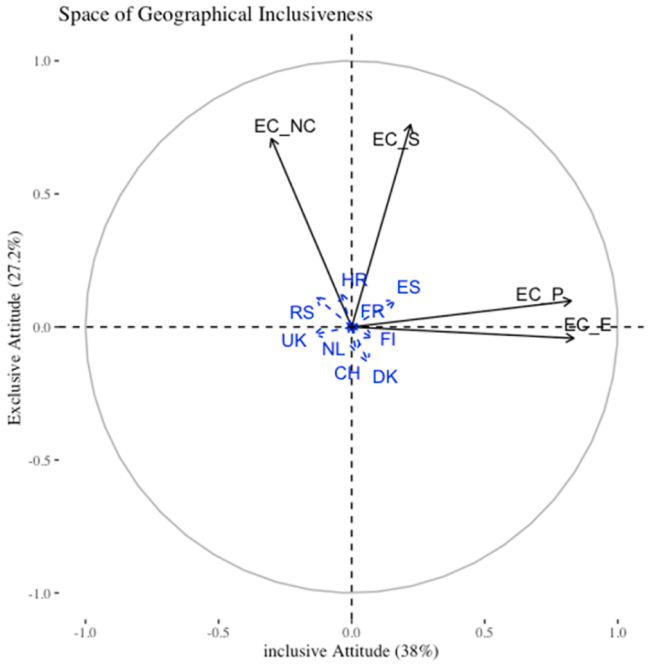

Fig. 5. : PCA space of geographical inclusiveness.

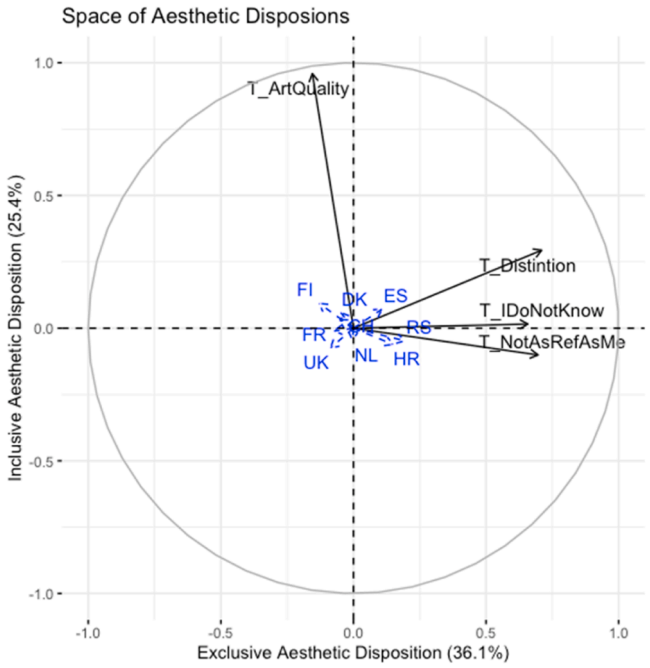

Fig. 6. : PCA space of Aesthetic Dispositions.

less exclusionary cultural worldview. Model (2), which introduced education (as a proxy for cultural capital), was negatively related to the exclusionary cultural worldview: the more educated, the less exclusionary the cultural world view. The inclusion of education clearly reduced country differences, indicating that the social distribution of education in the nine countries partially explained country differences in this case. Model (3) depicted interactions between country indicators and education, with an ANOVA test suggesting that this model improved on Models (1) and (2). Tertiary education reduced the level of an exclusionary cultural worldview in all countries. Finally, Model (4), which introduced all social categories, proved more accurate than the previous three models in further reducing country differences. Thus, an exclusionary cultural worldview was higher in men, Europeans older than 28 years, and

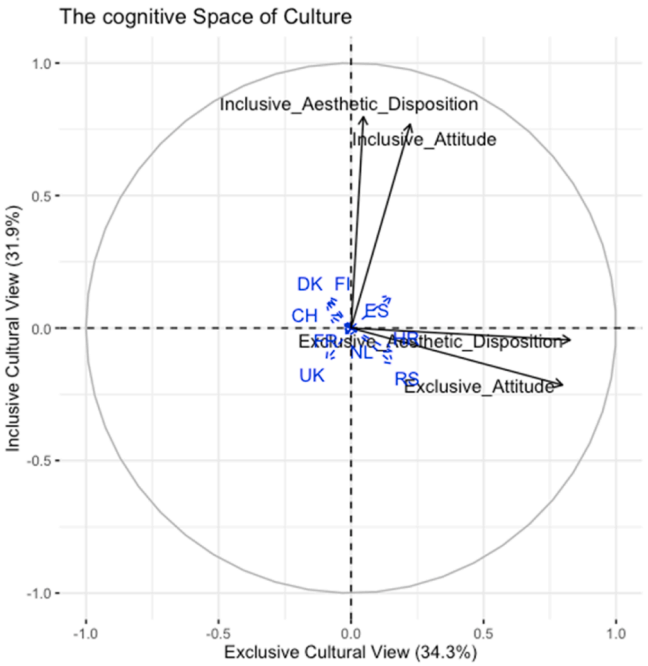

Fig. 7. Cognitive space of cultural attitudes.

Table 1
Correlations between country-level indicators and country coefficients.

Indicators	Correlations	
	Inclusionary	Exclusionary
GDP pc (PPP)	0.53	−0.73**
Education (% tertiary)	0.53	−0.85***
Life expectancy	0.70**	−0.56
Gini index	−0.45	0.19
Unemployment rate	0.10	0.78**
Fractionalization:		
- Ethnic (various years)	−0.22	0.50
- Ethnic (Drazanova 2013)	0.03	0.21
- Linguistic (2001)	0.27	0.09
- Religious (2001)	−0.64*	−0.11
Poverty rate (relative)	−0.50	0.69**
HDI	0.61*	−0.75**
Household income (PPP)	0.57	−0.76**
		-

* p<0.1
** p<0.05
*** p<0.01

persons not born in their country of residence and non-citizens. In contrast, a less exclusionary cultural worldview was evident in non-Catholic and non-religious Europeans.

The inclusionary cultural worldview

Table 3 reports results for three linear regression models. Model (1) reports the association between country dummies and the inclusionary cultural worldview, Model 2 introduced education, and Model 3 adds sociodemographic variables. No model with interaction effects was included, as an ANOVA test between Model 2 and a model with education-country interaction effects suggested that the differences were not statistically meaningful.

Compared to UK residents, residents in Serbia and Croatia had a less inclusionary cultural worldview, although differences for Croatia were not statistically significant (see Model (1)). In contrast, Finland, Spain, Denmark, Switzerland, France, and Netherlands in that order, had a more inclusionary cultural worldview. Model (2) provides evidence that education was related to this inclusionary cultural worldview: the higher the educational level, the higher the score for the inclusionary cultural worldview.

Model (3) includes all social categories with informative empirical results. Concerning the variable capturing the working situation,

Table 2
Correlates of the exclusionary cultural worldview.

	Exclusionary cultural worldview			
Indicators	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
HR	0.846***	0.776***	0.989***	0.769***
	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.075)	(0.077)
DK	−0.060*	−0.066*	0.283***	0.226***
	(0.036)	(0.035)	(0.078)	(0.077)
FI	−0.077**	−0.072*	0.270***	0.161*
	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.093)	(0.093)
FR	0.148***	0.118***	0.406***	0.296***
	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.062)	(0.063)
RS	0.850***	0.786***	0.812***	0.646***
	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.076)	(0.076)
ES	0.785***	0.816***	0.830***	0.637***
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.099)	(0.099)
CH	−0.058	−0.059	0.348***	0.125
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.128)	(0.127)
NL	0.181***	0.173***	0.482***	0.408***
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.081)	(0.080)
Education_High secondary		−0.126***	0.064	0.065
		(0.026)	(0.064)	(0.064)
Education_Tertiary		−0.343***	−0.054	−0.063
		(0.025)	(0.057)	(0.056)
Education_High secondary:HR			−0.275***	−0.211**
			(0.099)	(0.097)
Education_Tertiary:HR			−0.183*	−0.108
			(0.105)	(0.103)
Education_High secondary:DK			−0.261***	−0.259***
			(0.100)	(0.100)
Education_Tertiary:DK			−0.561***	−0.539***
			(0.093)	(0.092)
Education_High secondary:FI			−0.315***	−0.247**
			(0.116)	(0.114)
Education_Tertiary:FI			−0.491***	−0.431***
			(0.108)	(0.107)
Education_High secondary:FR			−0.328***	−0.296***
			(0.090)	(0.089)
Education_Tertiary:FR			−0.420***	−0.386***
			(0.078)	(0.077)
Education_High secondary:RS			−0.013	0.038
			(0.099)	(0.098)
Education_Tertiary:RS			0.065	0.123
			(0.103)	(0.102)
Education_High secondary:ES			−0.024	−0.024
			(0.121)	(0.120)
Education_Tertiary:ES			−0.060	0.021
			(0.111)	(0.111)
Education_High secondary:CH			−0.367***	−0.270*
			(0.141)	(0.140)
Education_Tertiary:CH			−0.572***	−0.490***
			(0.140)	(0.138)
Education_High secondary:NL			−0.307***	−0.268***
			(0.102)	(0.101)
Education_Tertiary:NL			−0.439***	−0.392***
			(0.096)	(0.095)
Gender_Male				0.193***
				(0.018)
Age_28–44				0.106***
				(0.032)
Age_45–64				0.017
				(0.031)
Age_65 plus				0.141***
				(0.034)
BornInCountry_No				0.128***
				(0.041)
MigrantBackground_Yes				−0.036
				(0.030)
CitizenshipCountry_No				0.142***
				(0.048)

(*continued on next page*)

Table 2 (*continued*)

	Exclusionary cultural worldview			
Indicators	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Religion_Christian-Other				−0.127***
				(0.030)
Religion:Islamic/Muslim				−0.079
				(0.053)
Religion_Other				−0.133**
				(0.061)
Religion_Not religious				−0.270***
				(0.029)
Religious_No, but I do have spiritual beliefs				−0.164***
				(0.024)
Religious_No, I don't have any religious or spiritual beliefs				−0.114***
				(0.026)
Constant	−0.244***	−0.036	−0.234***	−0.106*
	(0.023)	(0.029)	(0.047)	(0.061)
Observations	14,384	14,384	14,384	14,384
R^2	0.095	0.109	0.114	0.139
Adjusted R^2	0.095	0.108	0.113	0.137

Note:
* p<0.1
** p<0.05
*** p<0.01

all other individuals had a more inclusionary cultural worldview in comparison with people employed. Men had a less inclusionary cultural worldview, and older Europeans had a more inclusionary one. People not born in their country of residence and without citizenship had a more inclusionary cultural worldview (they appear to expect to become citizens of the host country), while residents with a migrant background had a less inclusionary cultural worldview (they appear to want to secure their residency against newcomers). Regarding religion, other Christians and Muslims, compared to Catholics, had a less inclusionary cultural worldview, while non-religious/spiritual, compared to religious/spiritual Europeans, had a less inclusionary cultural worldview.

Explaining cultural worldview differences between countries

So far, we have conducted a country-specific fixed effects analysis on pooled data. This regression approach integrates the unobserved factors of each country into the intercepts, rather than modeling them separately. As a result, introduciing country-level variables as additional predictors becomes problematic, as it would require numerous interaction terms between country-specific variables and country dummies to account for cross-national variation

(Liefbroer & Zoutewelle-Terovan, 2021) This would results in an overload of interactions and high multicollinearity, making the model unfeasible. Instead, we adopted the two-step exploratory approach proposed by Bryan and Henking (2016). In the first step, we estiate a regression model at the individual level with country-specific fixed effects. In the second step, we regress the country intercepts on country-level predictors to identifgy sources of variation. Given the limited number of countries in our sample, we performed the second step by correlating country intercepts with individual countryu-specific variables one at a time, which is equivalent to running a regressin without an intercept.

Our empirical results pointed to country differences in inclusionary and exclusionary cultural worldviews. Based on the reported literature review, it is assumed that these disparities would be based on varying levels of socioeconomic development, as measured by GDP per capita and the HDI. Therefore, the association between the exclusionary and inclusionary cultural worldviews, major socioeconomic development indicators, and variables measuring each country's cultural fractionalization level has been tested. We need more countries to estimate a multilevel model with enough degrees of freedom to explain country differences. So, correlating country coefficients with country-level indicators provides a rough estimate of their influence on country differences, clean of other individual-level effects.

Table 1 shows correlations for country-level indicators and country coefficients from Model (4) in Table 2 and Model (3) in Table 3. Even though the number of studied countries was relatively low, a clear pattern for the exclusionary cultural worldview emerged. Greater socioeconomic development (GDP, educational level, life expectancy, HDI, and household income) was negatively correlated with an exclusionary cultural worldview, and lower economic insecurity (unemployment, poverty) was positively correlated.

Results for the inclusionary cultural worldview were, however, less clear-cut. The analysis found positive correlations with life expectancy and the HDI, but no significant correlations with the other socioeconomic indicators. Regarding fractionalization, there was a statistically significant negative correlation with religious fractionalization, and a non-significant correlation with ethnic fractionalization. The previous findings would suggest that inclusionary cultural worldviews vary a lot in culturally diverse societies, although studies including more countries are needed to confirm or refute these tentative findings, which, however, are in the same direction as previous research reporting that people in less developed countries strongly believe in their country's cultural superiority (Fabrykant & Magun, 2022) and have a more exclusionary cultural worldview (Grant et al., 2000).

Table 3
Correlates of the inclusionary cultural worldview.

	Inclusionary cultural worldview		
Indicators	(1)	(2)	(3)
HR	−0.024	0.051	0.046
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.043)
DK	0.619***	0.624***	0.607***
	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.035)
FI	0.739***	0.731***	0.711***
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.039)
FR	0.338***	0.373***	0.372***
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.033)
RS	−0.186***	−0.117***	−0.065
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.041)
ES	0.733***	0.697***	0.707***
	(0.037)	(0.036)	(0.038)
CH	0.478***	0.474***	0.465***
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.038)
NL	0.207***	0.213***	0.244***
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Education_High secondary		0.167***	0.184***
		(0.025)	(0.025)
Education_Tertiary		0.392***	0.405***
		(0.024)	(0.025)
CurrentWorkingSit_In education/full-time student			0.237***
			(0.056)
CurrentWorkingSit_Seeking work			0.064
			(0.058)
CurrentWorkingSit_Other			0.127***
			(0.043)
CurrentWorkingSit_Retired, pensioner			0.127***
			(0.046)
Gender_Male			−0.124***
			(0.018)
Age_28–44			0.084**
			(0.034)
Age_45–64			0.212***
			(0.033)
Age_65 plus			0.315***
			(0.040)
BornInCountry_No			0.096**
			(0.040)
MigrantBackground_Yes			−0.058**
			(0.030)
CitizenshipCountry_No			0.102**
			(0.047)
Religion_Christian-Other			−0.058**
			(0.029)
Religion_Islamic/Muslim			−0.380***
			(0.052)
Religion_Other			−0.074
			(0.059)
Religion_Not religious			0.044
			(0.029)
Religious_No, but I do have spiritual beliefs			0.030
			(0.024)
Religious_No, I don't have any religious or spiritual beliefs			−0.081***
			(0.026)
Constant	−0.311***	−0.555***	−0.783***
	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.061)
Observations	14,384	14,384	14,384
R^2	0.074	0.092	0.111
Adjusted R^2	0.074	0.092	0.110

Note
*p<0.1
** p<0.05
*** p<0.01

Table 4
Summary of the social distribution of the cognitive space of cultural worldviews.

	Cultural worldview	
Associations	**Exclusionary**	**Inclusionary**
Country, - to +	- UK, CH, FI, DK, FR, NL, ES, RS, HR +	- RS, UK, HR, NL, FR, CH, DK, ES, FI +
Men	More exclusionary	Less inclusionary
Age	Older=more exclusionary	Older=more inclusionary
Not born in country	More exclusionary	More inclusionary
Migrant background	Less exclusionary^{NS}	Less inclusionary
Non-citizens	More exclusionary	More inclusionary
Religion	Catholic= more exclusionary	Catholic=more inclusionary
Religious/spiritual	More exclusionary	More inclusionary
Education-country interaction	Education reduces the exclusionary worldview more in more socioeconomically developed central and northern European countries, particularly those with higher education levels	No interaction
Education	More education=less exclusionary	More education=more inclusionary

Note: NS indicates not-significant.

Discussion

Our first research question focused on the dimensionality and pervasiveness of geographical and aesthetic inclusiveness among Europeans. The geographical inclusiveness space is structured according to two independent dimensions: inclusiveness towards European culture (explaining more variation in the data) and exclusiveness towards other cultures (explaining less variation in the data). Likewise, the aesthetic inclusiveness space is also structured according to two independent dimensions: aesthetic exclusiveness and aesthetic inclusiveness, but now the exclusive aesthetic disposition explains more variation. This means that inclusionary and exclusionary cultural worldviews are independent dimensions of cultural attitudes, not opposing views. Thus, a person may show inclusiveness regarding European cultures but also exclusiveness regarding other cultures, and a person may show both aesthetic exclusiveness and aesthetic inclusiveness. It is a matter of degree.

In response to our second research question focusing on the relationship between Europeans' geographical inclusiveness and aesthetic inclusiveness, the findings point to the conclusion that both spaces form what could be called a cultural worldview. The geographical exclusiveness towards other cultures is correlated with aesthetic exclusiveness, forming an exclusionary cultural worldview, while geographical inclusiveness regarding pan-European cultures is correlated with aesthetic inclusiveness, forming an inclusionary cultural worldview. The cultural worldview is structured along opposing dimensions: an exclusive cultural view (explaining more variation in the data) and an inclusive cultural view (explaining almost the same variation in data). Again, since these two dimensions are independent, people may simultaneously hold more or less inclusionary and exclusionary cultural worldviews. The implication is that, even though research has reported a growing identification with European culture (Ciaglia et al., 2020), Europeans can still hold different degrees of inclusionary and exclusionary cultural worldviews, seemingly with no contradiction. Regarding our thrid research questions, which examines how the dimensions of an inclusionary cultural worldview are influenced by Europeans' geographical location and social position, Table 45 summarizes the correlates of exclusionary and inclusionary cultural worldviews. In therms of geographical locations, we find that residents of more socieconomically developed central and nortgen European coutnries tend to have less exclyusionary attitudes toward other cultures (Gerhards et al., 2013) and a more inclusionary attitude toward pabn-European and popular culture, suggesting that cultural worldviews are shaped by the national context (Feder, 2022). However, some exceptions emerge: for instance, UK residents exhibit both a low exclusionary attitude toward other cultures and aesthetics, as well as a low inclusionary attitude toward pan-European and popular culture. In contrast, Spanish residents display a high exclusionary attitude towards aesthetics and other cultures (ranking just below Serbia and Croatia) but also a high inclusionary attitude towards ordinary aestheticand pan-European cultures (ranking just below Finland). Meanshile, Swiss residents show a low exclusionary cultural view (second only after the UK) along side a high inclusionary cultural worldview (just below Denmark, Spain and Finland).

As for the social position of European residents, results for education are consistent with the literature: better-educated people have both a less exclusionary cultural and a more inclusionary cultural worldview (Daenekindt & Roose, 2017; Favell et al., 2014; Fligstein, 2008; Katz-Gerro, 2017; Kuhn, 2015; Meuleman & Savage, 2013; Münch, 2001; Pichler, 2008; Rössel & Schroedter, 2015). Interestingly, however, the effect of education differs between countries; the fact that it is greater in socioeconomically more developed countries means that education moderates a country's association with an exclusionary cultural worldview. Thus, countries with a high education level, on average, show a less exclusionary cultural worldview, and those countries happen to be in central and northern Europe. Nevertheless, this moderating effect does not hold for the inclusionary cultural worldview, as the effect is homogenous for the studied countries. Our findings regarding education are consistent with research reporting that only a small group of well-educated, older, and highly transnational Europeans regularly interact across borders (Kuhn, 2015), and also that transnational social ties have positive consequences for positive attitudes toward supranational cultural entities like the EU (Favell et al., 2014; Gustafson, 2009; Kuhn, 2011; Mau et al., 2007) and even for consumption (Medrano, 2010).

As for the other indicators, men consistently and simultaneously hold a more exclusionary and less inclusionary cultural worldview. Regarding age, it is positively correlated with exclusionary and inclusionary cultural worldviews. The fact that younger Europeans

hold a less inclusionary cultural worldview of other European countries contrasts with the findings of Pichler (2008) regarding age. Our unexpected finding may suggest that today, new generations of Europeans may view their future in bleaker terms than their elders (Lauterbach & De Vries, 2020; Williamson, 2014), contradicting Dutch evidence reported by Eijck and Knulst (2005) in favour of a more inclusionary generational change in the past. In the nine European countries studied here, the evidence on average suggests a less inclusionary cultural worldview in younger Europeans, suggesting that the relationship may not be universal, but is conditioned by the social context.

For Europeans who are non-citizens or not born in their country of residence, associations with both dimensions of the space of cultural worldviews are positive. For residents with a migrant background, however, there is a negative association with an inclusionary cultural worldview. The legal status of residents and later of citizens seems to build a social hierarchy regarding claims for social and economic rights (Basok, 2004; Könönen, 2018). Finally, Catholics are also positively associated with both dimensions, more exclusionary and more inclusionary cultural views, but Europeans with spiritual beliefs, in comparison to Catholics, seem to have less exclusionary cultural views but similar inclusionary as well.

A clear limitation of our study is that data were missing for the social position and sociodemographic indicators, which meant we could not paint a more differentiated picture of the social underpinnings of inclusionary and exclusionary cultural worldviews. Furthermore, the data is not a balanced sample of all European states, limiting statistical inference and the breadth of geographical coverage in this sample. It should be noted that this is a study specifically about Europe, and its theoretical interpretations may not be replicated elsewhere. Thus, all concepts measured in this study depend heavily on people's specific understanding of Europe and European culture. Whereas the European majority population perceives Europe as diverse and tolerant, the population with a migration background often sees European identity as a "white identity" (Begum, 2023; Datler et al., 2021). This obviously applies to the indicators of geographical inclusiveness, which all refer to European culture explicitly. A perceived attractiveness of the European model of modernity (see introduction) may therefore affect people's assessment of European culture. A similar argument can be made regarding our measures of aesthetic inclusiveness, which presuppose an understanding of culture that can be described as specifically European or Western.

Conclusions

Exclusionary and inclusionary cultural worldviews are two independent dimensions that structure the space of cultural views in the nine studied countries. The inclusionary cultural worldview is open towards other European cultures and popular cultural expressions whereas the exclusionary worldview excludes non-European cultures and focuses on traditional highbrow cultural expressions. Both worldviews are socially distributed within and between countries. The exclusionary and inclusionary cultural worldviews are positively related to disadvantageous and advantageous social positions, respectively. However, education may reduce the exclusionary cultural worldview in comparatively less socioeconomically developed countries.

We propose that the inclusionary and exclusionary cultural worldviews may underlie several phenomena currently discussed in cultural sociology, such as the impact of modernization on the formative power of Bourdieu's homology thesis. Cultural worldviews may also shape the prevalence of omnivorous and univorous cultural practices, openness to the consumption of non-national cultures, and the distribution of cultural practices. Further research is needed to test the suggestion that inclusionary and exclusionary cultural worldviews underly the current transformation of cultural practices in increasingly transnational and diverse societies.

Funding

This work was supported by: Grant #2017 SGR 1056 funded by AGAUR-Generalitat de Catalunya, and Grant #870691-INVENT funded by the EU H2020 program.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Simon Manuel Walo: Writing – review & editing, Visualization, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis. **Jörg Rössel:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Validation, Resources, Methodology, Investigation, Funding acquisition, Conceptualization. **Tally Katz-Gerro:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Validation, Resources, Methodology, Investigation, Funding acquisition, Conceptualization. **Jordi Lopez-Sintas:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Visualization, Supervision, Software, Project administration, Methodology, Investigation, Funding acquisition, Formal analysis, Conceptualization.

Appendix A. Supporting information

Supplementary data associated with this article can be found in the online version at doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2024.102092.

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