

# 6 Europeans' perspectives on the cultural impacts of globalisation and migration

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## 1. Introduction

A myriad of opportunities to engage with cultural products, services, and content has long been established to be part of a globalised world. Globalisation can be defined as the increase in international and intercontinental cultural, economic, and social exchanges (Held et al., 1999). This includes complex economic relationships; significant technological change; increased mobility and migration; and a rise in flows of goods, data, and capital (Contractor, 2022; Ortiz-Ospina et al., 2018; Segal, 2019; Skare & Soriano, 2021; Steenkamp, 2019). In particular, the increase in migration and cross-border connectedness in multiple realms, both within the EU and internationally, has been one of the most significant social phenomena of our time and has also led to public and political debates (Hooghe & Marks, 2018). Globalisation and Europeanisation both describe the increase of international exchanges in different dimensions, with globalisation indicating the worldwide increase of such exchanges and Europeanisation the increase of such exchanges within Europe (Fligstein, 2008). These cultural, economic, and political processes significantly impact values and norms, cultural approaches and ideologies, and lifestyles and identities more generally (Diez Medrano, 2020; Fligstein, 2008; Recchi et al., 2019).

This chapter focuses on how Europeans in four countries perceive the cultural impact of globalisation, migration, and Europeanisation. While many scholars have discussed and theorised the cultural aspects of these “megatrends” and, in particular, globalisation (Cruz et al., 2024; Hannerz, 1996; Kendall et al., 2009; Tomlinson, 1991, 1999), studies on how Europeans *assess* the effects of these trends on what they *perceive* as culture are still rare. Further to exploring perceptions of Europeans on the cultural effects of globalisation, Europeanisation, and migration, we wish to apply a broad definition to the term culture and allow research participants to explore various dimensions of cultural definitions and meanings. Indeed, in the data we use here, the meaning of culture is entirely open and driven by the definitions of research participants. Growing empirical evidence shows that respondents define culture quite broadly (Purhonen et al., 2023; Sirkka et al., 2024; see also Purhonen et al., *this volume*). Therefore, when examining how societal transformations shape perceptions of culture, it becomes imperative to consider culture and intercultural contact more broadly than only in purely aesthetic terms. Consequently, this chapter will emphasise capturing the broader context of cultural practices and connotations.

## **2. Perceptions of culture in a globalised society**

Globalisation, migration, and Europeanisation have significantly impacted everyday lives, including behaviours and attitudes (Kuhn, 2015; Recchi, 2015; Recchi et al., 2019). When trying to understand how individuals perceive this impact, we can turn, for instance, to a 2016 YouGov survey of people in 19 countries about attitudes towards globalisation. Around two-thirds of the research participants from Finland, Sweden, and Germany believed globalisation was a “force for good” as opposed to less than half of Americans, British, French, and Norwegians. There was also a widespread belief that globalisation mainly benefits the wealthy (Steenkamp, 2019). More recent research by Ipsos in 25 countries worldwide found that, on average, only 48% of the participants agreed that globalisation benefits their country. Except for Sweden, this percentage was lower for the European countries in the survey, ranging from 46% in Germany to 27% in France (Ipsos, 2021).

On the other hand, 55% of the INVENT survey participants in nine European countries agreed or strongly agreed that the increased presence of different cultures in their country has enriched people’s lives, while 7% disagreed strongly. These findings suggest that Europeans appreciate the cultural dimensions of globalisation, Europeanisation, and migration more than other facets. At the same time, 26% of the survey respondents agreed, at least somewhat, that foreign cultures threaten their way of life.

One of the main cultural manifestations of globalisation concerns a striking change in cultural consumption patterns and cosmopolitan orientations that follows exposure to a global variety of symbolic meanings (Katz-Gerro et al., 2024; Kendall et al., 2009; Robertson & White, 2007). Cultural cosmopolitanism is defined here as “a cultural disposition involving an intellectual and aesthetic stance of ‘openness’ towards peoples, places, and experiences from different cultures”

(Szerszynski & Urry, 2006, p. 468). Openness to other cultures is conditioned by the globalisation of available goods and services (Ollivier, 2008; Roose et al., 2012) but must also be motivated by a tolerance to a wide array of tastes, genres, and practices (Cappeliez & Johnston, 2013; Chamorro-Premuzic et al., 2009; Meuleman & Savage, 2013). Tolerance for and an interest in aesthetic experiences is linked to different forms of cultural and linguistic capital (Rössel & Schroedter, 2015). Economic, cultural, and political globalisation is often associated with promoting openness and inclusion (Kuhn, 2011; Woodward et al., 2008). However, some argue that beneath the cultural and normative forms of cosmopolitanism in consumption and rhetoric, there still exist pervasive assumptions about national identity and ethnic hierarchies (Gilroy, 2004; Valluvan, 2016). Moreover, some European and other Western societies are witnessing a parallel rise of right-wing and conservative political parties (Walter, 2021), which may be associated with opposing stances towards cultural diversity (Aschauer, 2016). This tendency to centralise one's own ethnic group and nation has socio-psychological (cultural openness; patriotism and chauvinism), political (government propaganda), economic (state of the economy), and demographic (social class and education) sources (Baber et al., 2023; López-Lomelí et al., 2019). Differences in dispositions of openness and tolerance in Europe (Hjerm et al., 2020; Kunst et al., 2020), as well as resistance against discourses on diversity and inclusion, might be linked to how individuals perceive culture and the cultural impacts of globalisation, migration, and Europeanisation. Various publications have delved into the racialised, ethnified, migration-based, and class-based undertones of perceptions regarding the cultural impacts of globalisation (e.g., Lavie & Varriale, 2019), revealing enduring struggles over definitions of culture and the value of cultural genres as a result of cultural flows travelling in different directions.

Another central presupposition is that people's perceptions of the impact of globalisation on culture are influenced by their social positions and internalised social schemata and evaluation patterns shaped by everyday life conditions (Bourdieu, 1984). Possessing significant economic and cultural capital, being internationally mobile, having transnational social ties, and engaging with international media would thus lead to a more cosmopolitan outlook on society. Consequently, those with abundant economic and cultural capital, along with extensive transnational mobility and migration experiences, may view the effects of globalisation as less significant, having grown accustomed to them as an integral part of their lives. Typically, these groups will have a positive stance toward globalisation. Conversely, people with less education, less skilled occupations, and limited transnational experience are likely to be more aware of these trends and to evaluate them more negatively (Hjerm et al., 2020; Kunst et al., 2020; Recchi et al., 2019).

### **3. Methodology**

We use qualitative interview data collected in the INVENT project (cf. Methodological Appendix of this volume), offering rich data to study perceptions of the effects of globalisation. Our country selection for this chapter includes four

countries that differ in their level of migration and are from different geographical areas of Europe, with a mix of Southern and Northern countries, as well as countries that are part of the EU (Spain, Finland), left the EU (UK), or were never part of the EU (Switzerland). Our sample of 84 interviews includes both migrants (born outside the country of residence) and non-migrants and covers different social characteristics such as gender, age, and education level. In Spain, Switzerland, and Finland, we recruited the interviewees from INVENT survey respondents who had consented to participate in a follow-up study. In the UK, a research agency recruited the interviewees. Table 6.1 presents information about the social background of the interviewees in each country. The Methodological Appendix details the criteria for classifying individuals by educational category. In Finland and Switzerland, we were unable to recruit lower-educated interview participants, as both countries have highly educated populations, and most people with no education or basic education are also quite old. In addition, overrepresentation of more educated people is common in research about culture (Katz-Gerro, 2017).

The qualitative approach and the reliance on interviews allow both to capture the complexity and broader social context of the analysed phenomena and to recognise the ambivalence and inconsistency in how people express their opinions and feelings (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Using qualitative interviews is a fruitful way to study people's perceptions, opinions, and attitudes (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), classifications, and the meanings they attach to different phenomena (Lamont & Swidler, 2014).

We rely on guided interviews to evaluate how people perceive the cultural effects of globalisation, Europeanisation, and migration. Our data comprise both local and migrant individuals, which gives us a unique and multifaceted perspective on these megatrends. The process of articulating perceptions about culture involves several steps (Gerhards et al., 2017). The first step involves the selection of perceptions, as individuals do not report all their perceptions in the interview but only selected ones. Two factors in particular shape whether someone focuses his or her attention on a particular memory: first, the importance of a particular event, and second, its

*Table 6.1* Overview of Interview Participants

<i>Country</i>	<i>N Interviewees</i>	<i>Men/ Women</i>	<i>Migrant*/ Non- Migrant</i>	<i>Age: 18–30/ 31–45/ 46–60/60+</i>	<i>Education: Low/Medium/ High</i>
Finland	20	11/9	5/15	3/6/6/5	0/6/14
Spain	20	12/12	12/12	7/12/5/0	11/4/9
Switzerland	25	9/11	6/14	5/4/4/7	0/10/10
United Kingdom	65	13/7	10/10	6/8/4/2	6/6/8
Total	84	45/39	33/51	21/30/19/14	17/26/41

\* The migrant category in this study includes first-generation migrants who moved to the new country of residence as an adult (age 18+, except in Spain, where the cut-off age was 16) and have lived in one of the target countries for at least 2 years. The migrants came from the following countries: UK: Pakistan (4), Nigeria (2), Ireland (1), Jamaica (1), France (1), Spain (1); Finland: UK (1), Ireland (1), Russia (1), Italy (1), Vietnam (1); Spain: Romania (3), Morocco (3); Switzerland: Germany (1), France (1), Syria (1), Serbia (1), Mexico (1), Denmark (1).

novelty compared to previous patterns of expectation (Roth, 1994). Therefore, we can expect that people who experience strong changes caused by these trends or perceive themselves as strongly affected will report on the cultural effects of these trends. In the second step, persons embed such remembered perceptions in cultural framings. People thus draw on available schemas and stereotypes that bundle their prior knowledge and expectations about events, developments, and people to classify and interpret these perceptions (Pendry, 2012). Third, individuals often evaluate events against the background of their personal interests, attitudes, and values (Pendry, 2012). These memories are likely to emerge more strongly in the countries and the groups of people directly affected by the trends, for example, in countries exposed to a rapid globalisation process, starting from a low level, or people who have undergone migration themselves. Research on Europeanisation processes shows that especially people with higher education and in higher professional positions are mobile in Europe, benefit professionally from it, and maintain transnational contacts (Fligstein, 2008; Kuhn, 2015).

We began our analysis by reading through the transcripts from the four countries to evaluate how the main themes of this chapter, globalisation, Europeanisation, and migration, are discussed and expressed in the interviews. These themes were not articulated in one specific question, but our respondents provided interesting insights related to them in many sections of the interviews. In particular, we analysed the questions that focused on changes in participants' cultural participation, lifestyle, and way of life compared to their parents and children (if they have any). After identifying relevant sections of the interviews, we focused on how respondents perceived various effects on culture.

#### **4. Results**

This section presents insights drawn from the interviews, focusing on the influence of globalisation, Europeanisation, and migration on what interviewees perceive as aspects of culture. We discuss two major themes: first, we elaborate on the general *openness to diversity*, that is, normative attitudes that our interviewees expressed. After reviewing the overall positive perceptions towards globalisation and diversity, we shed light on how interviewees raised potential *threats to their own culture* that could arise due to these megatrends.

##### ***Openness to diversity***

Generally, attitudes towards globalisation and Europeanisation were positive and pointed to increased cultural *diversity and openness*.

I think it is mainly a positive thing. Of course, there is a flip side, but I don't see internationalisation as a bad thing. I believe that you can gain a lot, learn new things and get a new perspective. So that we don't get stuck in our own bubble here in the North [laughs].

(woman from Finland, 20+, high education, FI10)

It's the variety. It's the fact that it's all my culture. I'm a European, and it's all my culture. And if I choose to make it my culture, then I'll go and look for it. And if I want to listen to Beethoven while reading a book by an Italian author, then that's my choice.

(woman from Switzerland, 60, high education, born in France, CH7)

Yes, for example, when I arrived, I very much celebrated the cultural activities of my culture. But throughout my life, my adolescence, and everything, I have integrated a part of Catalan culture and a part of Moroccan culture and made a fusion. I celebrate everything now.

(woman from Spain, 30+, high education, born in Morocco, SP09)

Overall, participants explained that thanks to globalisation, they have access to diverse cultural offerings and expressions, from music and books to social and cultural activities. The variety and hybridity of cultural offerings resulting from globalisation were welcomed and “celebrated”, as the interviewee from Spain articulated previously.

The impact of globalisation and migration on culture was articulated primarily as shaping lifestyles and cultural preferences rather than conditioning access to specific cultural goods or services. However, some participants did highlight that video games, music, and books facilitated their access to a variety of cultures, languages, and countries. Many participants described how globalisation or migration had expanded the cultural offer in their country or locality. For example, they observed a significant diversification of the types of restaurants available, which include cuisines from different parts of the world, enabling a more cosmopolitan way of consuming culture (Kendall et al., 2009). One participant from Finland, a former blue-collar worker and current pensioner with upper secondary education in his 60s, even stated, “In fact, there is not a single thing where it [internationalisation] is not visible” (FI09). Another Finn adds:

I see this as a good change and a good direction. Of course, there is always the problem of clinging to national identity, but I would say that it is to our advantage to internationalise at the same pace as we are currently internationalising.

(man from Finland, 30+, medium education, FI14).

### *Differences in openness*

According to interviewees, globalisation and Europeanisation were not experienced similarly by everyone in their respective countries. While the literature reviewed previously points to education and occupation as prime factors that shape attitudes, these dimensions were not differentiated enough to produce significant patterns in the small sample analysed in this chapter. Instead, two dimensions emerged as most significant: size of city and age or generation (cf. Rössel et al., *this volume*). For instance, some pointed to the difference between *big and small cities*, wherein

bigger cities were considered to be more diverse in terms of cultural diversity and to provide more opportunities to migrants, as interviewees from Spain and Switzerland remarked:

Well, the easiest thing to import into your daily way of life is the food. . . . It's very easy, especially when you live in a town like Geneva, where you have shops from all over the world. So you have African shops, Indian shops, Pakistani shops, Iranian, Turkish, and so on. So you can cook or eat or drink from around the world if you wish.

(woman from Switzerland, 60+, high education, born in France, CH7)

For one reason, when I came to [Spanish city] from Morocco, of course, I come from a different culture, a modest family, I wouldn't have had the opportunity. Here you live in such a big city that opens your mind so much, especially the word open mind, because in other places, if I had stayed in this town in Germany, it wouldn't have been like that, because there they are more closed, the people are more closed, you can feel it. Here you have so much freedom.

(woman from Spain, 30+, high education, born in Morocco, SP03)

Whereas these quotes express the everyday cosmopolitan experiences of migrants (Wise & Velayutham, 2009), interviewees perceived attitudinal differences between inhabitants of central, bigger, and more cosmopolitan cities and smaller and more rural ones, seeing the latter as less open-minded and more closed. This is clearly in line with what we know about the social distance perceived by more educated and urban persons towards more conservative and rural persons (Helbling & Jungkunz, 2020).

There might be a more specific kind of open-mindedness towards other cultures, for example, because I have lived abroad and in bigger cities, even though I have seen how this city where I live, is definitely not the only option and not everywhere is like this, . . .so in another place, this kind of lifestyle could be a minority, not a majority. It is perhaps something that I have seen very concretely, so I guess it brings a certain kind of open-mindedness towards other cultures.

(woman from Finland, 30+, high education, FI20)

As the excerpts demonstrate, interviewees explained that bigger, more central cities contribute to the diverse makeup of their cultural offerings and the openness of their inhabitants. Participants described how moving to a bigger or more central city provided them more opportunities to interact and engage with other cultures through meetings with people from various backgrounds or engagement with a wide array of cultural activities.

Apart from place of residence, participants mentioned generational belonging as another important aspect that shapes the impact of globalisation, migration, and

Europeanisation. They considered being open and cosmopolitan a *generational* issue, where younger people are more culturally open than their elders. As the following quotes demonstrate, both older and younger interviewees expressed this view.

I'm fully behind the idea of a European identity, I think it's a real thing. And all the generations I talked to, apart from the people who are older than me, although I'm not young anymore, seem to have this same idea that . . . they're very much less racist than older people. Older people seem to have something in their minds from the 50s or 60s that makes it impossible for them to see a Spaniard and a Portuguese person, an Italian, and a Brit as being kind of the same. And young people have no problem with this. This was all part of this Brexit dialogue that went on in the UK. Younger people wanted to be able to travel and work in different countries and live and love in different countries around Europe, and their parents, the older generation, just didn't understand the value of that. So, I think it's a generational thing.

(man from Finland, 60+, high education, born in the UK, FI04)

A big difference, because the parents were born at an earlier date and life was not like now. Now, we have a life of technology. [At the] level of culture, there was little culture, but the world has developed everywhere, in every country.

(man from Spain, 50+, low education, born in Morocco, SP19)

My parents' way of life is more at the level of having much of their own cultural identity, from Morocco only. They don't allow any other to integrate. And on the other hand, I have integrated a lot of things from here and things from there. For example, I can be with a person from here and understand what he means to me, understand the traditions, the customs, but my parents don't. Or sometimes, they see it as the opposite.

(woman from Spain, 30+, high education, born in Morocco, SP09)

[Question: What do you think causes these differences?] I think that having lived through all this, perhaps . . . has made us [the people who are now young] more critical and have a different thought and see that with all this that we have lived at only 25 years old, it gives you some very critical visions of what your future could be like, that perhaps they, having lived through all this, maybe they had not considered it so much.

(woman from Spain, 20+, medium education, SP07)

Interviewees described how their parents had fewer opportunities to be exposed to other cultures through cultural activities such as visiting museums, thus leading them to be less open towards other cultures. Travelling was also mentioned as a practice separating different generations and linked to open-mindedness and

acceptance of other cultures, an activity that is less typical of the parents' generation. Some interviewees linked this lack of experience to more conservative tendencies among the parents' generation.

### ***Europeanisation/globalisation threats***

Despite articulating an overall positive sentiment towards globalisation and Europeanisation and exhibiting an open approach to diverse culture, participants also expressed hesitance and concern throughout the interviews about the threats that might arise from these trends. Some interviewees, for instance, argued that globalisation leads to *cultural uniformity*:

That's why every car looks the same today. That was not the case in the past. And that is precisely this individuality that is then lost. So, if I go to a store in Switzerland or Egypt, everything looks the same. Because of globalisation and everything, these standards prevail everywhere. That's what I meant when I said that you almost have to look for the culture.

(man from Switzerland, 37, medium education, CH11)

Thus, in contrast to what some interviewees argued, others stressed that globalisation does not lead to diversity but, instead, to a uniformity that erases everything special or unique to a country.

The diversity resulting from globalisation was also a cause for concern for some participants, who described the difficulty of maintaining their *heritage*:

I guess, if you take it from an example of living in the UK, you get a lot of people who are just like "Oh, but you live in the UK, and you should adapt to UK culture". Well, I feel like I can do both. I can adapt to the culture here, but I can also keep true to my heritage.

(woman from the UK, 38, medium, born in India, UK07)

I don't have any thoughts about immigration, as some come and some go. It's true that globalisation is happening and that we receive a lot of influence from outside, in the media, things like films, series, and information. Everything is now very intertwined. And on a cultural level, I have tried to keep my roots here. I won't say the opposite, but doing Halloween doesn't mean anything to me.

(man from Spain, 30+, high education, SP05)

According to some interviewees, the notion of diversity and multiculturalism eventually leads to the erasure of certain cultures. Interestingly, both migrants and locals shared the same sentiment. Migrants feared that when "blending in", they would have to part with the customs of their country of origin, while, for example, a native Finnish woman in her 30s said she did not see internationalisation as a negative trend but added that it is "inevitable" and also dreaded they would lose

their “core Finnishness and core self” or “forget their roots”: “I just hope that we don’t forget our own roots and for example our own language” (FI15), revealing the ambivalences and reservedness towards internationalisation. These quotes also speak to the discussion about multiculturalism and interculturalism (Meer & Modood, 2012). Whereas the first quote illustrates the multicultural focus on enabling migrants to preserve their heritage culture, the second interviewee speaks for the dialogical approach of interculturalism, taking both the majority and the migrants’ culture into account.

*Language* was often seen as an expression of culture that has changed, perhaps for the worse, due to globalisation and migration. Especially in the Finnish interviews, both migrant and native participants pointed out how much English is used nowadays, not only in cultural products such as TV but also in casual and official communications. While globalisation is mainly met positively, some feared the Finnish language would decline because English is becoming very dominant. Some participants worried that this might make life more difficult for those with no language skills, especially for the older generations.

We have increased the proportion of English so that we have started to use it in product names, for example. Companies use English much more than before, and it is used quite interchangeably with Finnish. So, it is not explained in any way. English expressions have become more common – It is important to hold on to and cherish your own language; that’s what I think is essential.

(man from Finland, 30+, medium education, FI14)

Another migrant, a male who has been seeking a satisfying job for several years in Finland, thought that despite the wide use of English in Finland, not speaking Finnish is something that symbolically separates people, which is something to expect based on ethnolinguistic identity theory in the Finnish context (Giles & Johnson, 1987):

I think it [Finland] has become more international, I mean, but it still hasn’t changed that much because you still have to go to school to learn Finnish, which is a good thing and a bad thing. It somehow has this glass door or this glass ceiling to it, that it keeps foreigners out or it keeps foreigners from mixing with Finns.

(man from Finland, 40+, high education, born in Ireland, FI05)

Yes, I think it is also difficult for migrants to participate. Yes, because I notice that it’s always a bit of the same people. And there are many people who don’t dare. Perhaps there are language barriers. Or they have the feeling that the Swiss are among themselves. And sometimes, I find that a bit of a shame. I miss this mixture a bit.

(woman from Switzerland, 45, high education, CH06)

Similar things happen, according to some migrants, with the Catalan language in Spain:

Well, the issue of Catalan. Especially how I experience it in the pharmacy, because when a person speaks to you in Catalan and . . . it's not that you don't want to answer or that you don't know how to answer, but they don't come to you right away . . . then sometimes I have experienced reactions that are not. I felt contempt . . . simply for not answering in that language.

(man from Spain, 20+, high education, born in Romania, SP21)

As for languages, I speak Romanian, English, Italian, and Spanish. I understand Catalan. I find it difficult to speak it because of one person. . . . Because I was speaking Catalan initially and he was laughing at me a lot. And it gave me a total block. My colleagues talk Catalan to me all the time, and I answer them in Spanish because I can't let go anymore.

(woman from Spain, 30+, low education, born in Romania, SP01)

Another reservation regarding the influence of globalisation concerns the status of women:

For example, how women are treated in some cultures. Perhaps we should think more about whether it's right. . . . But for the most part, I'm very positive [about immigration and internationalisation].

(woman from Finland, 40+, medium education, FI07)

The hesitation about the effects of migration on heritage and language demonstrated in the previous quotes was also joined by interviewees who questioned whether migrants could ever feel that they belonged in the receiving country.

I came [10–20] years ago so Finland has changed quite a bit during these years. But for me, being used to living in a very multicultural environment like [city] where you have people from really different backgrounds and different nationalities and different cultures, we should also connect to the colonialist past of [country]. So you see a lot of, now don't [utters a laugh] get me wrong, but you see a lot of coloured people. Because [country] was part of [country] empire. When I came to Finland, I found quite I would say, irritating or annoying that there were only white people. . . . I couldn't find this multiculturalism I had in [city] which was very important for me because I felt part of a larger community while in Finland, yes I am white, but still, it was quite difficult. I felt somehow out of place. For me, this was really the biggest difference. As I said, Finland has changed a lot but it wasn't that multicultural at that time. You could see it out in the streets. Also, the museums were very Finnish-orientated, and then, little by little, it changed.

(woman from Finland, 40+, high education, born in Italy, FI13)

## 5. Discussion

Extensive literature has focused on the effects of measurable processes of globalisation on various aspects of everyday life, including in the cultural sphere (Deutschmann, 2022). However, there has been scant attention to the way individuals *perceive* the effects of globalisation and its derivatives of migration and Europeanisation on what they *understand* as culture. We examined the perspectives of people residing in the UK, Switzerland, Spain, and Finland regarding the impact of these processes on various aspects of culture and whether they perceive these changes as cultural enrichment or threat. We find individuals' perceptions of the effects of these social trends on culture to be complex. On the one hand, we find overall support for such processes and their contribution to individuals' openness. Participants generally embraced globalisation, migration, and Europeanisation. They found them contributing to their growth as individuals – turning them into more cosmopolitan, well-rounded people, providing opportunities for connection with other cultures, and supporting access to a variety of cultural products and services.

On the other hand, we also recount more nuanced and layered expressions of hesitation or frustration related to the relationships between cultural diversity and ethnic diversity, heritage, and the sustainability of languages. This includes migrants' feelings of symbolic boundaries and even discrimination, as well as anxieties of the majority social group concerning the preservation of their traditional culture and language, in fear that their cultural heritage is compromised due to globalisation's blend of cultures. These results form a cultural backbone for discussions about winners and losers of globalisation, for example, in political sociology or European studies (Fligstein, 2008; Kuhn, 2015). Whereas this literature looks at standardised indicators of support for Europeanisation or globalisation, our results ground these indicators in the complex perceptions and worldviews of real persons.

The focus on people's perceptions of the effect of globalisation on culture has served as both the contribution and the limitation of this chapter. On the one hand, focusing on interviewees' reports allowed us to gain insights into their inner worlds and their understanding of the effects of globalisation in their own words from a bottom-up approach. At the same time, due to the nature of interviews, participants perhaps chose to emphasise the benefits of such processes and shied away from expressions of racism and social intolerance. Interview settings might be shaped by power inequalities between the interviewer and interviewee (e.g., Lareau, 2021), and participants might not want to share their opinions on sensitive matters or appear, for example, intolerant. Many of our participants have also directly benefited from globalisation, for example, being able to travel, study, and live in other countries. It is possible that our research design, interviews about cultural practices, is more attractive to those with more cultural capital and are often more open and tolerant in their views, while those who have more negative attitudes towards culture are more reluctant to participate in studies (Heikkilä, 2022). This may have contributed to the underrepresentation of individuals with a lower level of education in our sample. Preceding studies show that openness to globalisation,

Europeanisation, and migration is positively related to education (Fligstein, 2008; Kuhn, 2015; López-Lomelí et al., 2019; Kunst et al., 2020). Nevertheless, we managed to capture moments of nuance and complexity and demonstrate the grey areas where globalisation, migration, and Europeanisation create tensions and uncertainty.

We can identify the following implications for cultural policy arising from our findings. First, policy should be mindful of the diverse ways Europeans perceive culture and the effect of culture on everyday life. This involves more than the usual set of indicators of participation in the arts but also includes, for example, interpersonal relationships, values shaping everyday behaviour, and language. Accordingly, policy could devise programs and allocate funds to intervene in processes shaping such factors. Second, one of the central consequences of globalisation is cultural tension that might exist in multicultural, multi-religion, multi-ethnic societies, which policy could mitigate through programmes addressing concerns about the possible erosion of marginalised identities or groups. In addition, since some participants in our data thought that valuing their heritage was important, policy-makers should somehow recognise and consider this. This is also a desideratum of research: more qualitative research on the question of what people mean when they speak of losing their home country and its traditions.

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