“World Music Is Made-Up By White People”

Issues Of Race In The Dutch ‘World Music’ Sector

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Preface

When I moved from London to Utrecht two and a half years ago, I was surprised at how race seemed to weigh more heavily in terms of class and education here. As a middle-class, educated woman, my 'whiteness' seemed to be a given, as did the 'whiteness' of my middle-class educated friends. On top of this, issues of race did not seem to be addressed as critically on Dutch television, in newspapers or in daily conversations as I was used to in the UK. It motivated me to do research on race in the Netherlands, particularly in a field that is not usually associated with these issues. I hope that the analysis of a relatively benign phenomenon such as 'world music' will make critical discussions of race more accepted and prevalent in the Netherlands.

Since 2013, I have been working in the 'world music' sector as social media manager at the British record label *World Music Network*. I started at the beginning of my RMA Gender and Ethnicity, which challenged me to look at my work and the sector critically. Although I have enjoyed this profession, I have felt uncomfortable regarding issues of race. I conform to the 'white' stereotype of the 'world music' professional behind the scenes and hence perpetuate a racial segregation that is present in the sector. Furthermore, the celebration of race on a professional level and a critical stance of racial discourses on a scholarly level are part of mismatching discourses and catalysed this research. I wanted to find out if and how other professionals experienced these discomforts and how they responded. This research therefore centrers around the following question: how does the Dutch 'world music' sector deal with issues of race?

This project is the result of extensive fieldwork and interviews with 'world music' professionals in the Netherlands and could not have been completed without their involvement, time and trust, so I would like to express my gratitude to all participants here. Our extremely interesting conversations continuously sparked my motivation to complete this project. Thank you also to Stan, Sonja & Silvia for making me feel part of the Babel Med team. Thank you Anne-Marie, Maarten, Rob, Emmy, Hein, Erwin & Niki.

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Special thanks to Anneli for sharing your English skills & outsiders perspective with me, even if it meant staying up late. Thijs for warmth & distraction and obviously also for hiding chocolate in my room at appropriate moments. Thank you Josje for proofreading my written Dutch. My peers, I will miss not being in class with you, (de-)stressing out together has always been better than alone. Obviously thank you to my British friends for motivational Skype calls and general support. My fellow Dekoor-singers with whom making music and having post-rehearsal drinks were excellent changes from my daily writing routine. Manuel, Niké, Ieneke and the most lovely neighbours Roos & Tim (special thanks for that time my computer died & I could borrow yours). Maaike for being the sweetest sister, some serious sister-time is coming up! Papa for regularly checking up on me and reminding me of my priorities. Mama, the new chair was a blessing for my back. Linda, Laura, Romain & Matiz for being the awesomest family ever. Liedeke who helped me guard my boundaries and for emotional support.

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Introduction

The term 'world music' is actively maintained by a group of professionals in the music industry[1] in the Netherlands to brand music, events or venues related to 'non-western' music traditions. The category is often considered to be a celebration of multiculturalism which aids cultural immigration and increases an understanding towards various cultural backgrounds in the Netherlands, also apparent from the interviews held with some of the 'world music' professionals in this research. It contributes to the tolerant image that the Dutch perceive themselves to have. Nonetheless, as the quote in the research title suggests, issues of race are prevalent in the sector. *"Wereldmuziek is verzonnen door blanke mensen"* (world music is made-up by white people) was stated by TE, a female performer 'of colour' after I asked her about 'white' privilege regarding an apparent racial segregation in 'world music' between the predominantly 'white' audience, professionals behind the scenes and the performers -frequently 'of colour' (Interview TE, 2 April 2015). Her statement highlights 'world music' as a constructed phenomenon but also emphasises the relevance of race in the sector. Her reference to 'whiteness' is important for this research, as I will highlight throughout how its apparent neutrality shapes the discourse on race (in the sector) in the Netherlands. The contrast between issues of race in 'world music' and a celebratory, multicultural reputation makes the study of 'world music' particularly fruitful to examine issues of race in the Netherlands.

Racism in the Netherlands is a contentious subject that is usually ignored and denied by the Dutch media, politicians and the public (Müller, van Zoonen and de Roode 2007; El-Tayeb 2011; Essed and Hoving 2014). However, issues of race can only be addressed once acknowledged. This thesis therefore pays attention to these issues -including subtle forms- in the Dutch 'world music' sector through a critical, (feminist) postcolonial lens. It supports the need to increase critical interventions in the current discourse on race in the Netherlands. First however, I will introduce key themes and provide an overview of the thesis structure.

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1 Venues, festivals, radio, music on television, labels, music magazines, music sections in newspapers, music websites and blogs.

Race

As stated in the *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology,* race "is a framework of ranked categories dividing up the human population" which was "developed by Western Europeans following their global expansion in the 1400s" (Barnard 2008, 462). Despite the artificiality of this category, the consequences have been significant:

> Race reinforced *pervasive inequality* in terms of the political, economic, social and frequently legal conditions […] Race resulted in *racism*, the cultural and ideological formation that shapes perception and evaluation of self and others according to racial identity, which is institutionalized in both interpersonal and larger-scale behavioural social order […] racial ranking has consistently assigned White persons to the top and Black persons to the bottom (loc. cit., emphasis in original).

Race and racism are part of a worldwide legacy of colonialism that shape global power structures and is extremely relevant to present societies. A result of the superior position of ('western') Europe, is the narrative of Europe as a colourblind continent, framed "as a space free of 'race' (and by implication, racism)" (El-Tayeb 2011, xv). This denial is actively maintained through the externalisation of racialised populations (ibid., xxi) such as through the binary of *autochtoon* versus the *allochtoon*[2] in the Netherlands. The status of 'white' and 'western' might frequently coincide in the same bodies, the discourses surrounding these terms do not entirely correspond (Frankenberg 1993, 193). 'Whiteness' often concurs with 'western' in this research, but I am critical of sources that consider 'of colour' to be automatically external from the 'west' so I thus challenge this understanding.

Issues of race are unavoidable in the Netherlands and are also present in fields not usually associated with racism like 'world music'. This thesis focuses on issues of race or racism that the sector engages with, such as overt racism, essentialist racism, racial segregation, marginalisation, exoticism, 'othering', 'white' privilege and 'white' fragility. While this thesis is in English, the field research has predominantly been conducted in Dutch. In Dutch, race has a heavier connotation than in English because it has strong associations with the Holocaust (de Leeuw and van Wichelen in Essed and Hoving 2014, 348) and is used to talk about animal breeds. Instead, vaguer terms such as culture, ethnicity, *autochtoon* versus *allochtoon* are used and racism is more often referred to as discrimination, although they also function as euphemisms reflect tendency to deny or ignore

[2] *Autochtoon* is a Dutch term for someone born in the Netherlands whose parents were born in the Netherlands. *Allochtoon* refers to someone who is born outside of the Netherlands, or who has at least one parent that was born outside of the Netherlands (Vliet 2014, 21). These terms will be discussed in Chapter 2.

racism (El-Tayeb 2011; Essed and Hoving 2014). Here, I will use the terms racism and issues of race interchangeably and discuss race as a phenomenon that is tied to skin colour, cultural, ethnic backgrounds and the status of the migrant. Furthermore, race-related issues are experienced in *coincidence* with one's gender, class, education, age (etc.), which is why an intersectional approach is also necessary.

'World Music'

'World music' in the Netherlands provides a fruitful case study to contribute to critiques regarding the Dutch tendency to downplay the importance of race because the category is a phenomenon in which issues of race are layered and complex. 'World music', or the term *wereldmuziek* in Dutch, became widely used after a meeting of British music professionals that dealt with "international/roots music" in 1987 in London who instigated a commercial and marketing campaign (Anderson 2015c). Concurrently, 'world cinema' and 'world literature' were similarly popular. Prior to this meeting, commercial success had been achieved by albums such as *Graceland* in 1986, a collaboration between Paul Simon and various South African groups (Meintjes 1990; Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007) so a label for 'non-western' music influences in the pop industry seemed necessary. The term covered a wide range of music styles such as "new Yemenite pop, Bulgarian choir, [...] or Gambian kora" (Anderson 2015c) and although it may suggest an incorporation of any type of music from around the world, this is not the case because 'western' music is excluded (Frith in Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 307). Like many music genres, it is difficult to define this category without applying terms that are ambiguous or politically incorrect.

Issues of race in 'world music' are complex because the category seems to celebrate multiculturalism, but it is branded with vague and artificial notions such of 'other', 'non-western' and 'exotic' music. As emphasised in Chapter 3, this is contrasted with many other music styles and keeps the discourse of a raceless and superior 'western', European or Dutch society intact. Since the Dutch 'world music' sector is part of Dutch society, it is influenced by the latter's racial structure and discourse on race. The same chapter looks at racial segregation in the sector: the sellers (i.e. artists) are largely 'non-western' or of colour and the majority of its buyers (i.e., fans and professionals behind the scenes) are 'white'. The way these issues shape or are dealt with by the

sector and myself as a 'white' female researcher and 'world music' professional, is foregrounded throughout this thesis. The 'world music' sector in the Netherlands is divided into 'formal' and 'informal' sectors by a recent study (Van den Broek et al. 2012). The latter branch is designated for music within *allochtone* or migrant communities in the Netherlands and not part of the image that is associated with a supposedly commercialised 'world music'. I do not seek to consolidate this racial binary, but I address 'world music' in its 'commercial'[3] sense here, in order to focus on issues of race within this phenomenon.

Rather than the term 'world music', I prefer to refer to music genres that are usually considered 'world music' with more specific terms, used by the artists themselves such as *bhangra* or *afrobeat.* However, during the interviews as well as in this thesis, I have relied on the way in which the media tends to use 'world music' for three reasons: 1) it is more convenient, 2) the usage by the media has also contributed to associations with particular music styles, which has shaped people's understanding of 'world music' and 3) it provokes a critical discussion of the term (in Chapter 3). To continuously emphasise its problematic use, I write 'world music' in inverted commas throughout the thesis. Since other terms such as 'white', 'black', 'of colour', 'west', 'non-west' and 'other' are similarly vague and problematic (Said 1978; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; El-Tayeb 2011), they will also be written in inverted commas and lower case. Other identity categories such as male, female, or music genres such as pop or classical could have been represented in this way for similar reasons, but since they do not function as main tropes of analysis, I have written them without markers for readability's sake.

This thesis is set up as follows: Chapter 1 clarifies the theoretical and methodological framework which revolves predominantly around postcolonialism and feminism. It gives further explanations, reflections and addresses background information on practical research such as interviews and participant observation.

Chapter 2 focusses on Dutch discourses of race to situate the discursive, social and cultural environment in which this research was conducted. The critical discussion of phenomena such as Dutch racism and 'white' privilege function as a frame for the examination on 'world music' and the analysis of interviews.

Chapter 3 pays attention to the history and branding of the term 'world music'. Here, the

[3] This includes professional musicians, official venues and festivals, record labels, online platforms such as *Mixed World Music* and organisations who receive government funding such as *World Music Forum Netherlands*.

stereotypes regarding ‘world music’ audiences are discussed and connected to issues of race but also gender. Audiences are predominantly ‘white’, ‘western’ and educated but although there is no gender imbalance, gendered stereotypes are present.

Chapter 4 highlights a seemingly contradicting dynamic regarding ‘world music’: even though the music category is perceived to have positive social influences, it is marginalised in the music industry and in scholarly research. I address this tendency through a model of ‘high’ art versus ‘low’ art and a discussion on classical and pop music because it shapes the way in which local and national governments provide funding to the music industry. The apparent positive associations with ‘world music’ perpetuate its marginal position and relate to issues of race such as ‘white’ privilege.

Chapter 5 concentrates on a power-evasive discourse in the marketing of ‘world music’. ‘World music’ organisations with so-called ethical side projects stimulate a positive reputation of the sector but this conceals complex race-related power dynamics. Various participants also stressed that colour is irrelevant in music, which is a limited strategy to counter ‘white’ supremacy since it depoliticises the phenomenon.

Chapter 6 centres on the ways participants deal with ‘issues of race’ in their work. These include issues such as ‘white’ fragility and entitlement racism but also defensive and constructive strategies applied in order to cope with negative experiences of race.

Chapter 1

Methodology

Racism in the Dutch ('world') music industry has hardly been researched, so practical research has been vital for this project. This thesis is therefore based on academic and practical research such as participant observation and fourteen interviews. The few academic sources available on this topic are from before 9/11 and therefore less relevant regarding developments such as the increased Islamophobic climate in the Netherlands (van Amstel 1995; Flaes 1997) and / or do not prioritise the analysis of the relationship between postcolonial issues in society and the Dutch ('world') music sector (Bor 2008). International research regarding 'world music' in Britain and the United States in particular were available and have been helpful to draw parallels from (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Stokes 2004; Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007; Hess 2013). A combination of postcolonial and feminist sources have framed this study.

1.1 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Anti-racist struggles are present in the Netherlands, yet in the book *Dutch Racism* (2014), the editors Essed and Hoving argue that the ('white') Dutch population still tends to deal with racism through self-imposed ignorance. The lack of debate and knowledge provides an excuse to feel irresponsible concerning racial injustice and perpetuates an existing structure in which 'whiteness' is privileged. Fatima El-Tayeb, scholar in literature and ethnic studies, notes the impact in a wider European context: "the absence of a discourse on race [is] not [..] a sign of the absence of racism, but [...] a severe impediment to the possibility of effectively addressing the latter" (2011, xvii). Together with works of 'whiteness' scholars Ruth Frankenberg and Robin DiAngelo, these are key texts that support my aim to increase awareness and discussion of race issues. A greater awareness regarding privileges, the impact of the Dutch colonial past and a larger critical discourse on racism are the first steps to tackle these issues.

Frankenberg identified three discursive repertoires that make up discourses on race difference and racism (1993, 188). Firstly, *essentialist racism* refers to the hierarchical

differentiation between people based on their (constructed) race, in which 'whiteness' dominates. Current discourses on race are still marked by the legacy of essentialist racism since it considered "race as a significant axis of difference" (ibid., 139). *Colour- and power evasion* reacts against this 'white supremacy' since it stresses the similarities of people, but therefore also ignores race privileges. In turn, *race cognizance* opposes these two phenomena and articulates an awareness of race as a social construction. It recognizes power-dynamics associated with race difference. In her research, Frankenberg relates this discourse to the result of movements for the empowerment of people 'of colour', from the American civil rights through to current campaigns (ibid., 140). These emancipation struggles have not taken place to the same extent in the Netherlands (Essed 1991, 2), so race cognizant discourses differ or are not as present as in the United States. However, whether 'of colour' or 'white', the engagement with a wide variety of cultural and ethnic backgrounds in the 'world music' sector mean that most participants in this research have developed a more complex understanding of race than the average 'white' Dutch person, so this concept is beneficial for analysis here.

Postcolonialism

Rather than to appreciate postcolonialism as a vaguely determined historical period (literally: after colonialism), it seems more urgent to consider it as an epistemology to address inequality based on skin colour, ethnicity, location or culture, as Robert Young (2012) points out. In this research, I use postcolonialism as a critical analytical lens and a political consciousness in order to interrogate how current social systems have been formed. Because racial inequality permeates society and is reflected or expressed in media such as music (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; El-Tayeb 2011), postcolonial analysis is relevant, particularly through the general emphasis of 'world music' as music of the 'other' (Erlmann 1996, 470; Frith in Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 305). I have therefore foregrounded (implicit) connections between the 'world music' sector and issues of race in this thesis, such as the consequences of the wider Dutch colonial legacy and 'white' privilege in the sector. One of the first postcolonial scholars to write about the unequal binary was Edward Said. He argues that this constructed dichotomous opposition between 'colonised' and 'not-colonised', 'self' and 'other' or the 'west' and the 'non-west' is pivotal for the modern European identity and sense of superiority (1987). This understanding has been taken up by many other scholars (Hall 1989; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Loomba 2005; El-Tayeb 2011). The dichotomy is obviously skewed but it influences power dynamics today and therefore I have explored it in this

research. Furthermore, Gayatri Spivak's work on issues of representation (1988) is important in research on 'world music'. This music of the 'other' is represented and controlled by a 'white' 'western' dominated industry. The unbalanced power dynamics enable the sector to either speak *for* 'non-western' musicians, traditions and communities or lets them speak for themselves in a marginal manner. So despite an general intention by the sector to empower the 'non-west', the effectiveness of 'world music' is questioned here. Nevertheless, unlike the subaltern that Spivak refers to, artists in the 'world music' Dutch 'world music' sector have -to some extent- a voice, whether due to their talent, location in the 'west' or gender (etc.). Sameness, difference and power dynamics are therefore predominantly analysed on an axis of race whilst identity categories such as gender, nation, class, etc., have been taken into account for an intersectional (Crenshaw 1989) or *coincidental* approach (James 2010). As will be discussed in Chapter 6 for example, ES organises 'world music' events that function as constructive discourses for his ethnic community. Yet as a man, his gender influences to whom these projects are most relevant since he continuously referred to boys and used male pronouns when he talked about his project (Interview ES, 27 March 2015).

Coincidence or Intersectionality

I have found postcolonial feminism, transnational feminism, theories by feminists 'of colour' and feminist 'whiteness' studies particularly relevant to this research since they foreground power relations in their analysis and highlight the necessity to theorise from the *coincidence* of various identity categories, such as gender, race and class, etc. I have given special attention to the *coincidence* of forms of oppression in order to understand the complex ways in which power works. Which is why the work of Robin James, Donna Haraway, Adrianne Rich, Audre Lorde, Chandra Mohanty, Ruth Frankenberg and Fatima El-Tayeb have informed my theoretical framework.

Since my 'whiteness' is historically considered to be neutral or raceless (Frankenberg 1993; El-Tayeb 2011; DiAngelo 2011), the critiques of feminists 'of colour' and postcolonial feminists such as Mohanty or Lorde serve as important reminders to avoid traps related to this, such as the assumption that my gender is part of a "coherent group" that "can be applied universally and cross-culturally" (Mohanty 1988, 64). This is not only significant to my position as the author of this paper and the partial perspective from which I have conducted the analysis, it is also relevant to the way interview participants experienced and shaped their understanding of race in their work. These theories have challenged me to be self-reflexive and aware of my privileges and my involvement in racism.

The emphasis on *coincidence* or intersectionality by the earlier mentioned feminists researchers is also applied to music by James (2010). She points out that music is often used in postcolonial theory as an example to illustrate particular social phenomena or structures (2010, 3). However, James also argues that music ought to be considered as a *coincidence*[4] with race, gender, class, etc., because people's concept of music is determined through a similar process as their understanding of these tropes. The relationship between identity categories and music is not one of exemplification but one of *coincidence*: they are mutually constituted and reinforced via discourses on the values of music, race, gender, class, etc. The entanglement of these discourses means that they evolve together and are "interdependent manifestations of the nature/culture problem" (ibid., xix). It is therefore important to note that the artistic products of the Dutch 'world music' sector are not separate from Dutch society, but inherently intertwined. For example, the appreciation of Arabic music by a 'white' audience (Interview AR, 27 March 2015), is entangled with Islamophobic and orientalist discourses present in the Netherlands, but at the same time, these discourses evolve with positive musical experiences.

These manifestations and discourses find resonance in personal, bodily experiences, so I have focussed upon these experiences during field research. I have been self-reflexive of my feelings and experiences at concerts and interviews and constantly sought to consider these in broader social contexts. Furthermore, I have been aware of this in my analysis when participants shared their understandings or feelings of musical experiences and considered these in *coincidence* with parts of their identity and the Dutch context in which these have been referred to, which is why feminist theory has influenced this study.

'World Music' Research is a Feminist Project

Robin James also argues that the commercialised and marginalised position of pop music in relation to classical high art music is the result of feminisation and fetishism (2010). This is relevant to 'world music' since the category has an inferior position in academic research (Hess 2013) and the music has been commodified for the commercial industry. James argues that the content of music does not determine whether the music is considered to be 'serious' ('high') or pop ('low'): the same piece can occupy both categories. This arbitrary division was previously discussed by the

[4] As mentioned previously in this section, *coincidence* is a similar to the concept of intersectionality but without predetermined identity categories.

German sociologist Theodore Adorno in his work on the Culture Industry and popular music. His critical understanding of jazz music, which he understood as popular music at his time of writing, contrasts to his appreciation of 'serious' music such as work by Beethoven (Adorno and Rabinbach 1975; Witkin 1998). James discusses Adorno's work on commodity music through feminist philosopher Irigaray's claim that women were the first and continue to be the most important commodities exchanged among men (2010, xvi). While I find Irigaray's notion too absolutist and void of female agency when I relate this to my own experience as a woman, I do recognise the relevance of this (historic) power dynamic in the creation of the commodity as passive and feminine. Unsurprisingly, Adorno consistently attributes feminine qualities to commodity music, which James understands to be the result of a capitalist patriarchal society (loc. cit.). She highlights that for "Adorno, white feminine blandness and passivity characterize not only commercial jazz, but commodity music as a whole" (ibid., 109). On top of the feminisation of commodity music, its marginalisation is also noticeable in today's academic research. The study of pop music is considered less important in academia than classical music. An example can be found at Utrecht University itself: the majority of Musicology subjects involves 'western' historical music (classical) rather than ('western') popular music, let alone 'world music' ("Musicology - Master - Universiteit Utrecht" 2015).

Due to the process of feminisation and the prominent position that women play in pop music (as artists and audiences), James advocates that popular music would be a particularly appropriate research subject for feminists as it makes a statement on the importance of both the genre and women: "Because women do in fact speak, because 'low' art is, in fact, meaningful" (James 2010, 121). Whilst inspired by James' line of thought, I would add that this feminist project could be extended to research on 'world music', for the music category has a similarly marginal position to 'high' art music and has been feminised. 'World music' is -like pop- marginalised compared to classical music because it is a commodified product of the (British) commercial music industry. Frith argues for example, that when the first 'world music' marketing campaign was organised, that the music "might have come from elsewhere but it was sold in a familiar package" (2000, 306), that of popular British and American bands. However, I would argue that 'world music' is marginalised for several other reasons as well. Unlike pop music (James 2010, 129), 'world music' does not have a predominantly female fan-base, but as will be discussed in Chapter 3, the 'world music' audience in the Netherlands is feminised through gendered stereotypes. The marginalisation of 'world music' regarding commercial success plays another role and will be addressed in Chapter 4.

Furthermore, 'world music' is devalued because it is considered within an orientalist paradigm that revolves around a gendered binary of "a morally superior 'us' (or 'collective Self')

and an appealing but dangerous 'them' ('collective other')" (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 8). Ania Loomba writes about the role of gender and sexuality in relation to race and argues that during colonialism in the late sixteenth century the 'non-west' ('other') was contrasted to the 'west' ('self') and was attributed with feminine characteristics to symbolise its inferior position (2005, 69). The binary opposition of the 'feminine orient' and the 'masculine occident' can be understood as a tool to consolidate the domination of 'western' patriarchy and has provided justifications for particular (historical) events[5]. As the Netherlands is part of the 'west' and has a colonial history (and present), the feminisation of the 'other' is therefore extremely relevant to the way in which 'world music' is perceived in the Dutch context. As music of the 'other', 'world music' is automatically feminised in its contrast to the superior 'west'. A feminist framework is thus fitting in this research on the racialised and gendered connotations of this commodified music category and way in which participants engage with it.

Musicology

This thesis does not include an analysis of music examples for their sonic qualities. Although musicologist Georgina Born argues that there is no such thing as music "itself" (1995), this study can nonetheless be critiqued that it does not cross the bridge between the more sociological approach of pop or 'low' music and the more musicological analysis of classical, 'high' art music. Several musicologists have rightly identified a need to close this gap (Born 1995; Covach 2010) but I focus on the political associations and context of 'world music' and therefore follow a common approach in the study of the postcolonial (Bahri 2003) and popular music (Covach 2010). Although I am aware of this limitation, it would have been more urgent to develop a research agenda that includes musical analysis if this research had been conducted within musicology.

Fieldwork Methodology

Because of my professional engagement and interest in 'world music', it has been a challenge to remain observant rather than judgemental in the first stages of the fieldwork. Feminist

[5] Such as such as the Scramble for Africa in the late nineteenth century, or more recently the invasion of Afghanistan or Iraq.

interview methodologies were helpful, particularly DeVault and Gross's contribution in Hesse-Biber (2006) on interview techniques and analysis. They stress the importance of "active listening" (ibid., 182). This includes the consideration that interviews are linguistically constructed accounts and the awareness "that experience recounted is always emergent in the moment, that telling requires a listener and that the listening shapes the account as well as the telling, that both telling and listening are shaped by discursive histories" (ibid., 179). The perspectives, anecdotes and opinions encountered, have hence been framed in a context of partiality, change, power structures and the body. Of importance is also the research conducted in advance and the consideration of agency of the participant (ibid, 176), as this avoids "discursive colonization" (Mohanty 1988, 61). Rather than listening out for information which I have wanted or expected to hear, I have sought to provide space for the perspective and opinions of the interviewed[6]. I took on these strategies which -according to the authors- help to avoid discursive colonisation.

Another way to exercise observation rather than initial judgement, was through grounded theory. It is a qualitative research methodology (and theory derived from this methodology) in which continuous engagement between data collection and analysis is enabled via open coding and memos (Bryant and Charmaz 2007). This methodology overlaps on aspects of feminist theory because in order to arrive at a relevant theory, data is gathered from "actual experiences and practices" (Clarke in Hesse-Biber 2006, 347). Lived experiences and daily practices are important in feminist theory, such as in Haraway's concept of situated knowledge (1988). The information provided by each participant in the interviews is the result of their partial perspective shaped by their personal and professional experiences and has been constructed within the context of an interview. Furthermore, the process of open coding connotes that data is open to multiple and simultaneous readings, again, each partial in their own right. This therefore avoids a "god trick" (Haraway, 1998), the illusion that knowledge can be gathered in an objective manner. Grounded theory relies on the material, because the interpretations and analyses are the result of my own embodiment and that of the respondents. This methodology therefore assumes "materialist social constructionism" (Clarke in Hesse-Biber 2006, 347). It allows for a sensitivity to variation and differences. Clarke hence points out that this emphasis on experiences, practices and space provided for difference makes grounded theory as something that is "always already implicitly feminist" (loc. cit.).

Nonetheless, grounded theory has not been applied rigidly here because I did not seek to develop a new theory from the information gathered, but rather to contribute to a critical discourse

[6] Occasionally, I challenged participants in their statements during an interview, so less space has been given at that time. The influence that this may have had on the results of the interview, has been discussed in Chapter 6.

on Dutch racism and to complement the intersection of postcolonialism, feminism and music in academic research through the lived experiences of professionals in the 'world music' sector. Furthermore, a traditional grounded theory would have required more participants and a second round of interviews with different participants to verify the initial results, resulting in a total of approximately sixty participants. This would have been beyond the scope of this project. Nevertheless, the first stage of grounded theory generated extensive codes and memos and was fruitful to identify themes and refrained me from instant judgement. It has allowed me to structure my findings and has given space so that several voices could exist simultaneously. It challenged my preconceptions that professionals in 'world music' were ignorant or unaware of complexities of race in their field. This adaptation of grounded theory is still implicitly feminist, because of the emphasis on personal narratives as situated knowledges and the multiplicity of interpretations through open coding.

1.2 Practical Research

Fieldwork for this research took place through interviews and participant observation. The fourteen interviews were held in person, with professionals behind the scenes and professional musicians, at their home, a local café or at *Babel Med Music*[7]. All participants lived in the Netherlands and I had met them in 2014 and 2015, mostly via work, at festivals or during the networking events *World Blend Cafés*[8] and *Babel Med Music*. The semi-structured interviews lasted between 25 minutes and 90 minutes and provided me with opportunities to ask targeted questions. Participant observation occurred behind the 'world music' scenes and as a concert-goer for a period of over a year. Details about these experiences are in Appendix 1. The fieldwork moved me to incorporate themes that are relevant to the 'world music' sector and the work of participants. This thesis can hence contribute to scholarly as well as to arts and cultural debates in the Netherlands.

The field research has been influenced by my background as a 'white', middle class, educated woman. Besides my gender and age, I fit into a privileged majority that is involved in this

[7] *Babel Med Music* is a yearly, three-day expo in Marseilles that includes a trade market for people to network, conferences and showcases. I joined over 40 Dutch delegates that were registered at the event via *World Music Forum Netherlands* to be part of the Dutch Stand.

[8] These are networking events organised by *World Music Forum Netherlands*. The first one occurred 10 years ago after a need was felt that the 'world music' sector should become tighter and work together. Like this, the sector would stand stronger in the music industry and Dutch society. The *World Blend Café*s happen around 8 or 9 times a year and most often take place in het *Bimhuis* in Amsterdam. The events are free and includes a theme which is discussed by a panel of guest speakers. The evening consists of an optional dinner (this needs to be paid for), a discussion panel, short pitches, a showcase, a DJ and space for networking.

sector. This has probably had an influence on the type of people that wanted to cooperate in this research and on their responses. Furthermore, my degree in Anthropology and Music, as well as my professional involvement in 'world music' has meant that I was already relatively knowledgeable about 'world music' prior to this research. Nonetheless, this knowledge was UK-based so I have only become familiar with the Dutch sector in the last two years. I needed to gain the trust of the research participants over a relatively short amount of time -sometimes the interview was our first meeting. What also influenced my behaviour towards those with whom I connected, is that I want to pursue a career in the 'world music' sector. I therefore aimed to make a professional impression during my fieldwork. However, apart from musicians, I have not come across professionals below 25 who work behind the scenes in Dutch 'world music' and every interview participant was older than me. Since I expressed my professional ambitions and enthusiasm for 'world music', some participants disclosed the necessity for older generations to pass on knowledge to younger generations to keep the 'world music' sector alive (the marginal position of the sector in Dutch society plays a role in this). I have been lectured at (particularly by older men) and my behaviour, such as anxiety during public speaking, has been compared by some professionals to when they were young or a student. This sense of hierarchy, probably related to my age and sometimes gender, even occurred through body language. For example, after my call for participants for this research at a *World Blend Café*, someone came up to where I was seated. She remained standing, placed a hand on my shoulder and told me she could help. It felt uncomfortable to be patronised, but this also meant that people seemed motivated to be involved in this research.

Despite challenging questions in interviews and general conversations, my young age, insecurities about public speaking in Dutch, my position as a student and relatively little experience compared to others, meant that I probably came across as fairly non-threatening. Besides patronisation, I frequently experienced a sense of benevolence in the interviews. Particularly off-record, participants (both 'white' and 'of colour') would express their willingness to help me in this project since it is part of my university education. This tendency has also been noted by Dutch sociologist Dienke Hondius, in a research that involved (largely 'white') students and participants of Surinamese, Caribbean or African descent (in Essed and Hoving 2014, 280). Whilst Hondius' assumption that these participants "do not feel threatened or critically questioned by the students" due to their age and inexperience can be challenged, my age and position as a student likely reduced the threat of several of my questions in the interviews.

Sometimes my gender (in coincidence with my age) played a role as well: I received unwanted male attention at *Babel Med Music* but felt initially too uncomfortable to critique this because of the professional setting. I tried to laugh the attention away but when a musician started

to touch me a lot, I finally told him to stop (to which he listened). This uneasy experience emphasised my understanding of the 'world music' sector as a 'men's world' and that it can be a challenge for (young) women to be involved. I can only speculate whether these aspects also resulted in a lot of interest in this project from 'white' older men because some women claimed that female colleagues are not taken as serious as their male colleagues (Pers. comm., 28 March 2015). My age and gender could thus also have resulted in a lack of interest. Still, if these parts of my identity have reduced the threat for 'world music' professionals to discuss issues of race with me, it has been helpful for this project.

Interviews

There has been a bias in my selection of participants. Since postcolonial and feminist research seek to provide space to those who are not traditionally heard, it have consciously sought to involve professionals 'of colour', participants from a variety of ages and professional backgrounds. I had intended to include more women in this research, but due to inaccurate planning on top of a gender imbalance in the sector, only four out of fourteen respondents are female. As will be discussed at various occasions, my skin colour also played a role in the interviews. 'White' Dutch respondents seemed to talk more frequently about us (as in: you, me and the other 'white' Dutch people or *autochtonen*) versus them (people 'of colour', *allochtonen*) when they talked about Dutch racism or cultural differences. Some would probably have felt less comfortable to talk about this if my skin colour would have been darker, perhaps they would have been more nuanced or politically correct.

There is an imbalance between respondents and the researcher (Frankenberg 1993, 29), which makes the representation of research subjects problematic. Like Spivak highlights issues of representation (1988), I have mediated the voices of research participants here: they have been represented and framed through my analysis. To omit their Dutch words from the body of this text would have increased this mediation, so I have included the original quotes from the interviews in the body of the text where possible. I have also aimed to involve participants in an egalitarian manner in order to increase their agency and voice. I have conducted research that was relevant to their work that might provide new insights that could be helpful to their work such as the postcolonial analysis of funding politics, particular marketing strategies and the marginalisation of the sector in the wider industry. Furthermore, this research seeks to increase the social and academic relevance of their field and aims to provide greater understanding of Dutch issues of race

with which each participant has been confronted. In order to remain accountable for the voices represented here, I provided space for feedback from interview participants to check whether they are comfortable with how they have been represented. This feedback has then been incorporated.

The interviews were generally structured into five parts: after introductory questions, I asked the participants about their observations in the music industry in relation to race and cultural backgrounds. Because this did not concern their personal experiences directly, these questions functioned to warm up the interview. I also asked them how they thought the sector could be improved as it provided me with a plethora of perspectives and gave me a context to which I could relate their (negative) racial experiences later on. Only then, I touched upon potentially uncomfortable questions such as personal experiences of discrimination and thoughts about 'white' privilege. At this stage, I hoped I had gained their trust to feel comfortable enough to open up about these matters. I concluded by asking how they identified their own ethnicity which helped to determine if there was any correspondence between their identification and the answers they provided and how their answers compared to those of other participants.

The adaptation of grounded theory as a methodology to interpret data from each interview prevented me from making judgements about the content of the transcript too soon: it was codified in an open manner. Like active listening, this prevented a confirmation bias. Anything that could fit into a category was categorised, in any category, in several categories at once. When each of the fourteen transcripts was coded, I ended up with 42 different types of codes. A few of these codes were blanket terms and have therefore not been used much, since subcodes were used instead. The amount that each code was applied for each interview can be seen in Appendix 2, the frequency with which a code co-occured with another is shown in Appendix 3. Categories can be problematic because they can make a situation seem less nuanced and can have an exclusionary effect, but these codes have solely been used for theoretical and political purposes and have been used during the span of this research and must hence be thought of *under erasure* (Spivak in Derrida 1976) or in *conjecture* (James 2010). Categorisation of data through coding also proved helpful in coding data as it enabled a straightforward process to narrow down relevant information. Open coding is flexible and words or statements can be coded in many different ways at the same time. Only after thorough coding, I started to analyse the relationships between certain codes. This means that specific categories or codes were prioritised over others, but it remained clear to me that this analysis is based on my personal interpretation and is thus partial.

I also ascribed particular categories to the respondents, depending on the information

provided in the interview and feedback given by the participants at a later stage. These descriptors are part of the information about participants provided in Appendix 4. The majority of these aspects of the respondents' identity were defined by the participants themselves. For example, when I asked about someone's ethnic or cultural background, they would tend to say Dutch rather than 'white' or 'caucasian'. Sometimes, a specific aspect did not come up in the interview hence why occasionally "n/a" is included. All participants are referred to with a random abbreviation of two letters in order to ensure their anonymity. I refer to myself in transcripts and quotes with my initials, MS.

Participant Observation

> **Participant observation** Term used for the most basic technique of *fieldwork, participation in everyday activities, working in the native language and observing events in their everyday context. (Barnard et al. 2008, 616)

Besides interviews, I conducted fieldwork as a participant observer in various Dutch 'world music' organisations through work experience, participation in networking events and as a concert-goer. As noted in the encyclopedic entry above, this participant observation is a common anthropological strategy to gather different types of information and generally takes place over the span of a year or more. The different projects and events I was involved in since 2013 allowed me to observe and participate in events in an everyday context. They gave me a clear understanding of both an insider's perspective (professionals) as well as an outsider's perspective (audiences and academics).

Participant observation has not been the main focus of my field research but served as complementary sources. It deepened my understanding regarding the issues 'world music' professionals faced in their work, particularly those who work behind the scenes, since I did not participate as a performer. It was easier for these participants to trust me in interviews because as an insider I often recognised situations, topics and feelings they would mention. This also allowed me to ask poignant and relevant follow-up questions. My involvement in the sector provided me with opportunities to contact participants regarding interviews. Furthermore, participant observation is based on lived experience which was fruitful for I was keen to ground this research in practice. Moreover, participant observation has provided the initial motivation for the topic of this thesis because my work at *World Music Network* instigated a discomfort that I wanted to research. The

regular confrontations of this ideological mismatch proved to be a productive starting point for analysis.

Chapter 2
The Dutch: Issues of Race

In order to look at issues of race in 'world music' in the Netherlands, it is necessary to get an understanding of the Dutch context first. This chapter therefore revolves around Dutch racism and 'whiteness' in the Netherlands. As discussed, race is a phenomenon that has influenced the global system since the sixteenth century (Barnard 2008, 462), if not earlier. Race connotes phenomenological features such as skin colour, hair, shape of the body or bone structure. Racism is the result of race and relies upon these essentialist phenomenological characteristics and reinforces inequality. Like Frankenberg (1993), I will refer to this type of discourse as essentialist racism. In the 1960s, the discourse on race shifted: technically speaking, all human beings belong to one race, the human race (Barnard 2008, 464). Nonetheless, racism -such as the way in which racial ranking is (unconsciously) used to sustain an unequal social system- has had consequences on lives and still has repercussions on today's society (Essed 1991, 44). These days, race has social and cultural implications on top of biological connotations (Frankenberg 1993, 13; Painter 2010, xi) which explains why racism comes in various forms. The plurality is discussed here as issues of race, it includes phenomena such as overt racism, racial inequality, racial segregation, marginalisation, Islamophobia (part of xenophobia), exoticism, 'othering', 'white' privilege and 'white' fragility. Apart from the focus to stigmatise and marginalise those that are ethnically different because of their physical and or cultural features, Ineke van der Valk notes various common factors regarding the different types of racism: they seek to dominate and dehumanise outgroups and are ideologies in which one is convinced of "the superiority of one's own group, nation or culture" (Van der Valk 2012, 20). It excludes victims from material goods such as economic welfare and immaterial goods such as education and knowledge (loc. cit.).

From the 1970s onwards, the term ethnicity became more frequently used in anthropological discourses (Barnard 2008) and in the Netherlands in the last two decades (Hondius in Essed and Hoving 2014, 275). This phenomenon focusses on the "expressive processes of cultural identification" (Barnard 2008, 464), the more cultural aspects, such as what country you identify with, language or religion. Van der Valk notices this trend in the Dutch context as well: "In the post-War period […] there was a shift from the accent on biological, external features such as skin colour, to more cultural aspects" (2012, 20). According to various scholars (Barnard et al. 2008; van

der Valk 2012, 20; Essed and Hoving 2014, 18), ethnicity is a euphemism for race, which was also noticeable in the interviews for this study. It often felt too direct or confrontational to talk about race with participants in Dutch, so I used the terms ethnicity or even culture (regarding backgrounds or differences) in order to discuss racial issues. Moreover, the different connotation in the Dutch and English languages has been of importance during fieldwork. So although Barnard et al. refer to an academic, anthropological discourse concerning the term ethnicity, similarities in its application can be found in discourses with Dutch (music) professionals.

Until recently, the Netherlands had an international reputation as a tolerant country regarding multiculturalism and issues of race (Müller et al. 2007; El-Tayeb 2011; van der Valk 2012; Essed and Hoving 2014; Bergman 2014). This image has been damaged, partly through the empowerment of the extreme right (and anti-Islam) political party *PVV* after the murder of the controversial filmmaker Theo van Gogh in Amsterdam by a muslim extremist (Van der Valk 2012, 11; Reekum 2012, 585). According to El-Tayeb, this hostile, exclusionary environment is part of a larger European tendency which relates to a communal European identity that has its roots in the early Middle Ages (2011, 4). This type of xenophobia finds resonance with discourses that enabled the Christian crusades and early colonialism of European powers. In current European discourse, the Netherlands seems to represent "the continent's image as enlightened, tolerant, and secular" (ibid., 80), more than any other. El-Tayeb sees this Dutch position as exactly the reason that it "has become one of the main sites of an increasingly alarmist culture 'war' pitching Europe against its Muslim minorities" (loc. cit.).

Racial inequality and 'white' privilege are part of a Dutch social structure. The CBS (Central Bureau for Statistics) publishes biannual reports on integration in the Netherlands. Their most recent publication about integration in the Netherlands in 2014 was commissioned by the Dutch government. It focusses particularly on integration of the four largest 'non-western' immigrant groups (Surinamese, Moroccan, Antillean and Turkish), the four largest groups of refugees (Iranian, Iraqi, Afghan and Somalian) and new EU-Groups (from countries that became part of the EU between 2004 and 2007) in the Netherlands (Van der Vliet 2014). As stated in this publication, the majority of these minority groups suffer from a lack of economic welfare, lower education and higher criminalisation rates compared to the new EU-Groups and *autochthone* Dutch population. This is particularly the case for the majority of the Dutch population 'of colour' with a 'non-western' background: they take up a relatively disadvantaged socio-economic position. As I will discuss later, this can be considered as the result of social structures in the Netherlands that

relate to issues of race such as 'white' privilege.

It must be noted however that despite CBS' remark that "integration of *allochtonen* in society refers to a process in which immigrant groups and the *autochtone* population grow *towards each other* and fully participate in society" (Van der Vliet 2014, 20, translation and emphasis mine), the statistics of *allochtone* populations are continuously measured against that of the *autochtone* population. The emphasis on *allochtone* groups throughout the report does not reflect a process in which populations "grow towards each other" (loc. cit.), but one in which the *allochtone* groups need to adapt themselves to conform to the standards of the *autochtone* population. This is the result of perceiving 'whiteness' (or *autochtoon*) as "no culture", which Frankenberg sees as a "far-reaching danger" (1993, 204). Integration becomes a racially-loaded process since it requires people to give up their non-Dutch identity. Furthermore, no explanation is provided why some themes are selected over others, I would argue that the focus on particular topics such as "criminalisation", "reliance on social benefits" and "school drop-outs", frame the *allochtone* population as problematic rather than as contributors to Dutch society. The negative image of the 'non-western' *allochtone* population as present in the media (Van der Valk 2012; Essed and Hoving 2014; Vuijsje 2015) is hence perpetuated via this government-commissioned report.

2.1 Dutch Racism

As stated, this thesis aims to support and contribute to discourses that engage with the Dutch issues of race critically. These interventions are necessary because racism is an issue that affects the whole of society, but many 'white' Dutch people are unaware of their privileges and the ways in which the Dutch colonial involvement still influences social structures. Furthermore, "the last few decades have not seen a consistent government policy of adequate research and anti-racist action" (Essed and Hoving 2014, 13), nor has their been a tradition of research into Islamophobia (Van der Valk 2012, 13). Accordingly, this thesis highlights the necessity for such critical projects because the Netherlands silences discourses on race. This can also be seen in the 'world music' sector: despite the aim to diversify the Dutch music industry, public voices that are critical of issues of race within the Dutch 'world music' sector are absent. The topic of race has become a taboo in Dutch public discourse (Van Dijk 1992, 93; El-Tayeb 2011, 177; van der Valk 2012, 98; Arab in Essed and Hoving 2014, 402) which is why this discourse ought to be opened up and more critically addressed in public.

There have been some recent changes however: critical voices regarding race have found a

way into national public discussions. Examples of counter-narratives include the recent anti-racism protests at the Schilderswijk in The Hague in response to the death of the Aruban Mitch Henriquez on 27 June 2015 after his aggressive arrest by the Dutch police (Klompenhouwer 2015; *De Volkskrant* 2015). The University of Colour critiques the racial structures in education. The organisation was founded in early 2015 after student protests at the University of Amsterdam. It advocates for more "non-Eurocentric perspectives and ideas that challenge ongoing colonialism" in curricula and seek to increase the diversity of university staff and students ("The University of Colour Statement" 2015). Other important counter-narratives are frequent interviews in one of the largest newspapers, *De Volkskrant,* since 2014 (Vuijsje 2015). These are held with successful Dutch public figures (often 'of colour') and focus on the role of descent in the Netherlands. The features debunk stereotypes of the *allochtoon* and are reminders of the dangers of racism. Moreover, since the arrest of Anti-*Zwarte Piet* protester Quincy Gario in 2011, the *Zwarte Piet* debate regarding the blackface figure during annual festivities of *Sinterklaas* has been more present in the media than ever before ("Zwarte Piet Is Racisme" 2015; "ZwartePietNiet" 2015). Sunny Bergman's recent documentary (Bergman 2014) illustrates how these protests have raised awareness on the continual impact of the Dutch colonial heritage on today's society and questions the role of 'white' privilege in the Netherlands. Nonetheless, protests against anti-*Zwarte Piet* movements have been powerful as well and are supported by predominantly 'white' people[9]. These reactions can be explained through DiAngelo's concept of 'white' fragility (2011) and Essed and Hoving's identification of a larger strategy in the Netherlands to deal with race via self-imposed ignorance (2014, 10). Race is frequently downplayed, ignored or denied in education and public discourses in politics or the media, because the society is one where 'whiteness' is considered as neutral: the majority does not experience it as a problem. Furthermore, it is difficult to feel responsible about inequality if one is ignorant about it, so via these public discourses, the structure of racial inequality is perpetuated.

Even when one is socially and culturally aware of issues of race, or is involved in a sector that seeks to promote social and cultural difference like the 'world music' sector, inequality or privileges related to race are unavoidable. One could seek explanation of this with the structures that run throughout the entire society: cultural hegemony is partly shaped through race. People in positions of power are still largely 'white' (and 'male') and as became apparent in the interviews, this is also the case with the so-called gatekeepers in the Dutch ('world') music sector. It is understandable that Essed and Hoving consider racism as a social instrument that "reinforces white cultural hegemony and therefore offers stability to privileged groups" (2014, 18). Racism

9 Close analysis of this defensive behaviour by people 'of colour' in the Netherlands will be addressed in Chapter 6.

effectively maintains 'white' superiority.

Apart from race-related ignorance, racism is commonly denied in the Netherlands (Essed and Hoving 2014, 18). According to discourse scholar Teun van Dijk, the denial of racism occurs through different forms, "each with its own cognitive, emotional, social, political and cultural functions. We have situational and general denials, personal ones and group-based ones. Although people who speak about other groups usually talk as ingroup members, there may well be a tension between individual opinions and those shared by the ingroup" (Van Dijk 1992, 91). Not all forms of denials can be discussed here, so I will focus in this section on the subtle ways in which race and racism is denied in the Netherlands, which occurs for instance, via the use of euphemisms such as culture, ethnicity and discrimination (Van der Valk 2012, 20; Essed and Hoving 2014, 18; Arab in Essed and Hoving 2014, 402).

Although race has different associations in Dutch and English, Essed and Hoving point out that old-fashioned biological connotations are still present in both languages (2014, 11). Similarly, Islamophobia and the Dutch discourse on Islam are based on an old-fashioned orientalist discourse (Said 1978; Puar and Rai 2002; El-Tayeb 2011; van der Valk 2012). In the Netherlands, one of the ways in which the denial of race is actively maintained, is through the binary of the *autochtone* versus *allochtone* population. As can be seen from the framework of the CBS report, this is done by constant 'othering' and through comparisons of 'non-western' *allochtonen* with the *autochtone* population who are portrayed to be the perfect example of 'Dutchness'.

Various characteristics are associated with Dutch society and influence the national discourse on race. One of these is the idea that the Dutch lack strong sense of nationalism. According to Rogier Reekum, "Dutchness" is only passionate when "it is non-serious and leisurely" which is part of a "thin" national identity, influenced by "the Dutch legacy of pillarisation, religious tolerance, entrepreneurial culture, pragmatic sensibility, consensus democracy and multiculturalism" (2012, 585). Since the rise of the political party *PVV* after the murders of Fortuyn and Van Gogh however, the social discourse on migration and multiculturalism has changed (Hoving 2004, 2; van der Valk 2012, 90). As stated by Reekum, there has also been a resurgence of nationalism, which are "ethnic and exclusivist forms of nationalism" (2012, 585). The emphasis on freedom of speech increased considerably after these murders. Essed identifies a sense of entitlement in Dutch culture: "it is believed that you should be able to express yourself publicly in whichever way you feel like" (Essed and Hoving 2014, 14). This attitude takes priority over anti-discrimination ideologies and rights and came up in one of the interviews. Essed refers to this phenomenon as *entitlement racism* which is present in a larger European context as well (ibid.).

Nevertheless, two phenomenon are uniquely the way in which the Netherlands deals with race: pillarisation and the binary of *allochtonen* versus *autochtonen*.

Pillarisation and Tolerance

Pillarisation is a structure in Dutch society that has provided the Netherlands with a tolerant reputation (Van Dijk 1992, 96). This construct has roots in the sixteenth century, when the Netherlands was occupied by Spain. Through imaginary pillars, religious groups such as Catholics and Protestants would have space to practice their religion, they had the right to have separate schools and buildings to worship in. Like this, society would consist of several pillars of religions and their corresponding cultures. The ideological identity of people was not challenged and through the lack of engagement with one another, an atmosphere of "tolerance" was created (Ghorashi in Essed and Hoving 2014). Post-WWII, this construct still found resonance in policies employed by the Dutch government, in which spaces for multiculturalism were provided (Reekum 2012, 586; van der Valk 2012, 13), alongside relatively mild immigration laws that were attractive for guestworkers and refugees until the late nineties (loc. cit.).

However, integration policies have moved to a model of assimilation rather than that of multiculturalism (Reekum 2012, 586; van der Valk 2012, 13), the populist political party *PVV* continues to encourage nationalist and ethnic exclusion (Van der Valk 2012; Hoving 2012; Essed en Hoving 2014) and Dutch society has become more Islamophobic (Van der Valk 2012). Tolerance is considered an honourable trait (Wekker in Essed and Hoving 2014, 21) though it emphasises the moral superiority of the tolerator so it is questionable whether one should strive for a tolerant reputation in the first place since it. Essed and Hoving mention that the passive tolerance of the Dutch "is very close to passive *in*tolerance" (2014, 16). Hondius relates different types of (in)tolerance to particular behaviour:

> Active tolerance - acceptance after active argumentation
> Passive tolerance - putting up with, overlooking
> Passive intolerance - evasion, ignoring, keeping off
> Active intolerance - exclusion, elimination (Hondius 1999, 9)

The line between passive tolerance and passive intolerance is thin: the difference in behaviour

between "overlooking" and "ignoring" someone is not that large. Moreover, van der Valk notes that tolerance "becomes the generally accepted ideology of a majority culture that does not believe it should be extended to groups that are suspected of being intolerant" such as fundamental muslims (2012, 12). This indicates the double standards of the concept. According to van Dijk, the promotion of tolerance as a "national myth" means that "it is much more difficult for minority groups to challenge remaining inequalities, to take unified action and to gain credibility and support among the (white) dominant group" (1992, 96).

Allochtoon versus Autochtoon

Another aspect which is typical to Dutch racial structures and discourses, is the division between *allochtoon* and *autochtoon* Dutch. It perpetuates the discourse of the Netherlands as free of race, since it implies that the *autochtoon* (the 'true native') is 'white'. This 'whiteness' is considered and experienced as neutral and hence contributes to the understanding of the Netherlands as a raceless country (El-Tayeb 2011; Essed and Hoving 2014). The *allochtoon* is understood as 'other' and has a recent (family) history of migration. Although the concepts of race or ethnicity is avoided in the use of *allochtoon* and *autochtoon*, it plays a role in this binary since *allochtonen* are divided into 'non-western' and 'western' *allochtonen*. "Western *allochtonen* originate from of the countries in Europe (excluding Turkey), Northern America, Oceania, Japan and Indonesia. Non-Western *allochtonen* originate from a country in Africa, Latin America and Asia (including Turkey)" (ibid., 22, translation mine). The term *allochtoon* is nonetheless racialised in daily discourses: it is generally used to indicate someone's 'non-western' heritage, whereas *autochtonen* are referred to as expats when they migrate.

These terms shape the way people talk about race because it creates an 'us' and 'them' differentiation though these categories -like guestworker, migrant and ethnic minority- homogenize diverse voices (Leeuw and van Wichelen in Essed and Hoving 2014, 341). As noted, this is apparent in the integration report by CBS which focusses on integration of *allochtonen* and highlights throughout how *allochtonen* differ from the 'native' population (Van der Vliet 2014, 3). Although this category is subdivided, the report frames *allochtonen* as a deviant category: "migrants [...] come from a different country with often a different cultural and economic background. Integration […] in the new society is important for them in particular" (loc. cit, translation mine). The reinforcement of the us-them imbalance is particularly harmful because 'non-western'

allochtonen are often already disadvantaged on a socioeconomic level. Prejudices regarding the *allochtone* Dutch, are regularly fed and confirmed which consolidates a racial power structure and perpetuates a self-fulfilling prophecy. Diversity and integration scholar Halleh Ghorashi, argues that the superiority of 'white' Dutch culture which lies at the basis of this discourse, is neither challenged nor questioned (in Essed and Hoving 2014, 114) which is reflected in the CBS report. One can also explain a similar 'white', 'western' bias in the Dutch media in which public debates on race take place, because the media is dominated by 'white' *autochtone* people (Van Dijk 1992; Bergman 2014; Vuijsje 2015) which thus demonstrates their perspective more than that of others. Ghorashi argues that this Dutch categorical thinking remains crucial in the way in which migration is dealt with by, for instance, Dutch policy makers (in Essed and Hoving 2014, 114). Replacing the terms would not make a difference, the author argues: in the eyes of policy makers, 'non-western' migrants are considered to have a deviant culture and hence form a problem no matter how one labels them. This has also been acknowledged by cultural and social dynamics scholar Eltje Bos (2006, 21) and can be noted in the CBS report as well: the emphasis on the shortcomings of 'non-western' *allochtonen* in a context of integration and the improved integration process of the second generations compared to the first, frames diversity as a problem. One could wonder why integration is even desired. El-Tayeb identifies a similar, European tendency since terms "like 'third-generation migrant,' 'integration,' and 'xenophobia' suggest that these populations permanently remain "'aliens from elsewhere'" (2011, xxii).

One can see influences of this discourse in the Dutch 'world music' scene. A recent study, conducted by predominantly 'white' researchers on Dutch 'world music' divides the sector in a "formal" and "informal" branch (Van den Broek et al. 2012). The latter is related to migrant or *allochtone* communities (ibid., 38) and concerns "uneducated" musicians (loc. cit.) that are rarely full time professionals (ibid., 42) and perform on "'hidden'" stages (ibid., 14). Figures regarding this branch are "unknown" (ibid., 18) hence why the figures presented in the study predominantly relate to the "formal" "non-migrant" (read: 'white' *autochtone*) sector. Since the division between "formal" and "informal" concerns race and migration, the emphasis on the lack of education, professionalism and visibility compared to the "formal" circuit, frames it in a negative way and taps into wider racial dynamics in the Netherlands.

2.2 'Whiteness'

Various concepts from studies on 'whiteness' are relevant to this research. Research by Frankenberg and DiAngelo are based on North-American contexts, but their work is valuable here because the Netherlands is also a 'white' dominant society that "protects and insulates ['white' people] from race-based stress" (DiAngelo 2011, 54). Frankenberg's understanding of *'whiteness'* is helpful since it moves beyond an essentialist interpretation of skin colour and highlights its social and structural impact. She considers 'whiteness' as a "location of structural advantage", a "standpoint" of 'white' people to look at themselves, others and society and as customs that are frequently "unmarked and unnamed" (1993, 1). Since 'whiteness' is often considered as raceless, neutral or the centre of the universe (Rich 1987; Frankenberg 1993; Doane 1997; El-Tayeb 2011; DiAngelo 2011), 'white' people are frequently unaware of their *'white' privilege*, especially in 'white' dominant societies (Frankenberg 1993; DiAngelo 2011). Yet to speak of 'whiteness' is important because experiences of 'white' people are not automatically interchangeable with those of people 'of colour'. It assigns "everyone a place in the relations of racism" and emphasizes that "racism shapes white people's lives and identities in a way that is inseparable from other facets of daily life" (Frankenberg 1993, 6).

Related to the inability to understand the significance of 'whiteness', is the feeling of *racial belonging*. DiAngelo argues that in these societies it is rare for 'white' people "to experience a sense of not belonging, and such experiences are usually very temporary, easily avoidable situations" (2011, 62). Their racial belonging is embedded in society: "In virtually any situation or image deemed valuable in dominant society, whites belong" (loc. cit.). This sense of belonging is therefore "deeply internalized and taken for granted" (loc. cit.).

Furthermore, DiAngelo has termed the inability to deal with racial stress as *'white' fragility*. She explains it as "a range of defensive moves" (ibid., 54) that are triggered as the result of 'white' privilege that insulate 'white' people from racial stress. Both 'white' privilege and fragility "function to reinstate white racial equilibrium" (loc. cit.).

'White privilege' plays an important role in Dutch society (Van Dijk 1992; Hoving 2004; Müller, van Zoonen and de Roode 2007; Alghasi, Eriksen and Ghorashi 2009; Reekum 2012; van der Valk 2012; Essed and Hoving 2014; Bergman 2014) and thus the Dutch 'world music' sector, which is why elaboration of this concept is necessary. There is little self-awareness of 'white' privilege in the Netherlands partly since the public discourse on race is dominated by 'white' Dutch people:

> political, media, academic, corporate and other elites play an important role in the reproduction of racism. They control or have access to many types of public discourse, have the largest stake in maintaining white group dominance, and are usually also most proficient in persuasively formulating their ethnic opinions (Van Dijk 1992, 88).

Furthermore, since the majority of the Dutch population is 'white' or *autochtoon*, there is little space to challenge privileges from which this dominant group benefits. 'White' privilege therefore helps us to understand why *allochtonen,* particularly 'non-western' *allochtonen* are frequently considered as deviant and problematic in the Netherlands.

The phenomenon also plays a role in the ('world') music sector in the Netherlands. This is most obvious in the racial segregation between the professional musicians (mostly 'of colour') and the predominantly 'white' 'western' professionals that work behind the scenes and the audience. This privilege influences who decides what music is successful and who gets paid to make these decisions, but is also linked up with other privileges like gender, education and age (most of the professionals are also male, middle-aged and educated). For example, promoters are aware of the need for a connection of an artist on stage with a 'minority group' in the Netherlands in order to get a larger audience to the concert and hence work with 'ambassadors'. These ambassadors play an important role in that they are able to promote events related to their ethnic/cultural background, to their network with a similar ethnic/cultural background. As predominantly 'white' people go to 'world music' events, the use of an *allochtone* ambassador would result in a larger audience and one that is more mixed. Although the ambassador helps the promoter and the marketing team to promote the event, it is often a voluntary, un-paid position[10] and reinforces power dynamics since the mostly 'white' professionals are in charge and receive payment for their efforts. Furthermore, the promoter decides which ambassador they want to work with. DF discussed his experiences with ambassadors (Interview, 26 March 2015). Even though he has a mixed heritage and thus has *"misschien een beetje een kleurtje"* (maybe a bit of a colour) himself. He was keen to point out that his background and upbringing in the Netherlands was very Dutch (loc. cit.[11]). Educated, experienced and with an established reputation in the Dutch 'world music' sector, he critiqued ambassadors' lack of professionalism, despite that their role was quite clearly, not professional (loc.

[10] This became clear in participant observation and the interview with DF (27 March 2015), although LN noted in the feedback round of this research that he worked with freelance, paid ambassadors (pers. comm., 22 July 2015).

[11] All translations of quotes from interviews are mine, apart from quotes by BM and MU since those interviews were conducted in English. Short quotes are provided in Dutch with my English translation in parenthesis. Due to space restrictions, longer quotes are only included in translation, with a footnote to the original quote in the appendix. The appendix is also referred to for relevant parts of transcripts when participants have been paraphrased. In this case, see Appendix 5A. The appendices only contain parts of the transcripts that are directly referred to in this research, since the full transcripts are too lengthy to include these here. Access to this rough data could be provided upon request.

cit.[12]). Furthermore, he would frequently find suggestions or requests from young muslim ambassadors unhelpful, because he did not like the suggested music and they have *"een ander soort visie of doel"* (a different kind of vision or goal) since they want to organise a Turkish evening (loc. cit.[13]), whereas the *"world industrie waar ik dan uitkom, eh, RASA, Tropentheater, wij willen vooral mooie muziek hebben uit die landen"* (world industry that I come from, euhm, *RASA, Tropentheater,* we predominantly want beautiful music from those countries). This 'us' and 'them' division was furthermore strengthened since he argued that even if funding sometimes seemed to push him to be a social worker, he is not a *"doelgroep-programmeur"* (target audience promoter) (Interview, 26 March 2015[14]). Instead, he preferred to get a *"leuk"* (nice) audience that listens to *"mooie"* (beautiful) music (loc. cit.[15]) and admitted that although the audience has become more diverse, it used to be "*een soort [...] muziek voor de elite"* (a type of music for the elite) (loc. cit.; pers. comm., 29 July 2015). It implies that he considers the *"elite"* as neutral, but that those who listen to Turkish pop music -young Turkish working class- are an example of a target audience. This tendency to consider privileges ('white', middle/higher class, educated) as neutral, is a widespread phenomenon (Lorde 1984; Frankenberg 1993; DiAngelo 2011; Essed and Hoving 2014). DF did note at a later stage that it was also his responsibility as a professional to be considerate of the audiences that a venue usually attracts (Pers. comm., 28 July 2015), which highlights that privileges related to race and other identity categories shape the 'world music' industry in the Netherlands considerably.

Conclusion

More context has been provided regarding issues of race in the Netherlands, such as the national myth of tolerance as a result of pillarisation, the categorical thinking about race and diversity through the binary of *autochtoon* and *allochtoon* and the role of 'white' privilege, in order to move on to a discussion of 'world music'. Although the popularity of 'world music' gained ground in the late eighties in Britain and soon followed in the Netherlands, the Dutch sector already started to shape in the early seventies. As will become evident, the discourses on race in the Netherlands influence 'world music' and the climate in which the sector is located.

[12] Appendix 5B.
[13] Appendix 5C.
[14] Appendix 5D.
[15] Appendix 5E.

Chapter 3
‘World Music’ in the Netherlands

In this chapter, I look at issues surrounding the definition of ‘world music’ and how the term became more widely used. The increased commercialisation of ‘world music’ impacted the Dutch music sector and is entangled with racial discourses. With a focus on race, I will discuss the influence of the term on ‘western’ audiences and move the discussion to the Netherlands through a recent sketch by a famous Dutch comedian on ‘world music’. In this fragment, remarks regarding a gendered stereotypical ‘world music’ audience are made which has also been referred to in my fieldwork as *“de RASA vrouw”* (the *RASA* woman), named after the female visitors of the last ‘world music’ venue in the Netherlands, *RASA*. This discussion is therefore also reminder for a need of a feminist framework the study of ‘world music’.

3.1 Restrictions and History

‘World music’ does not incorporate all types of music in the world and cannot be defined without vague or problematic terms. According to Ian Anderson, founder of the British Folk, Roots and World Music magazine *FRoots*, people understand all music categories through a type of “gut-feeling” rather than clearly defined boundaries:

> What might actually be put in [jazz, folk and blues sections in record shops] never needed to be fully defined, not that anybody ever could. The important thing was that you [*sic*] gut-feeling knew what jazz or folk was, even if it wasn’t the same gut-feeling as the next person had. (Anderson 2015a).

‘World music’ is hence a blanket term used for music styles that are perceived to be ‘non-western’, ‘ethnic’ or ‘third-world’, or styles that have these influences. Several other terms often associated with the title in the interviews and critically addressed by scholars are: exotic, tropical, roots, different, foreign, authentic, traditional, oriental, unfamiliar or simply, ‘other’ (Feld and Keil 1994; Born 1995; Erlmann 1996; Guilbalt 1997; Taylor 2000; Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007; Bor

2008; Hess 2013). All the above keywords are problematic, since they perpetuate a hierarchical and false dichotomy similar to "the West and the Rest" (Hall 1989). 'World music' suggests that the wide variety of 'non-western' music styles can be brought under one blanket term, but that 'western' styles such as pop, rock, indie, singer-songwriter, folk, blues, jazz, classical, etc. are important enough to have titles of their own. Exoticism and the process of 'othering' also play a vital role in 'world music': in its branding the focus is on difference, otherwise the category would be integrated into genres such as classical, pop, rock or folk. For example, the blurb of an album by the band Shanren that was released via *World Music Network*, reads as follows:

> The mountains of south-western [*sic*] China have inspired the folk traditions of those living in their shadows for millennia. Now, Shanren follow their ancestors' footsteps with a mash of traditional Chinese folk and buzzing modernity on their infectious international debut *Left Foot Dance Of the Yi.* ("Left Foot Dance Of The Yi" 2015)

The blurb emphasises Chinese "traditions" and "ancestors", accompanied by a mystical image of "millennia" old, shadowy "mountains". Although it mentions the music is mashed with a "buzzing modernity", only further on in the liner notes one reads the group has been inspired by artists such as Led Zeppelin and the Red Hot Chilli Peppers. The album does not necessarily need to be promoted as an exotic product from "the mountains of south-western [*sic*] China", but nonetheless, this is how *World Music Network* and the artists decided to market it. American scholar Juliet Hess remarks that 'world music' is the result of 'othering' because the name itself "implies its outsider status" (Hess 2013, 72). This resonates in David Byrne's critique on 'world music' because the term "groups everything and anything that isn't 'us' into 'them'". (Anderson 2015a). The classification of 'world music' is the result of a process of 'othering' and is occidentocentric for it places the 'west' in a superior position over the 'other' (Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007, 9) which can stimulate xenophobia and racism. The branding of 'world music' is complex because one can also see that increased 'world music' marketing improves access to musics that are considered 'world music'. This process could raise awareness and appreciation of (music) traditions beyond the ones with which the audience is familiar. As will be seen later, various participants thought that this appreciation could improve how people deal with 'other' cultures.

The interpretation of what 'world music' is, continues to be challenged and contested. For example, one sees that folk music from Europe such as music from the Balkans, is sometimes labelled as 'world music'. This occurs at *World Music Network* through the inclusion of European

artists on their labels, or the topics of their Rough Guide compilation albums[16]. It is impossible to clearly pinpoint where the category 'world music' starts and where it ends as it is open to interpretations and relative to the location of the listener. This was also obvious during the interviews for this research: participants had very different understandings of what 'world music' was and many were dissatisfied with the restrictive way in which the media[17] applied the term. According to the ethnomusicologist Timothy Taylor, the music industry considers an album or artist as 'world music' if it adheres to specific criteria: 1) a hybrid of 'traditional' music and 'western' pop or rock, that it is 2) urban, 3) made by musicians 'of colour' who are from outside Europe or Northern America and 4) the lyrics ought to be political (Taylor 2000, 84). He mentions that these criteria are "ideological maneuvers" and not explicit (loc. cit.) so not every 'world music' artist or album relates to them. Nonetheless, I find these points remarkably relevant after my experiences in the 'world music' sector. For example, a very experienced professional behind the scenes told me about his opinion on the social and political engagement of 'world music' artists: *"Het heeft bij mij wel een streepje voor"* (it has my personal preference) (Interview LN, 16 March 2015). The way in which this prominent association with politics in 'world music' has been developed, will be elaborated and explained in Chapter 4 on 'world music' as a 'low' and 'social' art in the Netherlands.

Issues of interpretation regarding the term 'world music' came up in interviews. Some performers who have been described as 'world music' artists would point out that their music is not really categorisable. They considered their work a cross-over of styles (Interview KA, 3 March 2015; Interview TE, 2 April 2015[18]). Others would argue that 'world music' refers to the *"whole"* world (Interview MU, 19 March 2015; Interview BM, 24 March 2015[19]) which highlights that the descriptor 'world' is inaccurate since it is not applied to all music. This seems to be a strategy to deal with their categorisation as 'world music' artists: both musicians who made this point sing in their native language and are considered to be 'world' in the Dutch music scene. However, both considered this broader interpretation of 'world music' more positive than the industry's uses of it. For example, BM mentioned: *"for me world music is better than how it is in the scene now, because it's very small [in the music scene]"* (Interview, 24 April 2015). Still, he was pleased if people referred to him as a 'world music' artist, *"because it is music"* (loc. cit). This positive

16 Again, this is dependent on the process of 'othering' that music styles undergo, such as the way in which an album or artist is presented by a record label. If it is presented as different, unfamiliar and perhaps authentic enough, music from the European peripheries can also undergo this process.

17 The media here is radio, (online) magazines, newspapers and television

18 Appendix 6A.

19 Appendix 6B.

attitude could be a coping mechanism for the lack of opportunities this music category provides but it also highlights the discrepancy between the literal meaning of 'world music' and how it is used in practice.

History

In the late sixties and seventies, Dutch and British professionals were commercially and successfully active in 'world music' (Frith in Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Bor 2008; Pers. comm. LN, 22 July 2015). British music professionals who instigated a marketing campaign after several meetings in the eighties felt a need to agree on a term since the musics that were later on considered to be 'world music' suffered from inconsistent labelling and lack of coherent marketing (Anderson 2015a). The quote by TE in the title of this research regarding the creation of 'world music' could refer to these events since these professionals were largely 'white' (Interview 2 April 2015). A special feature with the minutes of these meetings appeared in *FRoots 201* in 2000 in order to de-mythologise the events and became available on their website for anyone to read (loc. cit.). From these notes, it is apparent that the term 'world music' had been around before, alongside various other titles such as "'Worldbeat' […], 'Tropical' […], 'Ethnic' […], 'International Pop' [...] and 'Roots' [but] 'World Music' seemed to include the most and omit the least" and was therefore voted upon at the first meeting (Anderson 2015b). Anything that was previously uncategorised (unlike jazz, classical, pop) could end up under the section 'world' (Frith in Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 305). 'World music' was thus treated as a rest category that included predominantly music with 'non-western' roots. Despite the practical advantages the experts were aware of that the category was not perfect (loc. cit.).

The imperfections of the term do not seem to have had a large impact on the way it is used by professionals in the current Dutch scene, apart from its avoidance by some (Interview RM, 18 March 2015) and the occasional discussion by those who feel uncomfortable using the term but who see no other alternatives and use it anyway (Tchong 2005). In each of the interviews held with Dutch 'world music' professionals, the interpretation of what 'world music' is, differed and that the implied inclusivity of the term did not correspond to how it was applied in practice. This seems logical as this was never the intended use of their British colleagues, but it is nonetheless striking that so many participants talked about the term as something that was used as a limitation rather than as a way to open up opportunities. OZ noted that 'world music' has connotations that it can

only be performed at a specific location for specific people (Interview, 20 March 2015[20]), RM referred to world music as *"dat hokje"* (that box) (Interview, 18 March 2015), just like KA and AR considered it as a marginal *"hoekje"* (a corner), into which 'non-western' musicians are pushed and are not able to get out of (Interview KA, 3 March 2015; Interview AR, 27 March 2015). As will be discussed below, some research participants even mentioned that the term had achieved the opposite effect from when it was first created because these days, the description of a music event as 'world music' turns people away from concerts.

Another prominent limitation in 'world music' is that of exoticism (Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007). An example of this came up in the interview with the African male musician BM. He mentioned that before he had joined a famous African band, the band would perform in their usual 'western'-style clothes and they had an English name. When they went on tour to Europe back in the early seventies however, they changed their clothes to *"African dresses"* and their name to one in an African language, otherwise *"people* [in Europe] *don't feel Africa from it"* (Interview BM, 24 March 2015[21]). It made the band more successful in Europe but *"their fans* [back home] *they actual start to criticise"* the changes (loc. cit.). The band changed their presentation to one that fitted with the exoticised, stereotypical and stagnant image that the Europeans had of 'Africa'. Obviously this self-exoticism can also be considered as a strategy for commercial success. In his own band, BM still performs with *"African percussion"* and in *"African dress"* on stage (loc. cit.). The conscious banning of 'white' musicians on stage is another type of exoticism in 'world music'. It may not be usual, but it happened to KA at an 'African' music event (Interview KA, 3 March 2015[22]). Taylor points out that in the last few hundred years, there have been "varieties of treatments of otherness", which is why it is argued that exoticism is not a "singular practice" (Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007, 9). While these two examples show different types of exoticisms, the results are similar: both consolidate an image of Africa (and its music) as stagnant and emphasise its 'otherness' compared to Europe.

The category 'world music' appears to be limiting and inaccurate whilst at the same time a useful way to deal with practical situations such as daily conversations or marketing. Whether the use of the term ought to continue is unsettled, because the approach from the general music industry would need to change, but not even the professionals in the 'world music' sector seem to agree on this matter.

[20] Appendix 6C.
[21] Appendix 6D.
[22] Appendix 6E.

3.2 The 'World Music' Audience and Stereotypes

For the sake of convenience I will divide the sector into the artists, professionals working behind the scenes and the audience in order to look at who engages with the 'world music' sector, although these boundaries are flexible. As stated by Frith, the 'world music' sector is associated with an aura of expertise (2000, 307), which has an influence on the audience and professionals behind the scenes that it attracts. Through the use of elaborate sleeve notes included with 'world music' albums, an impression is conceived that this music needs to be explained or translated for 'western' ears, or that some context is necessary (loc. cit.). What is often downplayed is the role of the producer and the way in which the music has been adapted to make it "accessible" to 'western' ears (ibid., 309). McLaughlin even mentions that "the production of […] dual recordings [by Senegalese musicians] is very common, since one is for the Senegalese market and the other for the international ['world music'] market" (McLaughlin 1997, 576). The association with expertise could be a reason why 'world music' generally seems to appeal to an educated (hence often 'white' and middle class) audience. Although these sources do not relate to the Dutch context specifically, the remarks are relevant. As noted later, a caricature of this type of audience is referred to by a famous Dutch comedian Hans Teeuwen in a sketch on 'world music' (*Hans Teeuwen - Spiksplinter - Wereldmuziek* 2012).

Through participant observation for this research, it is apparent that 'world music' audiences and professionals behind the scenes are predominantly 'white'. A 'world music' marketing campaign initially started from the pop-industry in Britain and was aimed at a 'western' audience (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007). This supported the development of the sector as it is easier to build on an existing structure. These conditions result in a remarkable and somewhat uncomfortable nominal segregation in the commercialised sector, because a large part of the musicians across the entire sector are 'of colour'. A recent study regarding Dutch 'world music' does not provide figures regarding the racial backgrounds of those professionally involved in the sector (Van den Broek et al. 2012), which makes it impossible to present quantitative data here. The author notes 'sometimes bands [are] made up solely of ethnic Dutch musicians' and the role of 'immigrants' and 'refugees' as artists is foregrounded (ibid., 12)[23].

[23] In the entire study, terms regarding race such as 'white' or 'of colour' are avoided. Instead, alternatives are used, such as references to countries of origin (such as Suriname) or even vaguer: "immigrants from the 1960s" which very likely refers to the large influx of guest workers from Turkey and Morrocco (Van den Broek et al. 2012, 12). These can be considered as euphemisms to avoid talking about race, not unusual in Dutch discourses (Van der Valk 2012, 20; Essed and Hoving 2014, 18; Arab in Essed and Hoving 2014, 402). From the information provided, it is

The commercialisation of 'world music' is also historically related to the success of 'white' male artists who introduced 'non-western' music to the pop industry such as Peter Gabriel and Paul Simon (Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007, 127). They have continued to play a role in the popularisation of 'non-western' music in the 'west', even though questions of cultural imperialism and exploitation of the 'non-western' artists has frequently been raised (loc. cit.). Ironically, despite the involvement of these 'white', 'western' artists and producers in the commercial sector, 'world music' is associated with 'non-western' music or, at most, a hybrid (Guilbalt 1997; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Taylor 2000; Stokes 2004; Bor 2008).

Besides a racial segregation, there is also a gendered segregation in 'world music'. This is not present in 'world music' audiences but the professionals, whether they are organisers or performers, are predominantly male. The lack of female professionals behind the scenes seems to be part of a wider structure regarding the international music industry. Popular music scholar Sheila Whiteley, notes a persisting gender inequality in the music industry despite an increase of women in the corporate world and middle management (Whiteley 2000, 3) Although her concern relates to an American situation fifteen years ago, the inequality which she describes was also noted by various respondents concerning the current Dutch music sector (Interview RM, 18 March 2015; Interview RG, 18 March 2015; Interview OZ, 20 March 2015[24]).

Gender dynamics amongst artists from the wider music industry are visible in the 'world music' sector. In an interview with the 'white' male musician KA, we briefly talked about successful 'world music' artists in the Netherlands. KA mentioned five artists[25], who all happened to be female vocalists 'of colour' that sort of create a link to pop music or jazz musicians (Interview, 3 March 2015). This fits with a recent quantitative research conducted on 'world music' in the Netherlands, that states that 38 per cent of musicians are female (Van den Broek et al. 2012, 32), of which a third are vocalists (ibid., 34)[26]. KA noted that *"ze zien er ook allemaal leuk uit, dus ja"* (they all look nice, so yeah) (Interview, 3 March 2015), he laughed after this statement, as if their physical appearance inevitably contributed to their successful music career. This assumption is in line with gender dynamics in the larger international music industry, where appearances play an important role in the music careers of female artists (Whiteley 2000; Emerson 2002; James 2010; Whiteley 2013). There, female bodies are largely objectified and sexualised, in particular those of women 'of colour' (Emerson 2002, 123). This racist and sexist discourse is rooted in colonialism, since the bodies of 'black' women were objectified and sexualised (Essed 1991, 251; Loomba 2005,

obvious that the majority of the "immigrants" and "refugees" are to people 'of colour'.

24 Appendix 6F.

25 Appendix 6G.

26 These figures only reflect a part of the sector that the study identifies as "formal".

131; Murphy and Spear 2010, 598; Tamale 2011, 202; McClintock 2013, 5). According to Loomba, non-European women were part of European sexual fantasies in which they were considered to have an "insatiable" sexuality (2005, 131). The way in which 'black' female bodies are hence perceived, does not occur in a historical vacuum. Nonetheless, female performers 'of colour' have agency or control over the presentation of their body. Various popular female artists, such as Beyoncé, seem to present their sexualised and objectified body as a tool for personal empowerment (Weidhase 2015). The five artists referenced in the interview, could be considered empowered by their *"leuke"* (nice) looks because these have helped them to be considered the most successful artists in the Netherlands that have links with 'world music' in the eyes of a colleague (Interview KA, 3 March 2015). Still, a closer analysis of their public portrayal would be needed in further research, in order to make substantiated conclusions. Considerations of gender continue in the next section where I look at depictions of the 'world music' audience.

Stereotypes about the Audience

These days, the label 'world music' is considered to be a turn-off by some organisers or promoters and is hence avoided in marketing (Interview RM, 18 March 2015; interview RG, 18 March 2015[27]). *RASA* is the only remaining venue in the Netherlands that is dedicated to 'world music and dance' and struggles to attract visitors. During my time as a volunteer hardly any concerts reached over half of the capacity of the concert hall[28]. Friends that are my age were rarely interested in discounted tickets I could offer them and occasionally referenced the stereotypes they associated with 'world music' audiences. They highlighted their discomfort that the audience would be predominantly middle-aged or retired which I understood since I had regularly experienced these types of crowds. This older group can seem to dominate the space with their riotous dancing and exuberant dress leaving an awkward peripheral space for others.

I also encountered a negative, gendered reputation of this stereotypical audience on several occasions in fieldwork, although AR noted later on that this stereotype is more applicable to lovers of African music than Middle Eastern classical music audiences (Pers. comm., 22 July 2015). The gendered devaluation of commercial music is not uncommon: in her analysis of pop music, feminist

[27] Appendix 6H.

[28] Several other explanations can be given for the lack of audiences, such as the lack of cultural investment by the current Dutch government. This will be elaborated on in Chapter 4.

and music philosopher James (2010) highlights that (hysterical) teenage girls as are frequently looked down upon as audiences. The agency and authority of female fans are marginalised and the music is devalued (ibid., 4). A critical feminist framework is hence relevant to 'world music' research since the negative ways in which the audience is perceived can decrease academic and commercial interest.

KA told me that he would almost feel sick when he saw 'white' middle aged women play the djembé at a 'world music' festival in an African outfit that they would only wear for these occasions (Interview, 3 March 2015[29]). Another artist, who is part of a well-known band in the Netherlands, told me that him and his (male) band members would refer to this type of audience as *"de RASA vrouw"* (the *RASA* woman) and talked about this type in a degrading manner (Pers. comm., 18 May 2015). Moreover, the famous Dutch comedian Hans Teeuwen created an entire sketch out of this stereotype:

> *And so you have those sluggish middle aged women, totally covered in African scarves, that go completely crazy at a mediocre drum band at one of those 'no to racism' festivals [impersonates a woman and claps at the same time] Yeah! Yeah, yeah! [shouts in his normal voice] dancing away their feelings of guilt with their fat arse. [impersonates a woman and claps again] Yeah! Yeah! [back to his normal voice] Those kind of women -you ought to pull their cunt over a canon ...* (*Hans Teeuwen - Spiksplinter - Wereldmuziek* 2012, translation mine).

Although Teeuwen's remarks are provocative and problematic, they nonetheless vocalise issues such as guilt and the position of the 'white', 'western' listener compared to the 'non-white', 'non-western' musician. To consider particular 'world music' events as phenomena that are simply about music where people can simply have a good time, ignores power structures that enable a racial segregation between the audience and the artists and downplays the tendency of the sector to exoticise the artists. Teeuwen's sketch is illustrative. Through his tone of voice and hand clapping, Teeuwen makes the female 'world music' aficionados sound naïve in their enthusiasm. He degrades them to unintelligent beings and reduces their agency or authority. Furthermore, the comedian loudly and emphatically makes the women unattractive in his description as "sluggish" and with a "fat arse" (loc. cit.). The status of middle aged women is furthermore devalued through Teeuwen's suggestion that they ought to be forcefully penetrated by a large phallic object, as if this would be a fitting punishment or cure to their naïvety and unattractiveness. A passivity is implied as well, because Teeuwen refers to an unspecified "you" that pulls "their cunt over a canon" (loc. cit.).

[29] Appendix 6I.

Teeuwen's provocations are far more extreme than those expressed by the two musicians who talked about the female stereotypical audience during my research. All of the degrading comments however, place the three 'white' male performers in a superior position to those whom they criticise. Their remarks could partly be explained as a need to disassociate themselves from appropriation and exoticism by 'world music' audiences. What is noteworthy, is that all comments are made by men but refer to about a female audience although 'world music' audiences roughly consists of an equal amount of men and women (Van den Broek et al. 2012, 16). The fact that only women are criticised for their behaviour and appearance and that no explicit critique regarding male fans has been expressed during my field research, is telling. It can be interpreted as the result of male privilege of the commentators, but also as part of structural sexism, since James' study (2010) illustrates that this female devaluation occurs in the wider music industry.

Conclusion

Now that 'world music' has been addressed in more depth, its history, exoticism in the sector and gendered stereotypes of the audience, it is possible to move on to themes that came up in the interviews with 'world music' professionals. The discussion of these matters illustrates how (inter)national discourses on race find resonance in the participants' daily lives and work. The next chapter will focus on the way in which 'world music' is marginalised but considered to be socially beneficial.

Chapter 4

Marginal 'World Music' "*Helps [Cultural] Integration*"?

This chapter relates two dynamics in 'world music' to issues of race. It concerns the marginalisation of the category -briefly mentioned previously- and the assumption that the music contributes to cultural integration in the Netherlands. These dynamics are stimulated by the manner government funding is provided to the sector. The interviews with 'world music' professionals are key sources through which this impact of funding is be analysed. Arts funding is unevenly distributed between 'high' and 'low' aka 'social' art, artists 'of colour' are usually pigeonholed into the latter, marginalised strand (Trienekens and Bos in Essed and Hoving 2014, 299). This relates to 'world music' because musicians 'of colour' make up for a large part of performers in the Dutch scene. It is necessary to evaluate this binary to understand how funding is provided by the Dutch government. Key in funding is the assumption that 'world music' is beneficial to Dutch society, this chapter's title is an illustrative quote from an interviewee. The 'white', male KN expressed that 'world music' definitively has a social function in the Netherlands, as it aids cultural integration (Interview, 17 March 2015[30]). He understood this integration as a lack of discrimination and an increased openness to the 'other': *"musici onderling, dat is gewoon nul discrimination"* (musicians amongst each other is just zero discrimination) (loc. cit.). He also mentioned that 'world music' audiences would be *"open voor dat andere"* (open to that other) during a concert and *"makkelijker […] integreren in het dagelijks leven"* (integrate more easily in daily life) (loc. cit.). Since references were made to a 'white' audience specifically, KN seemed to understand cultural integration as a two-way process between 'white' people and people with a recent history of migration. However, when I rephrased his initial statement at a later stage, he was quick to nuance it: it *could* play a role in integration (loc. cit.). Various participants expressed a need to nuance their similarly positive associations. These associations contribute to an image in which Europe is perceived as a "benevolent, neutral mediator, wizened by past [colonial] mistakes and without a stake in current power struggles" (El-Tayeb 2011, 13). The ethical and social image of 'world music' is a way in which race is dealt with -'whitewashed' perhaps- on a daily basis by 'world

30 Appendix 7A.

music' professionals.

4.1 Position of 'World Music' in the Music Industry

'World music' is generally considered insignificant in the wider music industry. Through my interest in the sector, I became aware of the minimal role 'world music' plays in the music sector: relatively few reviews can be found in the Dutch newspapers and 'world music' is rarely heard on radios. To verify this assumption, I asked about the position of 'world music' in every interview for this research. The result: all participants told me it was marginalised. It links to Spivak's critique on the politics of representation (1988) since the space provided for the 'other' is minimal. For example, OZ and DF, noted how festivals would only have a limited amount of slots available for 'world music' acts (Interview OZ, 20 March 2015[31]; Interview DF, 26 March 2015). RG noticed it in his work as a journalist, that editors became reluctant to include articles about 'world music' because they argued that kind of coverage would not attract extra readers (Interview, 18 March 2015[32]). MU thought it was a pity that 'world music' had become *"small"* for she had fewer opportunities to perform, but she also expressed the impossibility that so many music styles were contained *"in one circle",* in a *"small place"* (Interview, 19 March 2015):

> MU: "Nowadays, they put it in -how do you call it- in a small circle that is world music [illustrates it with her hands] specially here in Nederland, *wereldmuziek*, if you say *wereldmuziek* it literally is some small..."
>
> MS: "Contained?"
>
> MU: "Yes. That's a pity because it has nothing to do with that circle anyway. I mean the label is different of course sometimes -I mean I understand what they mean […] *wereldmuziek* is very traditional, primitive musics. I understand that, but you can't put all kind of styles of music in one circle, small place. Its now become very very very small, even smaller. Yes, which is hard to play everywhere where you used to play. [...][But] world music is not dying. Our mind is dying because we're stuck." (loc. cit.)

Some participants expressed the position of 'world music' through infant imagery. RM, a 'white' female professional, considered 'world music' to be *"een ondergeschoven kindje"* (a small child that is forgotten[33]) (Interview, 18 April 2015[34]). According to MN, a musician 'of colour' who

[31] Appendix 7B.
[32] Appendix 7C.
[33] *Ondergeschoven kindje* (lit. translation: a child that is shoved under). This comes from the times when poor families did not have enough space for all the children to sleep in a bed, so they would 'shove' some of their children under the bed in a crate or drawer.
[34] Appendix 7D.

moved to the Netherlands as an adult, *"wereldmuziek is nog baby eigenlijk"* (world music is actually still a baby) (Interview, 1 April 2015). Compared to other music categories, 'world music' is relatively young since it was only put into official use in the late eighties which is why the associations of the category with childhood are understandable. Yet these metaphors also illustrate that 'world music' hardly has a voice in the discourse on music in the Netherlands and contrasts with the positive social associations that make the category seem as an empowering phenomenon for the 'other'. The baby as a symbol for innocence also relates to the presentation of 'world music' as a phenomenon that is void of (intentional) racism since diversity is celebrated and stimulated in the sector. The imagery is appropriate to a wider national discourse on multiculturalism too, represented in official reports such as CBS research which highlights an growth of integration by second generation *allochtonen* compared to first generations (Vliet, 2014). MN related this increased multiculturalism, to 'world music': both integration and the presence of 'world music' would grow with time, like a baby (loc. cit.[35]). The dependence or need for care associated with infants is relevant to the Dutch discourse on migration, since migrants -with their "deviant" backgrounds- "need help in order to participate fully in Dutch society" (Ghorashi in Essed and Hoving 2014, 111). If 'world music' is a *"baby"*, a similar dependency can be noted in the need for government funding and opportunities from the wider music sector in order for 'world music' to have a stronger presence in society and the music industry. In the latter, gatekeepers control opportunities in the industry who enable events that include 'world music' artists and provide press coverage. However, since 'western' music dominates the commercial industry, opportunities seem to be deferred for 'world music'. RM's reference to a malnourished, forgotten child thus seems fitting to illustrate the extent that the representation of 'world music' empowers the associated performers and cultures. This becomes even more historically and politically charged since the gatekeepers are frequently 'white' and male (Interview RM, 18 March 2015; Interview RG, 18 March 2015; Interview CN, 1 April 2015), which are identity categories of gender and race that have been structurally advantaged over others (Frankenberg 1993, James 2010) in the Netherlands.

The marginalisation of the music category that is 'other' can be placed within a larger historical context: the current discourse on the European racialised 'other' such as the 'non-western' *allochtonen* in the Netherlands, also leads to their externalisation and marginalisation from contemporary Europe (El-Tayeb 2011, xxi). Furthermore, the description of the 'other' as a child stems from colonial discourses (Gouda 1993; Lawson and Tiffin 2002; Cannella and Viruru 2004; Loomba 2005; Young 2005; Hall and Rose 2006; Grzegorczyk 2014) in which "the colonial state cast itself as the *parens patriae,* controlling but also supposedly providing for its children" (Loomba

[35] Appendix 7E.

2005, 181). Since the colonies were considered uncivilised, the 'white' man's burden was to educate and look after them. Colonies were often portrayed to be children of the colonial empire, such Indonesia for the Netherlands (Gouda 1993). Frances Gouda argues that this parental relationship enabled the colonial powers to validate their rule (ibid., 2). As postcolonial scholars Cathrine Hall and Sonya Rose highlight, the familial language of the colonial empire as a parent, naturalised the hierarchical relationship with the colonies and made it part of everyday life until well into the twentieth century (2006, 27). This naturalised discourse is powerful: MN and RM only mentioned their associations of 'world music' with infants in passing, hence it can be assumed they did not consciously engage with these existing historic discourses on the 'other'. Still, the convoluted reproduction of this discourse in the context of 'world music' in the Netherlands highlights the relevance and influence of this colonial discourse on present society.

This analysis is only a possible explanation for the use of infant imagery by the research participants, but it is nonetheless fascinating to see how colonial discourses can be introjected by the 'other' and subtly find resonance in current conversations. The next sections will thus focus on the way in which the forgotten child 'world music' receives care through government funding. Since there are no concrete statistics for the amount of funding available for 'world music' as a category, I will first look at funding provided for performing arts in general. This will present a context in which statements and speculations from professionals in the Dutch 'world music' sector can be analysed.

Governmental Contributions to Performing Arts

The cultural sector in the Netherlands has a history of large government contributions. Each year, the VSCD (Association of Theatre and Concert Hall Management) publishes statistics on their visitors and on funding they received. Not all Dutch music events are incorporated in their statistics, but the reports provide a good indication of national tendencies in the performing arts ("VSCD - Statistiek" 2015). Moreover, the VSCD has also been consulted in previous research on Dutch 'world music' (Van den Broek et al. 2012). The publications I have used here, divide the performing arts into theatre, classical music, dance and movement, popular music, musical and operette, opera and music theatre, *cabaret* and *kleinkunst*[36], other professional, and amateur

[36] There are no English equivalents of these performance styles.

(Kleingeld 2011; Kleingeld 2012; Kleingeld 2013; Kleingeld 2014). It may come as no surprise that the figurative forgotten child is not mentioned in most of these reports, although the volume of 2012 specifies that the figures for pop music includes *wereldmuziek,* 'world music' (ibid., 2013). Evidence for hefty government contributions towards the performing arts can be found in the fact sheet about 2013, which states that 43 per cent of the theatres' incomes were from municipal, provincial or national government contributions, whereas incomes from ticket sales was 33 percent (Kleingeld 2014).

A shift in arts funding is apparent since serious cuts were put into place during the new administration *Kabinet Rutte I* between 2010 and 2012. Around this time, a particular attitude towards arts and culture entered the public and political debate as well. Politicians dismissed arts and culture as *"linkse hobby" (*leftist hobby)(Witteman 2011; Bockma 2011; Bockma 2012).Whether justifiable or not, members of the political party *PVV* and Halbe Zijlstra, the Dutch State Secretary of Education, Culture and Science between 2010 and 2012 were particularly held responsible for the way in which the discourse on culture changed (loc. cit.).

In an interview, KN mentioned that the governmental attitude of culture as a *"linkse hobby"* influenced citizens' stance towards this sector. He explained that soon after this political attitude became part of the public debate and atmosphere, it was *"not done"* to go to the theatre anymore (Interview KN, 17 March 2015[37]). Various artists with whom he worked and whose shows previously sold out, experienced a remarkable decline in visitors. The size of their audiences would sometimes not even take up half of the capacity of the venue. KN mentioned however, that he does not have proof apart from the artists' experiences and general performing arts statistics. Illustration 1 portrays the amount of yearly visitors of VSCD venues in the Netherlands[38] (Kleingeld 2014) and shows three rapid declines. The latter decline occurred between 2011 and 2012 which could be explained by concrete policy changes that became effective in 2012 -such as cuts in the culture industry- and the repercussions of the economic crisis. The lack of importance attributed towards arts and cultures by the government (Witteman 2011; Bockma 2011; Bockma 2012), also fits into the declining visitors trend but this can not be stated as a direct correlation. Further research is necessary to establish whether motivations of previous visitors relate to this negative atmosphere.

[37] Appendix 7F.
[38] The statistics do not relate to the entire music industry, but it nonetheless gives us a clear indication of its dynamics.

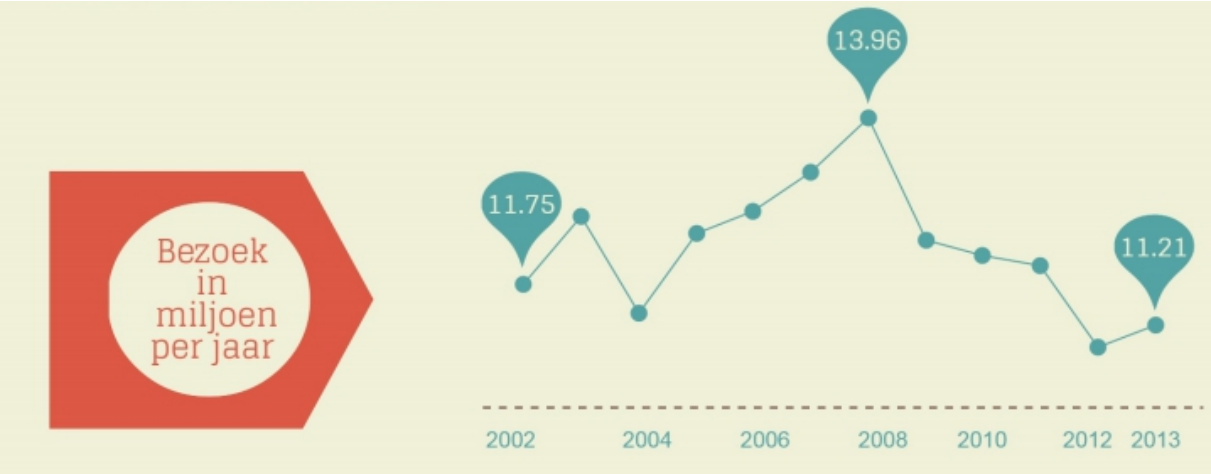

Illustration 1: Yearly Visitors Of VSCD Venues In Millions (Kleingeld 2014)

Many claims regarding funding were made throughout my field research. The consistency of the lack (compared to a few years ago and compared to pop or classical music) and type (in support of social, participatory projects) of funding in the sector was frequently discussed[39]. Like the speculation of KN however, there are insufficient sources to substantiate these statements in this research. Anthropologist Rob Boonzajer-Flaes was part of a recent research project on Dutch 'world music' (Van den Broek et al. 2012) and is well-respected in the sector. During a telephone conversation, he confirmed the lack of public information on 'world music' funding (Pers. comm., 9 June 2015). According to Boonzajer-Flaes, this is due to 1) funding not provided to 'world music' as a category, but to individual projects, 2) the majority of cultural funding is made available via municipalities so research would need to be conducted at the level of Dutch municipalities which would be beyond the scope of this project and 3) the administration has changed in the Netherlands so specific policies have changed or have been annulled and can therefore not publicly be verified.

Nevertheless, the consistency of the claims made provides insights into the discourses in the 'world music' sector and are therefore worth looking at. One of these statements relates to the idea that 'world music' is often associated with traditions from 'poorer', 'non-western' countries and hence funding would be available from a social perspective, relating to development aid projects. Despite the small role that 'world music' plays in the music industry, it used to receive a relatively large amount of funding and did not need to be self-sufficient like popular music (Interview WB, 12

[39] What needs to be remembered however, is that all of the participants and people I talked with have an investment in the 'world music' sector through their careers and that this can have an impact on their perspective or the information they communicated with me.

August 2014[40]; Interview RM, 18 March 2015; Interview RG, 18 March 2015). These claims were also made by others during participant observation at *Festival Mundial*, *RASA* and at networking events. Although the motivations for these large contributions are unknown, it is evident that 'world music' still receives a considerable amount of funding. Over 60 per cent of the income of 'world music' venue *RASA*, for example, is from funding from municipal, provincial and state governments (Pers. comm., 18 June 2015). The venue is part of VSCD, but this percentage is much higher than the average VSCD music venues and festivals in 2013, (43 per cent) (Kleingeld 2014). In RM's understanding, 'world music' receives funding to enable a pioneer function for artists to develop their career (Interview, 18 March 2015[41]), but according to RG, this also occurred because of the sector's focus on music styles from 'poor' countries (Interview, 18 March 2015[42]). The support provided for these musics to survive in the established European music industry links back to dependent child imagery related to colonialism since the countries from which these 'poor music styles' would come from, have often been colonised. It highlights issues of representation since the gesture by ('white') 'western' professionals and the Dutch government to provide space for 'non-western' voices contribute to their benevolent professional and international reputation. Nonetheless, parallels can be drawn to Spivak's work on the subaltern that highlight the impossibility of this type of empowerment of the 'non-west' (Spivak 1999, 205; Maggio 2007, 422). The professionals and government are complicit in the oppression of the 'non-west' in 'world music' since they rely upon constructs that silences the 'non-west': they are either spoken for, or are only able to speak in a marginalised way.

Several 'world music' professionals told me that projects used to receive funding by playing the 'social card', for it was assumed that they used to have a positive impact on cultural integration and multiculturalism (Interview WB, 12 August 2014; Interview KA, 3 March 2015; Interview RM, 18 March 2015; Interview RG, 18 March 2015; Interview DF, 26 March 2015). As stated by DF and WB, before the right-wing government *Kabinet Rutte I* and *II* and the economic crisis, government investments were made to stimulate multiculturalism and integration. The changes in funding policies seem to align with the general shift in Dutch discourses on race and migration which have moved from a multicultural model to that of assimilation in government policies and an increase of Islamophobia (Reekum 2012; van der Valk 2012; Hoving 2012; Essed en Hoving 2014; Pers. comm. Boonzajer-Flaes, 9 June 2015). WB mentioned that an event he organised used to

[40] The interview with WB took place for a different project and is not part of the series of 14 semi-structured interviews held for this research. Nonetheless, some of the topics discussed are relevant for this research so hence why WB is occasionally referenced. WB is 'white' middle aged man who works behind the 'world music' scenes.

[41] Appendix 7G.

[42] Appendix 7H.

receive considerable funding because the government officials in charge of social art policies considered the event to be like a playground. To put a Turkish and a Moroccan musician on stage would be a fun and light way to promote integration in the Netherlands (Interview WB, 12 August 2014[43]) since the Dutch media usually emphasises that these 'non-western' *allochtone* minorities in the Netherlands resent each other (Vuijsje 2009, 10).

Nonetheless, the current government and the changed ways in which society considers music has led to financial difficulties in the music sector. This has repercussions for the 'world music' sector because the unpopularity of the category and the reduced financial buffer mean that 'world music' is frequently considered a risk to promote, which is why it is excluded by venues and events or media (Interview KA, 3 March 2015; Interview LN, 16 March 2015; Interview RG, 18 March 2015[44]). For example, the 'world music' promoters at *Melkweg* and *Paradiso* have been dismissed in the last few years without the intention of being replaced (Pers. comm. 25 March 2015). Other examples of reduced funding concern *Festival Mundial* in 2012. A smaller version moved to a different location, ticket prices increased and since then, the event flirted considerably with mainstream and pop music. In 2013 the *Tropentheater* in Amsterdam closed down (Kanters 2013) and even *RASA* received significantly less funding from the municipality of Utrecht in 2013 ("3voor12 - Utrecht: Geen Cultuursubsidie Voor 28 Instellingen" 2015).

4.2 Division High Art and Social Art in Governmental Policies

It is worth paying attention to the structure of arts funding in the Netherlands to see if the concept of 'world music' as 'other' and a child has any influence on the way in which it is supported. Trienekens and Bos map out a division present in arts funding between 'high' art and 'low' art (in Essed and Hoving 2014). In it 'high' art is appreciated for its quality, the 'low' strand is also referred to as 'social' art for it is considered beneficial to society and involves participatory projects. The authors argue that 'high' art garners up to 85 percent of art funding, which puts 'social' art into a marginal position with the remaining funds. The work of artists 'of colour' is frequently racialised and politicised and hence placed into a marginal position (ibid., 295-314). This binary model is problematic because music genres are relative to one another, Adorno claimed that the content of 'serious' and popular music differs from one era to another or can occupy both

[43] Appendix 7I.
[44] Appendix 7J.

categories simultaneously (James 2010, 92). The binary structure of government funding policies has an disproportionally negative impact on these applicant's opportunities.

Boonzajer-Flaes confirmed that 'world music' is often involved in participatory projects through local integration projects at schools and community centres, particularly in the past[45] (Pers. comm. 9 June 2015) so it is worth to look at how 'social' or 'low' art is reflected in government funding for these projects. In *Fondsenboek 2014,* a catalogue in which Dutch foundations are referenced (Kennisbank Filantropie 2014), over 700 foundations are listed in the index, 55 are applicable for music projects or musicians (ibid., 439-445). Classical music is mentioned by 26 organisations via a special entry, there is no sign of 'world music'. Furthermore, statistics on funding via the VSCD reports show that music obtains 35 percent of the government funded performances at VSCD venues (Kleingeld 2013). Of this 35 percent, over 77 percent of available government funding was dedicated to classical music, opera and music theatre in 2012. Musical, pop, *cabaret* and other, only makes up for 23 percent of the government funded performances (loc. cit.). The numbers relate to slightly different phenomena to those discussed by Trienekens and Bos (2012) (the art industry in general versus performing arts), but this figure is only a little over the 20 to 15 percent that the 'low' arts branch receives according to Trienekens and Bos and still reflect the lack of funding opportunities for music projects that are considered to be 'social' and 'low'.

As mentioned, 'world music' events like *Festival Mundial* successfully obtained funding through playing the 'social card' before the Dutch economic crisis. Nevertheless, Bos identified a curious tendency related to funding, arts and multiculturalism. Cultural organisations who received funding in order to attract *allochtone* audiences, apparently failed to engage with them (2006). Many of these projects were discontinued, nevertheless, the government continued to support similar projects which were similarly unsuccessful. Bos argues that many of these cultural projects were prone to failure because today's culture policies continue to be based on notions from the nineteenth century (ibid., 21). It may seem obvious to cut unsuccessful projects, but a drastic change and update in government policies regarding cultural funding might be more helpful[46]. Related to this is Ghorashi's claim that the Dutch government used to over-subsidise migrants which creates a dynamic of dependency from them (Alghasi, Eriksen and Ghorashi 2009, 112) and which strengthens the parent-child dynamic. A 'world music' promoter also mentioned that he only uses the term 'world music' for funding applications, because foundations are generally slow to

[45] Of course not all music that is considered to be 'world music' is engaged with through participatory projects, music can also be heard in concert halls and particularly the classical traditions (eg. South-Indian classical music or Arabic court traditions) are more regularly considered to be part of 'high' art or Adorno's 'serious' music.

[46] A different research project may be necessary to identify which changes are necessary

catch up on changes in the sector. He preferred to use the terms that artists used to refer to their music (Pers. comm., 7 May 2015). It hence seems that government support for projects with the motivation that 'world music' helps cultural integration in society can be counterproductive.

The concept of 'social' art shapes how opportunities for 'world music' artists arise and how these events are portrayed and therefore has an impact on the sector and its artists. According to ES, 'world music' needs to prove itself, to show that it is of high quality or interesting, it seemed one step behind other music styles (Interview, 27 March 2015[47]). David Byrne, whose attack on the category of 'world music' was published on the fRoots website says that the term "is a convenient way of not seeing a band or artist as a creative individual" (Anderson 2015a). The political role of 'world music' is emphasised and hence the artistic qualities of the musician (often 'of colour') are considered less important. This corresponds with Trienekens and Bos' argument that in the Netherlands, the work of artists 'of colour' is frequently politicised (in Essed and Hoving 2014). As discussed, Taylor defines a political stance as one of the criteria that 'world music' should ideally conform to (2000, 84). However, this was contradicted by LN when we discussed the political associations of 'world music'. He did not think that 'world music' artists are pressured into a political engagement since it is their own decision (Interview, 16 March 2015). Instead, LN argued that the political engagement of 'world music' artists is coincidental and naturally focusses on politics because many of the music styles are rooted in a narrative musical traditions (loc. cit.[48]). Although I would agree that 'world music' artists have agency to decide whether to engage in politics or not, it is still remarkable that so many 'world music' artists make political statements in their work. I would thus argue that the political engagement of the 'world music' artists has become an expectation and *is* therefore part of the title.

The tendency to politicise the 'other' or the 'non-western' is apparent across different media as well. Deepika Bahri, a scholar in postcolonial literature, argues that these works are often -if not entirely- understood from a political or social perspective (2003). She notes that the aesthetics in the works of postcolonial authors -'of colour' or 'non-western'- are largely ignored which results in a "remarkable lack of a sufficiently developed critical framework for addressing 'the aesthetic dimension' in postcolonial literature" (ibid., 1). This is relevant to 'world music' since the works of its musicians are similarly politicised and ethnicised in its consumption in the Netherlands and the way in which funding is provided. The aggressive marketing of the political connotations of postcolonial literature (ibid., 5), can be related to 'world music'.

[47] Appendix 7K.
[48] Appendix 7L.

4.3 Positive Associations of Participants to 'World Music'

Music considered to be 'world music', has been attributed with positive connotations by policy makers but also by 'world music' professionals themselves. These associations can stigmatise the sector (and audiences) which is illustrated in the sketch of the Dutch comedian Hans Teeuwen. In his stereotype of 'world music' and its fans, Teeuwen mentions that 'world music' takes place at "one of those 'no to racism' festivals" and that dancing to the music helps the audience to get rid of "that feeling of guilt" (*Hans Teeuwen - Spiksplinter - Wereldmuziek* 2012). During my fieldwork, an organiser joked in a meeting about the postcolonial complex that motivated an older, 'white' audience to attend 'world music' events (Pers. comm., 18 June 2015). The feeling of guilt probably refers to the colonial expansion which was motivated and supported through an essentialist racist discourse. The current global imbalance in which 'western' countries benefit from economic welfare, is still related to colonialism so Teeuwen's subjects of the sketch have a reason to feel guilty. The expression of musical appreciation (they "go completely crazy"), fashion ("totally covered" in African scarves) and the attendance of a 'no to racism' event, could perhaps reduce this feeling but these gestures seem empty as they do not influence the power dynamics that created guilt in the first place. As stated in the sketch, the music and participation in these 'world music' events, makes the stereotypical audience feel like a better person: "those people think that if they listen to that shit long enough, that they'll make the world a better place" (loc. cit.). Of course, these remarks are exaggerated for comical effect, but they would not have the same impact if the audience could not relate them to their own perceptions.

In the interviews, an emphasis was placed on participant's experience with different cultures. Every respondent mentioned positive impacts of ('world') music on society or in their own life. Four recurring themes emerged from the data. These were 1) the perception that music in general is a phenomenon that can establish connections, such as among the audience, 2) that because 'world music' engages with a plethora of different cultures and ethnicities it increases people's understanding and appreciation of these cultures and ethnicities, 3) that issues of race are irrelevant regarding cross-cultural collaborations of musicians, 4) that 'world music' challenges stereotypes and provides counter discourses.

Firstly, various participants expressed that music generally connects people or opens their mind to see cultures beyond their own as something beautiful (Interview KA, 3 March 2015; Interview RG, 18 March 2015; Interview OZ, 20 March 2015[49]). OZ thought it is *"fantastisch"*

[49] Appendix 7M.

(fantastic) to enjoy music at a concert when others in the audience are *"aan het genieten"* (enjoying it) or are *"geraakt"* (touched) like himself (Interview, 20 March 2015). This experience would connect members of the audience, *"terwijl je niet eens [weet] wat ze verder doen of [...] hoe ze heten, dat maakt helemaal niet uit, dat verbindt dan gewoon"* (whilst you do not even [know] what they do in life or […] what they are called, it does not matter, it just connects) (loc. cit.). The experiences of sameness seem to render the differences between strangers obsolete, albeit temporarily. Frankenberg considers the emphasis on sameness as a colour- and power-evasive strategy which function to reject "the idea of white racial superiority" (1993, 144). This seems appropriate tot the way OZ talks about his experiences of music, especially since his 'whiteness', masculinity and education enables him to simplify and depoliticise this experience in which particular identity categories seem insignificant. Another discursive repertoire identified by Frankenberg, race cognizance, is relevant to the interview with OZ since he seemed conscious of the occasional simplification of his statements. The race cognizant women in Frankenberg's interviews seemed more articulate about "their racism" and race difference compared to OZ. This could be the result of a much larger movement of 'black' empowerment in the United States compared to the Netherlands that is reflected in their respective national discourses. The hints of cognizance in OZ's interview were not specified to particular tropes so could also relate to his gender, education or profession (etc.). For example, OZ put on a pompous voice and spoke slower than usual when he said that through music, people can *"het moment van eenheid beleven"* (experience the moment of unity) (Interview, 20 March 2015[50]). The use of this voice made it seem as if he wanted to distance himself from this declaration, perhaps because it was a an emotional and simplistic leftist thing to say. He devalued the statement further because he preceded it with the remark that it was a very *"smerig" (*disgusting) thing to say (loc. cit.). His laughter afterwards can be interpreted in various ways, perhaps he felt uncomfortable to express a naïve thought, or maybe he wanted to devalue the statement even more, or distance himself from it. Besides a vague sense of race cognizance, an explanation could be that OZ did not want to look unaware to a woman only slightly younger than him. Maybe he could not articulate his warm feelings about people coming together without undermining it, as he might come across as sentimental. A combination of these motivations seems likely, but regardless of his intentions, it was obvious OZ communicated his awareness regarding the political complexities of pleasure experienced in musical activities.

OZ's example concerns a vague musical experience in general. The experienced connection which renders other tropes superfluous seems more complicated in 'world music'. Here, skin colour

[50] Appendix 7N.

and cultural backgrounds play a prominent role in the connection between, for example musicians and the audience. Although a 'white', 'western' member of the audience can 'connect' and increase their understanding of the cultural background of a 'non-western' musician 'of colour', these racial categories are embedded in a historical imbalance and influence the connection. Nonetheless, some participants argued that the often -cross-cultural- connection between musicians, staff and audience members of 'world music' could increase people's comprehension for cultures other than their own (Interview RG, 18 March 2015; Interview KN, 17 March 2015; Interview, 18 March 2015; Interview MU, 19 March 2015; Interview DF, 26 March 2015; Interview AR, 27 March 2015[51]). The result would be an increased open-mindedness[52] or -according to AR- *"broederschap"* (fraternisation), since the appreciation of, for example, beautiful Arabic music could improve someone's affiliation towards the Arabic culture as a whole (Interview, 27 March 2015). She also noted that musicians frequently understand each other quickly, despite their different backgrounds. This understanding links to James' *coincidence*, that discourses on music are mutually constituted with social discourses and identity categories such as race and gender (James 2010, xix). Therefore, this connection can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, the appreciation of Arabic music by a 'white', 'western' audience or musician is inherently entangled with racial discourses in the Netherlands on the Middle East, which also includes Orientalist and Islamophobic discourses. The process of fraternity might still be largely influenced through these discourses and not void of 'racism' as the term may suggest. Additionally, as an educated woman 'of colour', AR seemed frequently aware of the *coincidence* of gender and race, but she did not acknowledge the gendered connotations of her remark here. The term refers to a process between men and silences the involvement of women. This could relate to her initially use of the term in the context of (mostly male) musicians, but the presumed genderless connotations of masculinity in patriarchal societies such as the Netherlands could also have influenced her choice of words. On the other hand, since the tropes are mutually constituted, a positive musical experience will inevitably have some resonance with racial discourses to which the listeners or professionals are exposed. This proves the complexity and contradiction of the relationship between music and racial discourse. AR seemed aware that her reference to musical collaborations as process of fraternisation ignored other (power) dynamics: she stated that it is *"een beetje vaag natuurlijk"* (obviously a little vague) to consider musical encounters in this way (Interview, 27 March 2015). Her cognizance of the limitations of this power-evasive understanding hence highlights her engagement with complex and contradicting discourses on race and gender.

The positive associations of cross-cultural musical collaborations were already relevant in

[51] Appendix 7O.
[52] This understanding will be deconstructed in more depth, later on.

the early days of 'world music' where they occurred frequently between well known 'white', 'western' musicians and 'non-western' musicians (Meintjes 1990; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 26; Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007, 127[53]). These collaborations "prolonged or resuscitated the 'western' artists' careers" (Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007, 127), but also helped "nonwestern musicians to gain international recognition" (loc. cit.). According to the authors however, "'Collaboration' was the preferred trope to describe most of these interactions, for it smoothed over the often exploitative ways in which nonwestern musicians were used" (ibid. 127). Despite merely "reacting musically", the treatment of musicians with "utmost musical respect" and "paying people very, very well" (Paul Simon in Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007, 128), the authors mention that "someone is a major western star in a privileged position in the music industry, the likelihood that he will be able to act on the desire to make music with others is great" (loc. cit.). The privileges that enable the 'western' star to participate in music by a particular ethnic, racialised 'other', form the basis of this collaboration and are hence more significant than the way in *which* ("respect", "financial rewards") the 'western' artists treat the 'non-western' artists. It consolidates a system of racial inequality. Even if less famous musicians with 'western' and 'non-western' backgrounds collaborate and share their country of residence, issues of race still play a role in these projects.

KN's statement that there is *"gewoon nul discriminatie"* (just zero discrimination) amongst musicians (Interview, 17 March 2015[54]) seems therefore problematic. We did not discuss his understanding of discrimination, but I consider it here as a narrow interpretation that only refers to the "clear intention to injure" since this is a common Dutch understanding of racism (Müller et al. 2007, 347) and KN did not disclose malevolence in later references to discrimination. In this sense, one can understand KN's conviction of *"gewoon nul discriminatie"* because musicians are unlikely to intentionally sabotage their creations. Yet as the above-mentioned critique of Taylor et al. illustrates, the perception of *"gewoon nul discriminatie"* between musicians denies the role of race, it *eraces*[55] the musical process even though it is entangled with social discourse.

Nevertheless, KN seemed to always qualify his words. For instance, he mentioned that people who did not go to 'world music' events were probably less likely or keen to integrate, but this statement was interrupted by the remark that *"ik weet niet of dit methodologisch de norm is"* (I

[53] These types of collaborations still occur through artists such as by Blur's frontman Damon Albarn and the project Africa Express and are also an "overwhelmingly male phenomenon" (Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007, 128)

[54] Appendix 7A.

[55] Radano and Bohlman use the term *eraced* to specifically indicate an erasure of race issues, or 'whitewashing'. (2000, 10). I have adopted this use throughout this thesis.

don't know if this is the methodological norm) (Interview, 17 March 2015[56]). Although it was unclear what methodology he referred to, it seemed as if he wanted to defend the inaccuracy of his thinking. At the end, he exclaimed, *"jaaa, ik ..."* (yeah, I ...) which I interpreted as he knew his statement was problematic but did not know how else to say it. I interrupted him to say that I realised he tried to be *"voorzichtig"* (careful) and *"genuanceerd"* (nuanced) to which he responded affirmatively. He said his statements are *"bedenksels"* (concoctions) and *"geen wetenschap"* (no hard science) (loc. cit.), as if he wanted to distance himself from accountability of the ways in which he talked or about his experiences of racial politics. Like OZ, he frequently laughed in the interview, particularly after a bold statement, which came across as if he felt uncomfortable about particular comments he made or that he wanted to disassociate himself from them. Furthermore, he corrected me when I interpreted his words:

> MS: "So yeah, previously, you were talking about world music as something positive for integration, in the Netherlands ..."
>
> KN: "It coúld play a role in integration ..."
>
> MS: "Could play a role, ok."
>
> KN: "Yeah that is [laughs], that it is really beneficial for the integration, sounds as if it's definitively the case and it obviously isn't" (loc. cit.[57]).

His side comments, laughter and exclamations persisted throughout the interview. The nuance with which KN surround his responses, indicate an awareness of the complexity of discourses of race and ('world') music similar to AR. In societies where 'white' privilege plays a substantial role, 'white' people are not usually taught about the complexities of race (DiAngelo 2011, 61). The motivation for this awkward behaviour could also lie in his worry that his opinions would be criticised in this study, since he knew I was critical about issues of race. After the interview, KN told me had an educational background in politics. We can therefore assume that this -and his engagement with music styles and musicians of various cultural backgrounds- has developed some race cognizance and provided him with more insight into the complexities of race than the average 'white' Dutch person and that he therefore felt a need for nuanced responses. Nonetheless, he could not find the words to talk accurately about what he felt, indicating that he had not thought it through but settled for vague ideas that once he was talking he could see they did not stand up.

Another positive social role that was associated with 'world music' in the interviews, is that

[56] Appendix 7P.
[57] Appendix 7Q.

it provides the 'western' consumer with a different perspective of the countries or people from which some of the music styles and musicians originate (Interview OZ, 20 March 2015; Interview LN, 16 March 2015; Interview DF, 26 March 2015[58]). Prejudices and clichés about particular cultures that are shaped via Dutch public discourses (Hoving 2004; Bos 2006; El-Tayeb 2011; Reekum 2012; Essed and Hoving 2014; Bergman 2014; Vuijsje 2015) are challenged through music. Rather than focussing on the problems attributed to the racialised 'other' such as violence and poverty (El-Tayeb 2011) or dependency on social benefits and engagement with criminality (Van der Vliet 2014), a more positive atmosphere is created in which musical talents are appreciated and the riches of cultural traditions are highlighted. In this perspective, 'world music' functions as a counter-discourse to existing racial discourses in the Netherlands. For example, DF argued that music gives people in the Netherlands *"een andere referentie"* (a different reference point), which would broaden their *"blik"* (perspective) regarding 'non-western' people or cultures (Interview, 26 March 2015). He did not only refer to social clichés, but also musical clichés and hoped that people would start to associate African music with more diverse ways of making music than with just *"trommelen"* (drumming) (loc. cit.). However, 'world music' can only be a counter-discourse if it really debunks these clichés or stereotypes. Additionally, funding considers 'world music' frequently as social, participatory projects so this provides particular types of music with a context that conforms a particular perception of the 'non-west' and does not challenge stereotypes that relate to it.

Conclusion

The respondents generally seemed to be aware of multiple layers that complicate the impact of 'world music' on racial discourses and the entanglement of the sector with power structures such as those related to colonialism. These complexities were rarely crystallised, rather more generally felt as a dissonance with the more positive connotations promoted about the sector. 'World music' was praised by those in the sector and as as Chapter 5 will show, the marketing of these positive associations are a common strategies in the sector to deal with issues of race.

[58] Appendix 7R.

Chapter 5
Power Evasion in the Brand 'World Music'

The appeal to evade power and colour in 'world music' has been noted previously and since this tendency plays an important role in the marketing of the music category, I will focus on a power-evasive discourse on race in this chapter. Frankenberg's work on power-evasion (1993) will largely frame the analysis here. Positive associations with the brand 'world music' are encouraged through so-called ethical side projects but these simplify and ignore complex issues of race that the sector is entangled with. The strategy adopted by the 'world music' sector and the government -to highlight the positive and ignore the negative- therefore results in a perpetuation of the Dutch tendency to evade and silence (the critical discourses on) race. The 'world music' sector is hence not as much of a counter discourse to the public discourse on race as was expressed by some of the respondents in the previous chapter. I will highlight this through discussions on the association of 'world music' with ethical side projects and the colourblindness and cultural appropriation of some ('white') 'world music' professionals and audiences.

Associations with charities and environmental projects of the (Dutch) 'world music' sector reinforce the positive and ethical image of 'world music' so that it becomes more than a musical category. It becomes something that helps those who engage with it to be perceived as a better person. The capacity of 'westerners' as audiences and professionals to celebrate cultures other than their own shows how civilised they are. Before conducting the interviews, I was under the impression that issues of race were largely dismissed by those who worked in the sector due to participant observation I had done at an event and specific conversations I had with professionals behind the scenes. When I tried to find out why it attracted an increasingly 'white' audience, despite its eclectic, international line-up, I was told that in the end, the focus was on the creation of a beautiful event, rather than a social achievement that brings as many cultures as possible together (Interview WB, 12 August 2014[59]). At a *World Blend Café*, I had a discussion with a 'white' woman who argued that racism did not occur in the 'world music' sector because people that were involved had really good intentions (Pers. comm., 15 December 2014). Nonetheless, harm can be

[59] Appendix 8A.

done despite good intentions: as El-Tayeb writes, good intentions still reflect "the bias of dominant society" (2011, 212) and Frankenberg notes that she and her 'white' feminist colleagues in the eighties were "part of the problem of racism" despite the fact that they were "well-meaning individuals" (1993, 3). The Netherlands is a 'white' dominant society and hence privileges its 'white' citizens (Müller, van Zoonen and de Roode 2007; Bergman 2014; Essed and Hoving 2014), which is reflected in 'world music'. The conversation I had also highlights different interpretations of the term racism because the woman explicitly referred to a narrow definition of racism. She only considered acts with the intention to hurt as racist. According to Essed and Hoving, this understanding "makes it easier to ignore the role of racism in Dutch society" (2014, 11) and Müller et al. consider that "those that commit racist acts are left with a discursive space through which they can avoid accountability" (2007, 347). The lack of bad intentions when one deals with issues of race, thus maintains a sense of racial innocence. It appears to be an ahistorical, emotive view of racism where complexity and contradiction is not considered. Unlike this application of racism, I acknowledge a wider interpretation of racism and hence consider this type of behaviour as part of racist discourse, albeit subtle.

A lack of racism in the 'world music' sector was also hinted at during interviews. When I concluded my interview with the 'white' male LN, in which I had asked him extensively about issues of race and the Dutch 'world music' sector, LN raised a final point that there is a lot of racism between *"bevolkingsgroepen"* (population groups) themselves. He stated that "*Antillianen en Turken, dat gaat niet samen. Marokkanen en Turken gaat ook niet samen weet je wel, dus daar valt nog wel een slag in te halen [lacht]"* (Antilleans and Turks, they don't go together. Moroccans and Turks don't go together either you know, so there's still some improvement to be made there [laughs]) (Interview LN, 17 March 2015). LN's use of language that particular groups 'don't go together' based on their ethnic background seems a euphemism of explicit racism: the people he talks about do not even seem to *tolerate* each other. Remarkable is LN's laughter at the end of his statement because it does not contain a straightforward joke or irony. Since he made a subtle accusation of racism, I hence understand this as a way to reduce or distance himself from the controversy of his comment. I interpret the accusation as subtle since it is constructed in opposition to what is left unspoken. For one, he left out the 'white' or *autochtone* Dutch when he talked about *"bevolkingsgroepen"*. This term therefore only seems to connote *allochtone* Dutch or Dutch people 'of colour' but LN did not feel the need to explicitly specify this. It contains an assumption that the *autochtone* Dutch do not have an ethnicity and are raceless, which is common in 'white' dominated societies (Frankenberg 1993; El-Tayeb 2011; Essed and Hoving 2014). Furthermore, the subjectlessness of the phrase that still some improvement can be made, left his remark open for

interpretation as well. Since the remark was made in conclusion of the interview, after my standard question whether the participant had anything else to say, I would explicate the remark here as one that refers to my research. LN is much older and experienced than me and already remarked before the interview that there is a need to pass on knowledge to younger generations in the sector. Therefore, I thought that LN seemed to advice me, that if I *really* wanted to look at racism in a Dutch context, I was better off to look at the way in which people 'of colour' engage with each other *"op straat"* (in the streets)[60] (Interview LN, 17 March 2015). Here improvements can still be made, as if this is not the case for 'world music' because the apparent few issues of race make it less relevant for studies on race.

The engagement with charities by the 'world music' sector -led by predominantly 'white' professionals-, further affirms the benevolent intentions of the sector, these side projects are an example of Dutch 'goodwill' and 'civilisation'. This position can be related to a larger European tendency in global politics that has been the result of a "white washing of the colonial past" and a perception that Europe is "wizened by past mistakes and without a stake in current power struggles" (El-Tayeb 2011, 13). The American ethnomusicologist Juliet Hess, refers to the tendency to engage with 'world music' as part of a "complicated web of so-called 'tolerance'" (2013, 67). She calls this engagement the "politics of self-congratulation" (loc. cit.). This self-congratulation seems even more significant to 'world music' in a Dutch context, since the Netherlands is known for the congratulation of its own level of tolerance towards the 'other' (Müller et al. 2007; El-Tayeb 2011; van der Valk 2012; Essed and Hoving 2014). Spivak's work on issues of representation is also relevant, since the benevolent reputation taps into the idea that 'world music' empowers the 'non-west'. This assumption can be contested as the music styles are largely represented (spoken for or solely given a marginal space) by a 'white', 'western' dominated ('world') music industry.

5.1 'Ethical' Side-Projects Related to Human Rights and Ecology

Since my engagement with 'world music', I have become aware of various 'world music' organisations that run human rights or environmental charity side projects. Association with these charities contributes to an ethical image of the sector and is part of its tendency to congratulate itself on its virtues. It moves the attention away from the historical power structures in which the music of the 'other' is appropriated by the 'west' under the auspices of 'world music'. The association with

[60] Since 'world music' largely attracts 'white' educated people, one could see that this comment is not only racially charged, but also relevant to issues of class since *"op straat"* is a marker of poor, lower classes.

charities may seem to indicate some social and political engagement, this tendency is superficial. The energies would be better employed developing a more considered approach to power relationships within the sector. Feminist geography scholar Kate Simpson notes a similar engagement with development in the gap year industry. She argues that this industry has a "public face of development" but that these are "simplistic, consumable and ultimately 'do-able' notions of development" (Simpson 2004, 690). The industry relies on an "us and them" binary and an understanding of "luck" rather than a critical engagement with the complexity of social inequality (loc. cit.). As I will show, the association of the 'world music' sector with charities also takes on simplistic, consumable and do-able forms of social justice, which results in a comparable ethical face but instigates social change ineffectively.

World Music Network donates 1 per cent of its annual turnover to environmental charities. Phil Stanton, owner, is quoted: 'All business activity has an affect on the environment -we do what we can to reduce our footprint, but we still have an impact. Joining 1% for the Planet [...] holds the simple aim of reducing the harm that we still cause. It's our way of acknowledging the environmental impact of our work ("World Music Network – 1% For The Planet – Give Back To Blue" 2015). *World Music Network* is hence marketed as an ethical company, without the need to address privileges as a 'white', 'western' organisation or cultural hierarchies which has contributed to the initial success of the company.

A similar tendency seems present in the Netherlands. The 2014 edition of *Festival Mundial*, made its flyers out of recycled paper with seeds from which wild flowers would sprout. Furthermore, *Festival Mundial* has an annual *Feelgood Market*, in which products are sold that are predominantly sustainable and home-made ("Mundial" 2015). In the past, the festival was marked by charity stands such as *Novib* and *Amnesty International* (Interview LN, 17 March 2015[61]), but although the organisers moved away from these charities they continued to involve other NGOs, such as *Human Rights Tattoo* in 2012 and 2013 ("Human Rights Tattoo - Calendar" 2015). Related to the inclusion of these charities is the need for funding. When *Festival Mundial* received a lot less funding after 2012, they had to reorganise considerably but when the funding diminished so did the prominent presence of large charities. As a considerable amount of performing arts funding comes from the government, it is safe to say that Dutch local and national governments are keen to associate themselves with the ethical image of 'world music' projects.

When I asked about the way 'world music' was portrayed to have a role in which people deal with issues of race in the Netherlands, one of the participants immediately replied:

[61] Appendix 8B.

KA: “Yeah, it’s often connected isn’t it? It’s obviously connected by the festival organisation...”

MS: “By the what?”

KA: “By festival organisations, you know there needs to be a theme like ‘against racism’ for example” (Interview, 3 March 2015[62]).

The comedian Teeuwen also mentioned a ‘no to racism’ festival in his sketch on ‘world music’. These charitable themes are thus part of the reputation of ‘world music’ and KA’s response shows that the industry sustains this ethical image itself. KA continued to speculate what impact these associations may have on the music. He mentioned that music from a developing country is not necessarily *“zielig”* (poor or pathetic), but that the music gets this connotation because of the associated themes (loc. cit.). Even though music can show different sides of cultures, the ethical associations of ‘world music’ seem to reference and reinforce a single story of poverty and conflict often conveyed by the media about the cultures involved. The discussed side-projects are thus unhelpful to the status of ‘world music’ artists and problematic marketing strategies that ignore the Dutch colonial past and lack awareness of the Netherlands’ privileged position in current global politics. Like gap year companies, they convey a superficial and simplified message regarding global power structures, issues of race and (post)colonial society. This superficiality and evasiveness strengthens the perception of music as a universal language and influences the way in which people engage with a plethora of cultures through ‘world music’.

5.2 Colourblindness and Appropriation

Colourblindness

Many respondents argued at some point in the interviews that the sector is all about music. Various participants mentioned that music is a universal language (Interview KA, 3 March 2015; Interview MU, 19 March 2015[63]). This would imply that music is able to transcend language

[62] Appendix 8C.
[63] Appendix 8D.

barriers and cultural differences, but participants were also aware of more complicated issues. AR pointed out that traditions and music styles play an important part in how music is perceived in its use as a tool for communication (Interview, 27 March 2015).

> AR: "I actually see it [music] as a tool for fraternisation, this obviously sounds really trite, but music is on the one hand a universal language, but on the other hand it isn't because it's also a tradition and your ears are also tuned a certain way, but at the same time, it still is a way to bring people together and ... I notice it as well when musicians play together they start to understand the other people quite quickly, even though they come from different disciplines, so that side is there as well, I think it can contribute something, yeah."
>
> MS: "Yeah, how do you mean contribute? You mean towards the society, or…?"
>
> AR: "Yeah, yeah…"
>
> MS: "Ok, so in what way?"
>
> AR: "Well, like I said, it obviously sounds a little vague of course…"
>
> MS: "Yeah that fraternisation…"
>
> AR: "… you know, but its also that, I noticed that people who, for example have nothing to do with Arabic culture, hear beautiful music and then suddenly think about it in a very different way [..] it causes for you to broaden your gaze" (Interview AR, 27 March 2015[64]).

To consider music as a tool for fraternisation and to speak of it as a universal language is part of a colourblind attitude as it assumes that everyone is treated in an equal manner, that discrimination on the basis of skin colour is negligible. Various scholars have referred to this perspective as "color- and power-evasive" (Frankenberg 1993; DeVault and Gross in Hesse-Biber 2007, 181). Whilst this approach does not acknowledge discrimination and the way in which power is distributed, some musicians do not seem to do this consciously: their focus genuinely appears to be on the creativity that emerges from from collaborations from talented people from different musical traditions:

> Well, sometimes, if you think about the line-up of bands […] you predominantly look at the way in which people play, you know. Also, whether they are fun people to work with. It doesn't have anything to do with whether you're green, blue or black or white or whatever. It doesn't make a difference. (Interview KA, 3 March 2015[65])

The use of colours by the 'white' male musician KA in a discussion on race, is interesting since similar phrases came up in the interviews by Frankenberg with 'white' women in the United States in the eighties. Frankenberg explains the usage of several colours as a camouflage to avoid race because the social significance of skin colour is diminished since the colours are embedded in non

[64] Appendix 8E.
[65] Appendix 8F.

meaningful ones (1993, 39). As a result, it is easier to conclude colour is irrelevant, like KA states. Since this colour and power evasion can also be part of a tool to reject "the idea of white racial superiority" (Frankenberg 1993, 144), it is understandable that various artists 'of colour' also occasionally disregarded the relevance of skin colour (Interview MU, 20 March 2014; Interview BM, 24 March 2014). Nevertheless, KA probably had an advantage as a 'white' person to be able to focus on music and neglect the negative impact of race. Due to his 'white' privilege and racial belonging, it is unlikely he experienced discrimination on the basis of skin colour (DiAngelo 2011, 62). This therefore provides another reason why KA can devalue the impact of skin colour in professional life and why he considers issues of race to be less important than the creativity which erupts in musical encounters. As stated by Hondius, the irrelevance of skin colour relates to the silence in Dutch discourse on racism: talking about it is "simply 'not done'" (Hondius in Essed and Hoving 2014, 273). This lack of discussion also "suggests that it [racism] does not happen; it is considered self-evident that variety in skin tone is unimportant, irrelevant, and meaningless" (loc. cit.). The colourblind attitude is also a simplified understanding of how the Dutch ('world') music sector is shaped. The assumption that music, like art, is a transcendent and autonomous phenomenon, disconnects it from political associations so that the art form becomes less threatening. Bourdieu referred to this way of dealing with art as "aesthetic distance" which is the "process of abstracting musical expression from its context of creation is an essential component of the bourgeois aesthetic principle which values art as inherently transcendent and autonomous" (Bourdieu 1984, 34 in Meintjes 1990, 40). I would argue that the distance created through the focus on the aesthetic qualities of music brings a sense of safety to engage with it because it *eraces* or devalues its political context.

Aesthetic distance is yet another way that exemplifies the superficiality of the multicultural image of those that engage with 'world music'. Hess notes a similar tendency and argues that 'world music' lends itself for "a safe and acceptable way to engage with diversity, allowing subjects to perform themselves as 'tolerant'" (2013, 76). The engagement may be perceived as multicultural, but since it is a non-threatening form of aesthetic engagement with different cultures, it remains tourist-like (loc. cit.). This double standard in the discourse on race is taken a step further since cultural appropriation is common in 'world music'.

Cultural Appropriation

Cultural appropriation in 'world music can suggest a sense of civilisation of its audiences,

professionals behind the scenes and sometimes also 'white' musicians, because they have the capacity to engage with the exotic 'other' in a so-called openminded, tolerant or even celebratory manner. Nonetheless, musicologist Martin Stokes considers the appropriation of musicians problematic since an artistic authority seems to entitle them to render issues of power and race superfluous: "musicians often appear to celebrate ethnic plurality in problematic ways. Musicians in many parts of the world have a magpie attitude towards genres, picked up, transformed and reinterpreted in their own terms" (2004, 16). African American Music scholar Ingrid Monson links the appropriation of 'black' culture to a racist discourses (Monson 1995). In her work on 'white' hipness in the jazz-era of the 1940s in the United States, she argues that "there is a history of gendered and sexualized identification with hipness that has caused many white Americans to perpetuate unwittingly primitive assumptions about African American cultural authenticity" (ibid., 422). These "primitive assumptions" are part of an essentialist racist discourse and since assumptions of 'world music' as pure and uncorrupted (Frith in Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 308) are present in the Netherlands, this relates to the appropriation of 'non-western' cultures in the 'world music' sector. On various occasions during fieldwork, a 'white' male professional would remark on his preference of the 'raw' and 'pure' sounds of musicians 'of colour'. He thought it was a shame that *afrobeat* is appropriated by so many 'white' musicians and risks being 'whitewashed' like blues and jazz. In his understanding of this appropriation race *coincides* with class and education, since he critiqued the clean conservatoire sound of various bands that consisted predominantly of 'white' musicians (Pers. comm., 5 July 2015).

In the interviews, cultural appropriation was regularly mentioned. The sight of 'white' women in African outfits would made 'white' musician KA feel sick (Interview KA, 3 March 2015[66]), but he did not explicitly relate this phenomenon to racism, possibly because of the lack of 'bad' intentions of the cultural appropriators. Nonetheless, he felt physically uncomfortable about their behaviour. After this remark he started to question his own appropriation of African culture as a musician. He concluded that his engagement was different to the way in which these women appropriated African clothing, because it is just *"muzikale interesse, omdat het muzikaal ook interessant is"* (musical interest, because it's also musically interesting) (loc. cit.). To KA, the appropriation of sound rather than image is less problematic: *"Maar dat wil nog niet zeggen dat ik ook […] op hun zou moeten gaan lijken"* (but it doesn't mean I need to look like them as well) (loc. cit.). Perhaps visual aspects are more charged to KA since current race discourses are still in ongoing response to the legacy of older, essentialist racist discourses (Frankenberg 1993, 139) in which biological (and hence visual) differences are most explicit. A visual appropriation alongside

[66] Appendix 8G.

an aural one could also be simply too much for KA. Additionally, the gender and lack of professional expertise on African music of the women in the example might implicitly play a negative role in KA's opinion, which could provide him with a sense of authority to appropriate the culture he engages with. It is thus obvious that cultural appropriation is a complex aspect of 'world music' practices, since it is both appreciative of the 'other' but inexplicitly ties in with problematic discourses on race. Like the side-projects and colourblindness it evades or simplifies power dynamics and therefore does not challenge popular discourses on race in the Netherlands.

Conclusion

Associations of 'world music' with charitable side projects and cultural appropriation, are important factors that contribute to the category's positive, ethical and civilised image regarding multiculturalism and racism. Nevertheless, these phenomena are superficial and part of a double standard that subtly consolidate 'western' superiority towards the 'other' and devalue issues of race in a 'world music' context. Rather than to continue with general tendencies of the sector, the next chapter will focus on individual experiences to see how issues of race affect professionals on a personal level and what strategies they employ.

Chapter 6

Issues Of Race in 'World Music' in the Netherlands: Participants' Stories

This chapter provides insight on how the evasion of racism in Dutch society has impacted professionals in the sector. Six examples come from interviews with respondents of various gender, ethnic and professional backgrounds. These include 1) the experience of racism by 'white' male musician KA 2) 'white' fragility by KN, a 'white' male professional behind the scenes, 3) Limitations experienced by MU, a female artist 'of colour' related to their ethnic/cultural backgrounds but denial that racial structures or a colonial past influences her work, 4) the need of two professionals 'of colour', BM and CN, to remain positive and understanding towards racists experiences, 5) The use of 'world music' as constructive strategies against racism by two organisers 'of colour' CN and ES, 6) Dutch bluntness as a way to deal with cultural issues by DF, another organiser 'of colour'. A combination of theories by Essed and Hoving (2014), DiAngelo (2011) and Frankenberg (1993) will be used throughout this chapter to analyse the narratives of the participants although various other sources are consulted too.

Everyone in the 'world music' industry is confronted with issues of race because the sector is the result of exchange between a wide variety of cultures. Embedded in this exchange is an inevitable social and historical hierarchy that colours the way cultures relate to each other (Feld and Keil 1994; Taylor 1997; Guilbalt 1997; Frith in Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Agawu 2003; Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007). Centuries-old connections have shaped the way in which one culture relates to another and hence has an impact on current Dutch society (Essed and Hoving 2014) and the 'world music' sector. Connections most relevant to today's global system dominated by a 'western' hegemony, date back to the colonial expansion of European empires (Meintjes 1990; Abu-Lughod 1991; El-Tayeb 2011; Essed and Hoving 2014).

The interviews provided a nuanced picture of racism in the 'world music' sector although the interview process could have influenced the participants' responses. On several occasions, I caught myself toning down someone's statement. Sometimes I challenged the responses of

participants or asked them leading questions regarding issues of race. For example, KA told me an anecdote that on holiday in West-Africa, everyone wanted to touch his daughter's blonde hair . He thought this was very funny. Preceded by a remark that his ('white') grandmother had wanted to touch a person 'of colour's' hair, I challenged this: *"don't you think that, say you're asked this daily or weekly, that you'd kind of get fed up and don't really see what's so funny anymore"?* He agreed (Interview, 3 March 2015[67]). The way in which I phrased the question did not give him much space to express a different perspective, so my remark probably influenced his response. On other occasions I asked participants to elaborate their statements on race with examples so they had to think about the topic more than they might usually. Like this, the answers of the participants were influenced by the way in which the interviews were held and -like DeVault and Gross mention as a basis of strong feminist research- need to be considered as linguistically constructed accounts that emerge from the setting of the interviews and interaction between myself and the participants (in Hesse-Biber 2006, 179).

Participants generally pointed out xenophobic and narrow-minded attitudes of professionals outside of the 'world music' sector (Interview RM, 18 March 2015; Interview RG, 18 March 2015; Interview MN, 1 April 2015[68]), but when it came to their own sector, remarks on racism were far more divergent and complex. Several participants of various ethnic backgrounds emphasised that their positive experiences on race in 'world music' outweighed the negative (Interview OZ, 20 March 2015; Interview RG, 18 March 2015; Interview CN, 1 April 2015[69]). Nonetheless, I asked about uncomfortable experiences concerning cultural or racial differences in their work, since discussion of racial discomfort is frequently avoided in the Netherlands. This is why a greater emphasis was placed on negative experiences in the examples below. Before the interviews, I expected 'white' respondents to deny they had experienced racism in their work in the Netherlands and that the participants 'of colour' would confirm these types of experiences. I assumed this would be the case because it would correspond to studies regarding racism and discrimination in the Netherlands (Essed 1991; Müller, van Zoonen and de Roode 2007; van der Valk 2012; Essed and Hoving 2014). I was aware this assumption could influence the interviews and analysis which is why open coding was helpful to avoid a confirmation bias. Despite this, it was quite clear from the analysis that hardly any 'white' participants or participants 'of colour' that were born in the Netherlands experienced racism as something they had personally suffered from or experienced in

67 Appendix 9A.

68 Appendix 9B.

69 Appendix 9C.

the ‘world music’ sector. Negative experiences were mostly experienced by people ‘of colour’ who had moved to the Netherlands in their adult life.

6.1 Experience of Essential Racism as a ‘White’ Male Musician

Nonetheless, the ‘white’ musician KA is specialised in various African music styles and had been excluded from an African music event. He thought this was was *“vreemd”* (strange), for *“Afrikaanse muziek anno nu is natuurlijk veel meer dan een neger op een trommel”* (these days, African music is obviously much more than a negro on a drum) (Interview KA, 3 March 2015[70]). The racial discrimination of a ‘white’ person is unusual in the Netherlands. Since his colour is usually perceived as non-raced in ‘white’ dominated societies (Frankenberg 1993, 1), this racialised confrontation felt *“vreemd”* to KA. ‘White’ people usually experience racial belonging in the Netherlands because ‘whiteness’ is embedded in Dutch culture such as in school text books, beauty standards and politics. According to DiAngelo it is therefore usual for ‘white’ people to experience racial belonging and if they don’t, it is often “very temporary” and “easily avoidable” (2011, 61). KA’s narrative relates to his work and is hence not avoidable but his interpretation of the situation as *“vreemd”* is the result of the situation’s contradiction with his “deeply internalized, largely unconscious sense of racial belonging” (loc. cit.). KA repeatedly expressed a colourblind attitude (loc. cit.[71]). To neglect the relevance of his skin colour and racial dynamics that coincide with the music he engages with, is in line with a colourblind European narrative. It frames the continent -and the Netherlands- “as a space free of ‘race’ (and by implication, racism)” (El-Tayeb 2011). This provides KA -as well as the rest of the ‘white’ Dutch population- with a strategy to not talk about racism and a Dutch *claim of innocence* (Essed and Hoving 2014, 24). KA also noted that if he were to perform with musicians ‘of colour’, the organisers would more easily assume him to be the bandleader because of his skin colour, or that the audience would simply look at him as *“een witte”* (a ‘white’ one) if he were to play with African musicians (loc. cit.[72]). The focus on his skin colour rather than on his musical skills, could be uncomfortable but he mentioned that it is *“geen issue voor mij”* (not an issue for me) (loc. cit.). The privilege of his skin colour obviously helps him to interpret his experience in a light way: “*vreemd”* at most, but not offensive. According to Frankenberg, this is structural advantage is inherent to ‘whiteness’ (1993, 3).

[70] Appendix 9D.
[71] Appendix 9E.
[72] Appendix 9F.

6.2 'White' Fragility and Race Cognizance

Confrontations connected to issues of race include accusations of racism. DiAngelo coined the term 'white' fragility to denote 'white' people's inability to cope with racial stress, such as these accusations. 'White' fragility is relevant to the interview with the 'white' KN. He had been called a racist by a former employee of Surinamese descent who committed fraud (Interview KN, 17 March 2015[73]). KN recalled the experience as *"traumatisch"* (traumatic) since he was aware of stereotypes related to the former employee's cultural background and had let him get away with fraud three or four times before confronting him. The employee's responded that had been accused because he was Surinamese. KN told me that if the employee had been 'white', he would never have waited so long before confronting him. He realised it was *"positieve discriminatie"* (positive discrimination) and that his behaviour could definitively be part of a *"race issue"* (loc. cit.). He did not specify what type *"race issue"* he meant, nor did I ask about it for KN proceeded to another example.

KN also mentioned that sometimes 'black' musicians would accuse him of racism if they would not be included in a public agenda. KN told me it was not connected to racism because the agenda was full of musicians 'of colour' due to the musical focus of the agenda. The agenda was simply limited in space and *"drieduizend"* (three thousand) others had failed to get in (loc. cit.[74]). KN was convinced he was not racist here. When I asked him how he knew this, he said it was related to his *"gevoel"* (feeling) (loc. cit.). He re-enacted the response to his accuser: *"Oh man, come on! Natuurlijk niet! Hoe kom je er bij?"* (Oh man, of course not! What on earth makes you think that?) (loc. cit.). As scholars have shown however, the fact that someone *feels* that they are not acting in a racist manner, does not necessarily mean it that their behaviour is free of racism (Frankenberg 1993; Müller et al. 2007; DiAngelo 2011; Essed and Hoving 2014). This is similar to the dominant Dutch perception that racism only occurs when harm is intended.

Whether KN was racist in his behaviour or not, his defensive reaction relates to DiAngelo's 'white' fragility since he seemed to be unable to cope with racial stress he experienced due to the accusations. KN's reenactment was expressed in raised voice. He sounded offended. His description of the former experience as 'traumatic' also indicates an intolerance to cope with "even a minimum amount of racial stress" (DiAngelo 2011, 54). Therefore, 'white' fragility does not necessarily refer to someone with racist behaviour, but refers to the way in which one responds to racial stress.

I felt suspicious of KN's defensive reaction because he is privileged in his position as a 'white' male gatekeeper in the industry with power to decide who to feature in an agenda and who

[73] Appendix 9G.
[74] Appendix 9H.

to employ. The surroundings in which the interview took place contributed to this since he sat comfortably behind his desk in his private office. It gave him authority and superiority compared to his colleagues in an open plan office. Nevertheless, he portrayed himself as a victim, traumatised by the remarks of his former employee. Of course, the accusation would have been uncomfortable particularly because he took precautions to avoid an accusation: KN let it happen several times before he confronted his employee. Nevertheless, as he was certain of his case the description of the accusation as traumatic seems misplaced. This example also shows his awareness of his 'whiteness'. To accuse a Surinamese person of dishonesty is uncomfortable if one wants to avoid an essentialist racist discourse, because such prejudices regarding Surinamese people exist in the Netherlands. KN wanted to reject this. Of all participants, KN was the only one who explicitly expressed an awareness of his participation in race issues in his statement that his positive discrimination could be part of a *"race issue"* (loc. cit). Frankenberg refers to this as "race cognizance" and relates it to an "awareness of institutional, social and structural factors, rather than confining attention to individual 'prejudice' and discrimination'" (1993, 167). KN's responses in these two examples remind me of an interview in Frankenberg's work with a race cognizant participant who was similarly accused of racism when she knew "she wasn't intending to be racist on that occasion" (1993, 164). Here, Frankenberg highlights the complexity of the participant with "her own racism": apart from her intention, "she knew herself to be, first, racist and second, desirous of not being racist. Third, she was unsure how racist she might [and] Finally she was concerned and sensitive in response to this complicated state of mind" (loc. cit.). This analysis is relevant to KN: he knows his behaviour can be part of a *"race issue"*, but tries not to be racist which can be seen in the fact that he waited before confronting the employee. Furthermore, he remains vague about his racism and repeatedly asked rhetorical questions which seemed to tentatively explore the extent to which his behaviour was racist. His exclamation of *"natuurlijk niet!"* (of course not!) and reliance on his *"gevoel"* (own feeling) in the later example, indicated he knew he was not racist in that instance. His distress, expressed through a raised voice and framing of the accusations as 'traumatic', shows his sensitivity to his complex relationship with race.

6.3 *'They have this Negativity from the Past'*

The majority of 'world music' professionals 'of colour' told me they did not experience racism at work. Perhaps 'racism' in the context of our interviews was considered to be unmistakable and blatant and that I, as a young and 'white' student, would not understand implicit or vague

examples of racism. This is similarly hypothesised by Hondius in her analysis of interviews conducted by her largely 'white' students with Dutch people 'of colour' (Hondius in Essed and Hoving 2014, 281). Nonetheless, some of the responses in the interviews here, are relevant to both overt and covert experiences of racism.

Some artists struggle to move out of 'world music': the music industry seemed to limit their possibilities through the use of particular instruments or language. MU, a successful female artist of African descent said that *"just because you sing in different language, it doesn't have to be* wereldmuziek" but she is nonetheless put into this category by reviewers and bookers before they have listened to her new album (Interview, 19 March 2015[75]). Taylor remarks that "many musics and musicians" are "categorized not by their music but by their race or ethnicity" (Taylor 1997, xix). The author provides the example of Beninoise singer Angelique Kidjo. One of her albums was marketed as an R&B record by her record label in the late nineties, but via reviews of the album Tayler notes that "she is still seen —heard— as an African musician, who by the western music industry's definition makes world music and only world music" (Taylor, McGovern and Radano 2007, 143). This happened to MU. Whereas she previously explored *'wereldmuziek'* in her projects, her *"last album is pop/rock music but the language is still [her mother tongue]"* (Interview, 19 March 2015). She sounded frustrated that she was pigeonholed into a genre when she wanted to move on: *"No. it's not called* wereldmuziek*, because that's where ... I came out from the* wereldmuziek*, I had the last album* wereldmuziek*, but now I want to go [pop/rock]"* (loc. cit.). If one considers the marginal success of 'world music' compared to pop or rock in the Netherlands, one can see that the racialisation of MU and her work impacts her career negatively.

MU made it clear that she did not like to look at structural issues of race and power in music because this was too "*negative"* (Interview MU, 19 March 2015). She emphasised her individual strength: *"if you really believe in yourself, if you believe in what you do ... of course you need to have talent of course, but this [...] makes you successful"* (loc. cit.). I showed her a fragment on 'white' privilege from the Dutch documentary *Our Colonial Hangover* by Sunny Bergman (2014) and asked if this concept could be relevant to 'world music'. She replied defensively:

> MU: "I don't see that way so that's why I don't watch those stupid things on TV, I'm sorry…"
>
> MS: "No no that's ok, of course everyone has a different opinion [...] so that's fine, but I just thought it was helpful [to show the fragment] because it ís something I'm discussing in my research, the whole concept of 'white' privilege."
>
> [...]

[75] Appendix 9I.

> MU: "Yeah, I mean, all those people [in the fragment] ... I mean, like I said, they just have this negativity from the past. You know you don't do that, you just you. you are you. Your past, your father or your mother or whatever, this is not your problem. They are other people than you are so I have to know yóu […] This is about this story about colonisation and this kind of stuff ... I think." (Interview MU, 19 March 2015).

MU did not adopt an explicitly colourblind attitude but nonetheless explicitly evaded issues of race and power and disregarded historical relevance on today's society in her statement (*"your past ... this is not your problem"*). Similar to other participants who applied this strategy, this could be interpreted as a wish to forget about *"the past"* in which racial inequality was formed through *"colonialism",* so that people are simply perceived for their individuality (*"you are you"*). Another motivation for MU's attitude can be related to aforementioned study of Hondius in which she concludes one of the strategies of people 'of colour' in the Netherlands use is to ignore (in Essed and Hoving 2014, 285). She relates this to a study on African Americans where it serves as a "conscious protection" and a way to preserve "individual human dignity" (ibid, 286.). The explanation of these academics could be relevant to MU's response, since the emphasis on her individual strength as a key to her successful career (*"you have to be strong"*, *"really believe in yourself"*) conveyed a heightened sense of dignity. Another interpretation for MU's attitude could be an adoption of evasion of the mainstream discourse in the Netherlands (Essed and Hoving 2014, 10). The lack of discussion in education and mainstream discourse on the complexity of racism in 'white' dominated societies (DiAngelo 2011, 61) can also impact people 'of colour's' understanding of racism, despite their deficient experiences of racial belonging. More likely is that as a person of 'colour', MU was less inclined to confide with a 'white' person (me) on her thoughts about 'white' privilege. During the interview, I frequently sensed resistance when I steered the topic towards issues of race: MU often denied that these had any influence or importance, or said she did not want to be so *"negative"*, or she talked about a different topic altogether (Interview, 19 March 2015). At the time of the interview, I experienced this as a result of our different skin colours and thus privileges but this understanding can be challenged: I felt too uncomfortable to ask about her motivations in case this would come across as persecutory or voyeuristic since this would resonate with historical race discourses.

6.4 *"Think Positive"*: Laugh, Accept and Teach

Discomfort in talking about race was expressed in a different manner in two interviews with

'black' men. Both BM and CN told me of uncomfortable race-related experiences but laughed about these or said they would remain positive if they encountered them (Interview BM, 24 March 2015; Interview CN, 27 March 2015[76]). The frequent laughter and use of positive language, such as *"grappig"* (funny) by CN, seemed discordant with his discomfort when recalling a painful situation. Nonetheless, this could have been employed to make the narration of distressing examples more palatable and power positions more equitable with a 'white' researcher. BM adopted a colour and power-evasive strategy to express a need to counter structural inequality, his personal strategy to *"think positive"*:

> BM: "It's the only way that can make the world better, to see people, not to see colour. And second if you just think about, like, ok, we are all the same and yeah, to see that there is no different in people. [...]if I look at you now even, I see a nice person sitting [laughs] really, so there is nothing that, yeah, I just see péople you know, that's me, somebody that we are from special [...] so yeah, it is not easy... I mean, it is not always easy but you have to accept, you have to accept because I mean, that is how the world been made also. So if you accept that everyday you have to ...[*sic*]."
>
> MS: "Yeah but how do you accept it? yeah I'm curious to ..."
>
> BM: "Yeah well, when I wake up, I just try to think positive ..." (Interview BM, 24 March 2015).

Frankenberg notes that some of the 'white' women she interviewed were not particularly "power-strategic": even though they wanted to challenge racism, they either lacked "motivation" or "ideas about how to do it" (1993, 169). This could be applicable to BM's statement as well: he is aware of unequal global power structures that disadvantage him as a 'black' person (*"it is not easy"*). Perhaps he is aware of the limitations of his colourblind strategy because, in the end, he simply accepts global racial inequality ("*you have to accept because I mean, that how the world has been made"*). He employs personal strategies *("when I wake up, I just try to think positive"*) that might enable him to cope with race-related issues on a daily basis, but, like Frankenberg's women, he 'found neither strategies nor a discursive repertoire' that provided opportunities to 'build on a heightened awareness of racial structuring' to achieve his "stated desire, a society (or a world) that might somehow move beyond racism" (1993, 169). His personal acceptance of *"how the world has been made"* (Interview, 24 March 2015) could thus be explained as "a perceived lack of power to fight racism individually" (Hondius in Essed and Hoving 2014, 286).

Other participants 'of colour' told me they would remain friendly to people after uncomfortable situations and teach them how to behave towards people with dark skin (Interview

[76] Appendix 9J.

MU, 18 March 2015; Interview CN, 27 March 2015[77]). This is in line with a tendency remarked by both Essed (1991) and Lorde (1984) in their work on intersectional racism. As stated by Essed, the duty felt by various of her participants ('black' women) to raise the awareness of racism with 'white' people is because "Whites generally fail to feel responsible for existing race and ethnic relations" (Essed 1991, 271 emphasis in original). Audre Lorde talks about this approach in a critical manner: she points out that this strategy is a vicious circle. If "it is the responsibility of the oppressed to teach the oppressors their mistakes […] The oppressors maintain their position and evade responsibility for their own actions." (Lorde 1984, 1). According to CN, he had held *"gesprekken"* (conversations) with people unaware of the pain they inflicted on others with racist remarks (Interview CN, 1 April 2015). He had done this his *"hele leven"* (whole life), argued that *"voor mij heeft het gewerkt"* (it worked for me) and thought it was "*grappig"* (funny) to see a 'white' person had changed because of his influence (loc. cit.). Over the years, the 'white' person he conversed with became *"milder"* and would take the feelings of others more into account (loc. cit.). CN's strategy sounds more effective than Lorde believed, it seems from CN's example that the 'white' person finally took responsibility for his existing race and ethnic relations even though CN had to make him aware of this responsibility first. Essed allocates various responses to racism under two larger strategies: defensive and constructive approaches (Essed 1990). The former applies to CN since his conversations with people who behave in a racist manner allowed him to challenge racism and defend his identity as a 'black' person. The conversations also gave him an insight into racism and enabled him to develop a more complex understanding of it. He believed *"niet iedereen die racistische dingen [...] doen, [zijn] racistisch"* (not everyone that do racist things, are racists) (Interview CN, 1 April 2015), which reacts against an interpretation of racism as a simplified, invariable phenomenon. Müller et al. consider this fracture between the act and actor as a common trend in the Netherlands and its football culture, where a racist is "assumed to have a fixed and coherent ideological racist belief" (2007, 342). Those who behave in a racist manner often claim they do not intend to be racist and therefore avoid accountability for their acts. The behaviour of these *accidental racists* is emptied of political meaning (ibid., 343). As a result, victims rarely challenge this since they could be denounced as over-sentimental or without humour (ibid. 335). CN's fractured understanding could therefore relate to this common Dutch understanding in which racism is narrowly defined.

6.5 'World Music' Projects as Constructive Strategies against Racism

[77] Appendix 9K.

Besides defensive strategies, Essed identifies constructive strategies to deal with racism. These include ways for discriminated groups to increase their strength and independence (Essed, 1990) and are relevant to the 'world music' projects that CN and ES have set up (Interview ES, 27 March 2015; Interview CN, 1 April 2015[78]). Both participants are male professionals of 'colour' and seek to provide positive experiences for people from their own ethnic communities regarding their ethnic identity. The band that CN leads, initially functioned as a way for the performers (first generation migrants) to relax at weekend and speak their own *"taal"* (language) and make their own *"eigen grapjes"* (own jokes), after a week of *"struggelen om je aan te passen"* (struggling to adapt yourself) in the Netherlands (Interview CN, 1 April 2015). ES' project sought to have an "*open discussie [...] met kinderen over [...] Islam"* (open discussion with children about Islam), which enabled positive experiences with their muslim heritage (Interview ES, 27 April 2015). He commented on the devastating impact of the exclusion of muslim history in schools in the Netherlands on children with muslim heritage: *"z'n ziel breek je dan"* (you break his soul) (loc. cit.). Instead, ES sought to provide a counter-discourse and connect these children with their *"roots"* through music, theatre and education, in order to improve their relationship with their ethnic background (loc. cit.). Both projects seemed successful. In CN's case, his band had *"véél meer optredens [...] korte optredens"* (a lot more performances […] short performances) after a revised business strategy and their contractors would still pay *"de volle pot"* (full price) (loc. cit.). ES' project is relatively new but the first concert series was *"echt super goed bevallen"* (really extremely well received) (Interview ES, 27 March 2015). The success of these projects could lie in the fact that both entrepreneurs are well-informed of how Dutch society functions (both completed Dutch higher education) and are aware of the needs of their own ethnic communities because of personal experiences with their ethnic background and the way this is perceived in the Netherlands. Since the organisers are of the same ethnic background as the communities they seek to empower, issues of representation are less problematic than if the projects would have been set up by 'white' Dutch people.

However, these constructive strategies focus on racism but not on sexism. Both examples were gendered and can hence be less relevant to female members of their communities. CN referred to performers of the group as *"jongens"* (boys), whereas ES continuously used gendered pronouns and refer to members of the audience and performers as *"jongens"* (boys) as well. So while these projects empower men 'of colour' in their confrontations with race issues, it was unclear from the interviews whether this would be the case for women of similar ethnicity. The fact that gender was

[78] Appendix 9L.

taken for granted in the interviews, is related to the idea that masculinity is genderless (Frankenberg 1993, 1). In order for these 'world music' projects to be empowering for women 'of colour' as well, more constructive initiatives that involves their gender would be necessary.

6.6 "*Een Bord voor mijn Kop"* (Oblivious to my Surroundings)

And finally, DF is male, works behind the 'world music' scenes, has *"een kleurtje"* (a little colour) and was born in the Netherlands (Interview DF, 26 March 2015). He used the expression that he sometimes has *"een bord voor mijn kop"* (lit. translation: a plate in front of my head) in work-related contexts (loc. cit.[79]), which means that he is sometimes oblivious to how things he says are perceived. I sensed some humour and pride in the way in which he said it because the saying is usually used to criticise someone's behaviour but this was not the way in which he looked at his oblivion. He said that this attitude might be helpful in 'world music', for he does not need to question himself constantly as to whether he acts in a correct manner (loc. cit.). This would make his too *"angstig"* (scared) to act, he would no longer be able to think *"helder"* (clearheaded) and be *"open"* (loc. cit). DF is clearly self-reflexive and aware of issues of power, but he lies the responsibility of his behaviour with his recipients: *"ze kunnen zich hooguit beledigd voelen en ja, so be it"* (in a worst-case scenario, they can feel offended and yeah, so be it) (loc. cit.). His attitude of *"so be it"* is enabled through a variety of privileges, such as his professional status in the 'world music' sector, male gender and Dutch nationality. He said that he adapts his behaviour abroad but that in the Netherlands, people simply ought to deal with his directness. He seemed to feel entitled to this behaviour in the Netherlands because the *"mores van hier"* (the mores over here) (loc. cit.) includes directness, efficiency and freedom of speech.

According to Essed, a strong sense of freedom of expression in the Netherlands legitimises *entitlement racism* (Essed in European Network against Racism 2013, 62). It has erupted from the belief "that you should be able to express yourself publicly in whichever way you feel like" (loc. cit.). Essed argues that this disregards the impact of (racist) behaviour on others and its "expression is blunt, devoid of shame, careless and self-centred" (ibid., 74). Since this research was conducted in the Netherlands, it is unsurprising that some of these attitudes had resonance in the interviews. DF indicates awareness of his bluntness and indifference to the consequences, but also demonstrates an approval of these characteristics. Furthermore, motivations for his behaviour are focussed on his personal well-being: "*ik wil gewoon open blijven, ik wil niet dat dat terugslaat en dat het me […]*

[79] Appendix 9M.

angstig [maakt]" (I just want to stay openminded, I don't want it to have a backlash and that [...] it's going to make me scared) (Interview DF, 26 March 2015). DF was the sole participant to express a sense of entitlement explicitly which is also indicative of the extend in which DF is "*open",* "*eerlijk"* (honest) and reluctant to tailor his behaviour to particular situations (loc. cit.). The fact that no other participants talked about it so explicitly, could relate to the context of the interview: respondents knew it was conducted for research on race so it probably motivated them to select their words more carefully than usual.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided examples of participants experienced racism and responded to issues of race. Through the work of DiAngelo, Frankenberg, Essed and Hoving, I have argued how these experiences relate to different of issues of race, or to established strategies to cope with racial inequality. These responses varied not only between participants, but also at different moments in the interviews themselves which made it clear that each individual has a personal relationship with issues of race. Often, their responses were complex and layered due to the coincidence of aspects of participants' identity and the ways in which they are privileged or disadvantaged. The silence and vagueness of the Dutch discourse on race contributes to this complexity since ('white') Dutch people are generally not encouraged to think about their personal involvement in racism. There is thus a lack of space in the Netherlands to develop a nuanced racial cognizance, effective discourse and strategies to tackle racial inequality. Some of the participants' reactions related to this larger evasive Dutch tendency, but through the engagement with numerous nationalities in their work, even 'white' respondents generally expressed some racial cognizance in the interviews. Furthermore, some professionals 'of colour' used 'world music' as a (constructive) strategy to tackle racism.

Conclusion

The main aim of this research was to contribute to a critical discourse on race in the Netherlands so that issues of race in even relatively harmless phenomena are more easily acknowledged and strategies to tackle them can be devised. Another goal was to raise awareness regarding issues of race in the 'world music' sector, because these are frequently obscured by emphasis on the creative and positive. Like this, a sense of responsibility of those involved in the sector is downplayed and power dynamics are perpetuated -such as in the marginalisation of the 'non-west' in the general music industry. I hope that this project will enable more discussions in the 'world music' sector concerning race and power and will fill some of the silence around these subjects.

This thesis was enabled through interviews with Dutch 'world music' professionals and participant observation behind the 'world music' scenes since research on this topic is uncommon and up-to-date data is not available. I was also keen to gain insight into the experiences regarding the complex ways in which power manifests itself in daily experiences. In order to process this data, I have used an adaptation of grounded theory and framed the research with a mixture of postcolonial and feminist theory, as well as some musicology sources. Postcolonial, transnational and 'of colour' feminism have been particularly helpful in their emphasis on *coincidence,* reflexivity on my own privileges and my engagement with race issues. The need for a feminist framework has also been of importance since this research concerns feminised, commercialised music and stereotypes of 'world music' audiences are negative and gendered.

I wanted to focus on 'world music' because it is a commercial phenomenon in which music from the 'non-west' -or inspired by the 'non-west'- is marketed. It is often considered a celebration of multiculturalism, a phenomenon that contributes to cultural integration in the Netherlands, which strengthens the nation's reputation as tolerant. However, as a West-European country, the Netherlands is a location with a historic power imbalance between a constructed 'west' and 'non-west', which makes the marketing of this 'other' music politically charged. Although this research is focussed on the Dutch sector, parallels can be drawn to other 'white' dominated 'western' societies in which similar structures are present. Especially since my theoretical framework has relied heavily on Northern-American and European sources concerning racism and 'whiteness', some of the analysis here can be relevant to the music industries in these societies.

Key Dutch ways of dealing with race are to avoid to talk about racism or to deny it. This is

enabled through a structure of pillarisation (hence the tolerant reputation), the construct of the *autochtoon* versus *allochtoon* as a euphemism for race and to enable 'othering' and entitlement racism as a result of a strong sense of freedom of speech. Since the 'world music' sector is part of Dutch society, these discourses were reflected in the sector and interviews. The discourse of racial segregation between the audience, professionals behind the scenes and professional musicians is evident: the gatekeepers in the sector -but also in the wider industry- are largely 'white', male and middle aged. 'World music' is also a category of the 'other', which pigeonholes artists -mostly 'of colour'- , as separate from the wider music industry and opportunities therein.

Music perceived as 'world music' is marginalised in the music industry, in scholarly research and also treated differently in government funding in the Netherlands. Although concrete evidence is missing for the latter, speculations by participants and general trends and research on (performing) arts funding have lead me to argue that 'world music' is frequently politicised rather than appreciated for its musical or creative qualities. 'World music' is perceived to impact society beneficially but is associated with development aid. Participants too, have highlighted the benefits of 'world music' but then expressed nuances. I have challenged these positive associations since they tap into a power-evasive discourse in which the positive is foregrounded such as in colourblind attitudes and ethical or charitable side projects. I have argued that these impressions are superficial multicultural engagements and noted their connection to 'white' privilege and other wider Dutch racial issues.

Furthermore, I have analysed six interview extracts that highlight the diverse ways in which 'world music' professionals encounter racism and deal with issues of race in their work. I have identified the role of 'white' privilege, 'white' fragility and entitlement racism in these examples, but also race cognizance, defensive and constructive strategies against racism and occasions in which my privileges may have influenced the interview process and analysis. The personal relationship of the participants with race -also influenced by various other tropes- has been emphasised.

On a more positive note, 'white' people are generally not encouraged in a 'white' dominant society to develop race cognizance regarding their involvement in racism, but the engagement of 'white' professionals in 'world music', has sometimes enabled them to reconsider dominant ways of thinking and develop awareness regarding their privileges. Furthermore, some participants 'of colour' use 'world music' projects as a constructive strategy against racism, that empower their ethnic group.

Although critical of the (positive) politicisation of 'world music', this research also argues to

reconsider political and social engagements of the category. This regards responsibility and awareness of race issues, since these are usually downplayed. If 'world music' is meant to function as a counter-discourse for race, the sector first needs to critically evaluate how it engages with racism itself and seek ways to avoid functioning as a (marginal) label for the 'other' in the Dutch music industry. To return to the title of this research, 'white' professionals have played an important role in the construction and continuation of the sector which explains some of the silence on race in the sector since 'whiteness' is considered to be neutral and privileged.

I have some suggestions that could instigate changes in the sector, although further research would be necessary to work out practicalities and some professionals may already be experimenting with similar ideas. Space ought to be created at networking events to discuss issues of race in 'world music' so that self-reflection is encouraged which could generate alternatives to existing power-relations and larger dynamics in 'white' dominated societies. Affirmative action might also be necessary as a temporary strategy to address historic and current power imbalances that excludes or silences voices 'of colour'. Such action could provide opportunities for people 'of colour' (including women) to move into gatekeeper positions in the general and 'world' music sectors thus paving the way for the Dutch music industry to become more diverse and enable it to unsettle existing (racial and gendered) power structures.

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Appendix 1- 9

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