Let's Go Dutch: A Case Study of Multicultural Discourse in the Netherlands

by

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Abstract: Recent years have seen a rise in discourse regarding a perceived 'backlash' against multiculturalism. Yet despite this backlash researchers note that multiculturalism perseveres, albeit under different headings. The Netherlands in particular has become infamous for it's about face from multiculturalism after the deaths of Pim Fortuyn and Theo Van Gogh. This thesis is a case study of Dutch citizens that aims at discovering how they interpret multiculturalism and how it may differ with commonly practiced policies and academic rhetoric. The results of the interview process establish that this group of citizens conceptualizes multiculturalism as largely unrelated to government-granted group differentiated rates. These results illuminate a difference between multiculturalism as a category of practice and as a category of analysis and may help analyze multicultural relations between citizens in countries with or without these policies.

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It takes a village to write a thesis, a village of family, friends, and folk-dancers. I would especially like to thank Hanke Nijman and Nel Van der Laan for their help in conceptualizing and implementing this project. I would also like to thank Lynda Hoekstra, the director of Paloina, without whom this project would have been nothing. I want to thank the members of Paloina for entertaining a crazy American with many questions. Finally I want to thank my parents, my Laura, my Susi, my Taylor, and my Jacob for entertaining and aiding me throughout this entire process.

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Introduction

The "backlash" to multiculturalism has grown infamous. From articles touting its death in Britain's *Daily Mail* and *The Economist*, to anti-multicultural rhetoric from politicians across the board in varying European countries (Germany, Britain, the Netherlands, and Denmark to name a few), multiculturalism no longer has the social salience that it once did. Researchers such as Jacobs and Rea point out that there has been no paradigmatic change; for the most Europe retains its commitment to diversity[1]. Instead of "multiculturalism", legislation is labeled as "diversity policy" or "minority rights". The rhetoric surrounding the backlash has resulted in newspaper articles, journal articles, and scholarly books all devoted to the topic.

In their compilation of studies on the "backlash" in <u>The Backlash to Multiculturalism: European Discourses, Policies, and Practices</u>, Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf note the political moments, social events, and policies that have resulted in the aftermath of the turn from multiculturalism. They regard the about-face as a result of the rhetoric of instrumentalists such as Paul Scheffer and his echo-inducing article, "The Multicultural Drama". Politicians, of course, play a role in the drama as well. In Scheffer's native country of the Netherlands the four political players include pseudo-pop culture sensation Geert Wilders, "Iron" Rita Verdonk; the now expat, Ayaan Hirsi-Ali, and the martyr, Pim Fortuyn. The death of Pim Fortuyn is one of the key societal events that the two authors expound as being monumental in the backlash against multiculturalism. Despite the fact that Fortuyn was murdered by an environmental extremist, his death raised questions about the validity and effectiveness of the Dutch government, resulting in the questioning of its multicultural policies, among other things. Because of events in the

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[1] Dirk Jacobs and Andrea Rea, "The End of National Models? Integration Courses and Citizenship Trajectories in Europe", *EUSA Conference*: 2007, 1-16.

Netherlands such as the death of Pim Fortuyn, the murder of independent film-maker Theo Van Gogh, and the implementation of stricter immigration and integration policies which seem specifically designed to impede newcomers from the Middle East and Asia, the Netherlands is now one of the most infamous cases of the multicultural backlash.

In a research study published in the European Sociological Review in 2011, Michael Savelkoul, Peer Scheepers, Jochem Tolsma, and Louk Hagendoorn discussed the results of their testing intergroup contact theories in the Netherlands, to better interpret the intercultural contact between Muslims and non-Muslims. The information, provided by the Social and Cultural Developments survey in the Netherlands in 2005 and 2006, illustrated "that the relative outgroup size [of Muslims] induces both intergroup friendship contact as well as perceptions of ethnic threat" and "that contact with colleagues belonging to ethnic minority groups reduces negative attitudes towards Muslims and mediates the effect of individual-level determinants on anti-Muslim attitudes."[2] While the results from the data indicated the validity of both intergroup contact and ethnic competition theories to a certain extent, the authors suggested that further research at the individual level of understanding intergroup contact was needed.[3]

Such studies have been criticized before by academics such as Brubaker, who argue that the category 'Muslim' is problematic. As he notes in an article on studies related to 'Muslims' in Europe, "Muslim is both a category of analysis and a category of social, political, and religious practice; and the heavy traffic between the two, in both directions, means that we risk using pre-constructed categories of journalistic, political, or religious common sense as our categories of

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[2] Michael Savelkoul, Peer Scheepers, Jochem Tolsma, and Louk Hagendoorn, "Anti-Muslim Attitudes in the Netherlands: Tests of Contradictory Hypotheses Derived from Ethnic Competition Theory and Intergroup Contact Theory", *European Sociological Review* 27 (2010), 741-758.
[3] Savelkoul et al. "Anti-Muslim Attitudes", 751.

analysis."[4] Categories of practice versus categories of analysis are intriguing problems in that there is sometimes a divergence between the way that academics and 'lay people' refer to and think of concepts and ideologies. As Brubaker notes in the article previously mentioned, the interpretation of the category 'Muslim' changes based on self-identification, other-identification, and intra-group self-identification.[5]

Doubling back to multiculturalism and its purported 'backlash', considerations about categories of practice and analysis, and intra-group identification and analysis raises the question: how do everyday citizens think of multiculturalism? This question is the central question of this thesis. This is no sociological study of 'why', but rather a study to examine the conceptualizations of multiculturalism within a specific group of people in the Netherlands. This thesis aims to identify these conceptualizations and relate them to themes present within academic discourses on multiculturalism to analyze a possible divergence between scholarly and popular interpretations.

Because of the 'commonplace' aspect of this project, Michael Billig's *Banal Nationalism* has been highly informative regarding the project design. I have attempted to mirror his discussion of the discursive reproduction of the system of nation-states, the hallmark of banal nationalism, by examining conversational interviews for codes and markers that refer to multiculturalism. I have defined these multicultural themes in their own section, much as Billig notes the hallmarks of nationalism in his discussion of national identity and language.

Unlike Billig, however, this thesis is a case study of a specific, and small, group of people. The group in question is the Dutch folk-dance ensemble, Paloina, of Amsterdam. I chose

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[4] Rogers Brubaker, "Categories of Analysis and Categories of Practice: A Note on the Study of Muslims in European Countries of Immigration"*Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies*:36 (2012), 1-8.
[5] Ibid., 4.

to study a folk-dance group both for the relevance of folk-dance to this project (discussed in Chapter 2) and because of my personal contact with them, a facilitative matter in regards to the construction of this project.

In regards to differentiating between multiculturalism as a category of analysis and as a category of practice, a section of this thesis will be entirely devoted to identifying themes of multiculturalism. These themes will be derived from multicultural policies and practices, interpreted by various scholars including Will Kymlicka, Steven Vertovec, Anna Triandafyllidou, and Susanne Wessendorf. I will include interpretations and definitions of multiculturalism which vary from each other in the hopes of creating a more all-encompassing set of themes. I will then discuss the relevance of folk-dance to issues such as political ideologies. The interviews conducted will be comprised of questions which aim at eliciting answers which regard the various identified themes of multiculturalism. Upon completion these interviews will be coded for theme identifiers (see Chapter 3, Section I). I will then compare which themes the interviewees identified to the complete set of themes established in order to better understand what the interviewees conceive multiculturalism to mean.

Chapter 1: Multiculturalism

Section I: Definitions

"Multiculturalism", both the word and the practice, sparks heated debate. At this point we are aware of the purported 'backlash' against multiculturalism[6]. However, it is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss the potential backlash against multiculturalism. Instead, to begin an analysis of multicultural discourse I will first attempt to define the word itself.

"Despite the 'ism' suggesting a distinctive ideological canon, multiculturalism is rather difficult to pin down."[7] With this in mind I will highlight three different interpretations of multiculturalism, in an attempt to represent this diverse set of practices, policies, and rhetoric into concise representative themes.

As a system of representation, multiculturalism is a method which governments use to grant representative and self-governing rights to national minorities, indigenous people, and immigrant populations. As Will Kymlicka notes in <u>Multicultural Odysseys,</u> multiculturalism often denotes both positive and negative rights.[8] The rights covered by international treaties associated with multiculturalism (or as they are more often coined "diversity representation" or "cultural rights"). This list is not an exhaustive list of the rights for self-government or representation included by Kymlicka, but is rather an overview of the various rights accorded to indigenous populations or natives (N), national minorities (M), and immigrant groups (I).

-recognition of land rights/title (N)

-recognition of self-government rights (N)

-guarantees of representation/consultation in the central government (N)

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[6] Steven Vertovec and Sussanne Wessendorf, ed.,*The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies, and Practices*, (New York: Routledge, 2010).

[7] Vertovec and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash*, 2.

[8] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 12.

-support ratification for international instruments on indigenous rights (N)

-federal or quasi-federal territorial autonomy (M)

- public funding of minority language universities/schools/media (M)

- the inclusion of ethnic representation/sensitivity in the mandate of public media or

media   licensing (I)

-exemptions from dress-codes, Sunday-closing legislation etc. (I)

-affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups. (I)[9]

Kymlicka also notes the reciprocal relationship between liberalism and multiculturalism.

Both civil rights and human rights, struggles against the legacies of racial and ethnic hierarchy,

can be said to serve as inspiration for a more localized interpretation of differentiated group

rights, "[j]ust as decolonization inspired the struggle for racial segregation, so racial segregation

inspired the struggle for minority rights."[10] Multiculturalist policies often result in group-

differentiated rights of administration and practice. These practices often promote traditions

perceived and regarded as primordial and authentic, and representative of the true form of that

group's culture. "These authentic practices are said to be the essential identity of the group."[11]

According to Kymlicka, multiculturalism is a system of policies at the state or international level

which promote self-governing rights, rights to practice traditional lifestyle, and the preservation

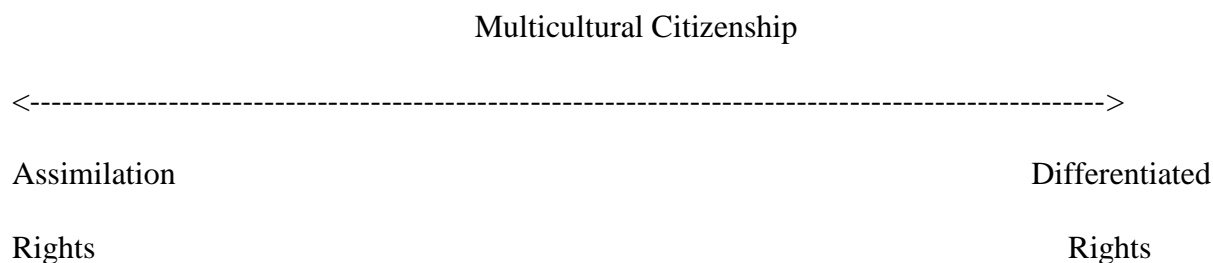of cultural practices deemed authentic and representative of that group.

Multiculturalism can also be interpreted as a system of citizenship and integration. Anna

Triandafyllidou, Tariq Modood, and Nasar Meer in their book "European Multiculturalisms:

Cultural, Religious, and Ethnic Challenges" discuss multiculturalism's defining role in

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[9] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys*, 45-50.
[10] Ibid., 62
[11] Ibid., 68

citizenship and integration regimes. This form of multiculturalism regards its beneficiaries as mostly post-immigration groups, because many multiculturalist policies target newly arrived immigrant groups which are perceived as having cultural or religious traits inherently different from that of the receiving country. However, the authors note that because multiculturalism is part of a range of citizenship policies it is often 'polysemic' in that there are a variety of ways the term can be interpreted.[12] In this regard multiculturalism forms part of a spectrum of citizenship regimes which can grant more differentiated rights of representation or which can emphasize the necessity of assimilation, yet still fall under the heading "multicultural". For example, the spectrum might look a little like this,

Multicultural Citizenship

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Assimilation   Differentiated

Rights   Rights

Countries which emphasize only linguistic integration, but allow groups to self-govern and provide institutions and funding for differentiated group activities, representation, and self-government would fall farther to the right. Countries which emphasize complete integration; linguistic, moral, and behavioral would fall farther to the left, and would be considered less multicultural. It may seem counter-intuitive, but countries such as Belgium are insistent that new

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[12] Anna Triandafyllidou, Tariq Modood, and Nasar Meer, introduction to *European Multiculturalisms: Cultural, Religious, and Ethnic Challenges* by Triandafyllidou et al. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 4.

immigrants assimilate both linguistically and behaviorally, but also emphasize the preference for groups to retain their cultural traditions and traits to maintain a truly diverse society.

The policy of *inburgering* in Belgium is also coupled with a diversity policy which aims at streamlining the integration of newcomers into Belgium while also maintaining cultural diversity. The policy applies a targeted approach to immigrant groups and allocates funding and resources. This policy must be understood within the Belgian framework as a *cordon sanitaire* against the perceived encroachment of French language and culture upon the Dutch/Flemish language and culture. This diversity policy is meant not only to protect the newly arrived immigrant groups, but to also provide protection for the Flemish portion of Belgium.[13]

The Netherlands, on the other hand, would fall farther towards the left, assimilationist end of the spectrum. The current integration policy of the Netherlands is directed towards non-Western countries, and is exhibited in the list of countries whose nationals are exempt from the test. These countries include the United States, Canada, European Union states, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan.[14] The immigration test itself must be taken in the home country and costs roughly three hundred Euros[15], not including the scarce study materials which might be needed. Furthermore, the test is administered in Dutch, and the language must be fully mastered before entering the country. The citizenship test and study film, *Naar Nederland* emphasize the necessity of leaving behind one's former culture and embracing tolerance, secularism, and

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[13] Eva Ersbøll, Dora Kostakapoulou, and Ricky van Oers, *A Re-definition of Belonging? Language and Integration Tests in Europe* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010), 4.
[14] Dirk Jacobs, "The End of National Models".
[15] "Dutch Civic Integration Abroad Leaflet", 2011. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Government of the Netherlands.
http://english.ind.nl/nieuws/2013/newfeerateswitheffectfrom1february2013.aspx?cp=111&cs=38
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gender-equality, which are all characterized as being typically Dutch.[16] These qualities make the Dutch case lie towards the assimilationist end of the spectrum of integration and immigration practices, and stand in contrast to the cultural diversity promoting of Belgium.

Regardless of its various connotations and interpretations, Triandafyllidou et al. describe the widely accepted definition of multiculturalism to be "the political accommodation by the state and/or dominant group of all minority cultures defined first and foremost by references to race, ethnicity, or religion, and additionally, but more controversially by reference to other group-defining characteristics such as nationality and aboriginality."[17]

In their book on the backlash against multiculturalism, Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf also note the difficulties of pinning a definition to multiculturalism. However, instead of attempting to define the term in one sentence, they describe eight different aspects which might be included in the various geographic and ideological interpretations of multiculturalism. These eight different points include;

-Public recognition (support for ethnic minority organizations, facilities, and activities)

-Education (consideration for dress-codes, gender-specific issues, mother-tongue teaching)

-Social Services (restructuring and retraining for delivering culturally sensitive practices)

-Public Materials (state-sponsored information provided in multiple languages)

-Law (cultural exceptions to laws, oaths on other sacred books, protection from discrimination)

-Religious Accommodation (permission and support for places of worship, time off)

[16] *Naar Nederland* English language translation. Part I. YouTube Video, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6r61CXkq0HE.
[17] Ibid., 5.

-Food (allowance of ritual slaughter, provision of prescribed foods in public institutions)

-Broadcasting/Media (provision of minority media, prevention of stereotyping)[18]

While Kymlicka highlights the importance of the state-level system and international treaties and norms, and Triandafyllidou et al. emphasize citizenship and integration practices, Vertovec and Wessendorf note the multiplicity of levels, systems, policies, and interpretations. Their explanation of multiculturalism encompasses a great variety of mechanisms, and in choosing to not define the word they have noted the interpretive/polysemic nature of it.

However, there are a few implications of multiculturalism not discussed in these three interpretations. Firstly is the dichotomy of the private and public aspect of cultural representation. While institutions across the board are supposed to help maintain traditional practices, or help groups integrate into society, there is a variation across countries as to whether cultural maintenance is a private or a public matter. Research suggests that in Europe the predominant feeling is that cultural maintenance is best kept at home (within families or communities).[19]

While multicultural policies may seem to be entirely devoted to minorities (native, immigrant or otherwise) they imply an interaction between both the dominant and non-dominant portions of society. Within the multicultural vision of plural societies there are two contrasting models; the melting pot model, and the multicultural model. The melting pot model includes a dominant group, which is relatively homogenous, and multiple non-dominant groups, which can

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[18] Vertovec and Wessendorf, *The Multicultural Backlash*, 3.
[19] Fons J.R. Van de Vijver, Seger M. Breugelmans, Saskia R. G. Schalk-Soekar, "Multiculturalism: Construct Validity and Stability",*Convergence of Cross-cultural and Intercultural Research* , *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 32 (2007): 93-104.

either be absorbed into the dominant group or stay apart.[20] The multicultural model includes a larger society, with institutions that accommodate the interests of various equal ethnic groups.[21] In both of these models the emphasis is on *interaction* between either the dominant and non-dominant groups, or between each of the ethnocultural groups.

This contact can take different forms. John W. Berry in his article on intercultural relations describes three different hypotheses; the multicultural hypothesis, the contact hypothesis, and the integration hypothesis.[22] The hypotheses are defined as follows:

Multiculturalism hypothesis-suggests that when people are secure in their own identities they are more accepting of those who are different from them.

Integration hypothesis- those who are doubly engaged with both cultures (dominant and non-dominant) receive support and resources from both and are competent in dealing with both cultures.

Contact hypothesis- prejudice may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals.[23]

The final form of multiculturalism I wish to discuss is the "3S" model, which refers to saris, samosas, and steel drums[24] as representative of a layman's view of multiculturalism. In this interpretation, multiculturalism is "characterized as a feel-good celebration of ethnocultural diversity, encouraging citizens to acknowledge and embrace the panoply of customs, traditions,

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[20] John W. Berry, "Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies: Research derived from Canadian Multiculturalism Policy", *Canadian Ethnic Studies 43/44* (2011,2012): 6.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Berry, "Intercultural Relations",12-16.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, "After Multiculturalism" *Political Quarterly* 72 (2001), 47-56.

music, and cuisine that exist in a multiethnic society."[25] In this respect multiculturalism is not predominantly referred to or thought of as a form of self-government or differentiated rights for various peoples, but rather as a societal frame in which there are diverse cultural products available for consumption; be they food, music, or other entertainment.

Additionally, multiculturalism has an insidious relationship with what Brubaker terms *groupism*, or "the tendency to take discrete, bounded groups as basic constituents of social life...to which interest and agency can be attributed...as if they were internally homogeneous, externally bounded groups".[26] Each of the above interpretations includes constituent groups to which multicultural policies apply differentiated rights and autonomy. While ethnicity, race, and nationality have all been justifiably critiqued as categories of analysis by Brubaker, Calhoun, and company[27], it is important to note that Kymlicka's three categories of indigenous populations, immigrants, and national minorities are also equally contentious. As Anath de Vidas and Odele Hoffman note in their study of multiculturalism in Latin America, the monikers applied to groups in many cases do not reflect the perceived identity of the group members themselves. "The daily reality of these groups indicates other possible internal, sometimes even intersecting, kinds of categorizations which, far from naturalizing the 'Indian' and 'Black' categories in fact reveal place-based social identifications."[28] Despite a possible lack of identification or even proper group representation in regards to these labels, they are not, as Michael Billig notes, haphazard. "Not only do they reflect political stances, but these stances are articulated by means

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[25] Will Kymlicka,"Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future", (paper presented at the seventh plenary meeting of the Migration Policy Institute, Berlin, Germany, November, 2011).
[26] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 8.
[27] See Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*,"Neither Individualism nor Groupism: A Reply to Craig Calhoun", and Craig Calhoun, "Belonging in the Cosmopolitan Imaginaries".
[28] Anath de Vidas and Odele Hoffmann. "Beyond Reified Categories: Multidimensional Identifications Among 'Black' and "Indian' Groups in Colombia and Mexico", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39, (2012): 1.

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of common-sense sociological ideas about 'peoples', 'nations', and 'identities'."[29] There are

political, sociological, and practical reasons for referring to groups as indigenous, Muslim, white,

and all the rest. In this way multiculturalism often reifies ideas about national identity, mirroring

the discursive reproduction of nations in nationalist rhetoric.

Authenticity is also at issue in regards to multiculturalism. As Kymlicka noted,

multiculturalism regards the groups which it addresses as being "authentic". Authenticity,

however, is just as difficult to define as multiculturalism. In their article, "Authentication: Hot

and Cool", Erik and Scott Cohen identify two forms of authentication. Cool authentication is "a

single, explicit, often formal or even official, performative (speech) act, by which the

authenticity of an object, site, event, custom, role, or person is declared to be original, genuine,

or real, rather than a copy, fake, or spurious."[30] Multicultural policies which give rights or

privileges to certain groups regarded as representative of the entire community have been

officially validated as authentic, and in this context are coolly authenticated. Hot authentication

on the other hand is an "immanent, reiterative, informal performative process of creating,

preserving, and reinforcing an object's, site's, or event's authenticity"[31] based on belief, rather

than proof. Hot authentication is closely related to existential authentication, "a state of being

associated with having a sense of one's own identity".[32] In this sense identifying oneself as a

member of a national or ethnic group is a form of hot authentication, because it relies on personal

belief, and not necessarily on evidence or proof.

[29] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: SAGE Publications, 1995), 65.
[30] Erik Cohen and Scott A. Cohen, "Authentication: Hot and Cool" *Annals of Tourism Research* 39, (2012),1298.
[31] Ibid.,1300.
[32] Ibid.,1302.

Considering these four interpretations of multiculturalism, let us concisely summarize everything into a manageable interpretation for the purposes of this thesis. Firstly, multiculturalism is a means of representation and self-government. This can take the form of both positive and negative rights, special privileges, and publicly funded institutions and organizations. Secondly, multiculturalism denotes a type of citizenship policy or integration trajectory. Multicultural practices in this arena insist upon some amount of integration, usually linguistic, but also emphasize the preservation of cultural traditions. Thirdly, because multiculturalism in its various forms regards its recipients as cultures, nations, and minorities, there is a direct implication of differentiation between a dominant group without group differentiated rights and a non-dominant group in need of them. The traditions which distinguish these groups are characterized as essential and authentic. Interaction between differentiated non-dominant groups and dominant ones take varying forms with varying degrees of acceptance or hostility, depending on the circumstances under which they occur. These cultural interactions may only occur in a society which is constituted by various nations, ethnies, and peoples. Some intercultural contact may be entirely based on the consumption of entertainment or commodities and constitute the 3S form of multiculturalism.

Section II: Identifying Themes

The analysis portion of this thesis is a type of discourse analysis in which I identify the themes of multiculturalism and their occurrence within interviews with folk-dancers via certain code words or phrases. These themes are derived in different manners; document-led, practice-led, and interviewee-led. That is to say, themes are derived from the academic definitions previously

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discussed, from the policies in practice which are discussed, and from phrases and ideas

commonly referred to by the interview respondents.[33]

Considering the previous section, we can establish multiple themes of multiculturalism. I

have identified these themes as the following:

-authenticity

-tradition

-people as groups

-intercultural contact

-self government

-right to self-expression

-assimilation

In the methodology section I will return to these themes, and identify interviewee-led themes. I

will then identify the code words and phrases which refer to these themes

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[33] For further explanation see the chapter on Methodology.

Chapter 2: The Relevance of Folk Dance

Section I: Definitions and Parameters

Much like multiculturalism, attempts to define 'folk', whether it be in dance or in music, have been fraught with complications. Many of the definitions still popular today were conceptualized at the end of the nineteenth century, and focus entirely on the character of nations as something real and tangible, "the term folk dance is applied to any form of dance which has survived as a local or national tradition".[34] Yet as Theresa Buckland illustrates in her article "Definitions of Folk Dance: Some Explorations", while definitions of folk-dance have progressed from rural/racial prototypes to more anthropological definitions which seek to define folk across continents and centuries, these definitions have created certain parameters by which we may understand what folk is perceived to be.

The most defining feature of folk is its popular aspect. Merriam Webster defines folk as being "a group of kindred tribes", "a great proportion of the members of a people", and "people, generally".[35] These descriptions reference the widely accepted characterization that folk is of the people. Within folkloric academia, folk dance is referred to as "vernacular dance" which is part of "the great tradition of a given society".[36] Both the terms 'vernacular' and 'great' refer to folk dance's widespread practice. However, because of this overarching sense of commonality, some authors have noted other aspects which characterize folk.

Both A.L. Lloyd and A.E. Green have classified folk as directly opposing 'classical'. Lloyd defined classical as "music devised in a study by an individual, and set down by him on paper in immutable form, intended for performance through the medium of professional

[34] Douglas Kennedy, *Chamber's Encyclopaedia* (London, George Newnes:1950)

[35] Merriam Webster, "Folk" definition, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/folk

[36] J.W. Kealiinohomoku, "Folkdance" in *Folklore and Folklife, an Introduction* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 1972): 381-404.

interpreters in a special hall at a given time for the diversion of an assembly of passive

listeners."[37] This dichotomy proposes that folk music is learned "primarily through imitation of

performers"[38], that it is performed via a medium of amateur musicians in an area of diverse

function for a group of active listeners who may also join in the performance. Whereas classical

music involves a niche group of professional composers and musicians, folk involves anyone

who can pick up a mandolin. Repeatedly within these conceptualizations, folk is reified as

common, widespread, or popular.

However, there are also certain dichotomies within folk dance which have special

pertinence to this particular case study. The first of these if the distinction between geographical

areas in regards to the maintenance of tradition. In 1935 Elise Van der Ven-Ten Bensel wrote of

three distinct folk-dance practices in Europe, "firstly, as seen in the living folk dance of Eastern

Europe, secondly, in the dying folk dance of Central Europe, and thirdly, in the revived folk

dance of North-West Europe."[39] This distinction between East and West in regards to living and

revived traditions was characteristic of folk-dance discourse well into the 1970's. In 1968 this

distinction surfaced again in Felix Hoerburger's much discussed contribution "Once Again: On

the Concept of 'Folk Dance'". Hoerburger argues that there are two primary existences of folk-

dance. The first, or First Existence, is characterized as "an integral part of the life of a

community" which is learned in a "natural, functional way."[40] Second Existence dance, on the

other hand, is "no longer an integral part of community life...as an occupation of [their] leisure

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[37] A.L. Lloyd, "Towards Distinctions Between 'Popular' and 'Folk': A Bit of History", *Club Folk* (March/April 1970): 8-11.
[38] Theresa Buckland, "Definitions of Folk Dance: Some Explorations", *Folk Music Journal* 4 (1983): 325.
[39] Ibid., 316.
[40] Felix Hoerburger, "Once Again: On the Concept of 'Folk Dance'", *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 20 (1968): 30-32.

time; as a hobby; as a sport..."[41] While Hoerburger notes that his distinction is not a value-added characterization, his evaluation of first and second existence dance typifies the distinction between living dance and dance which has been brought back to life that Ven-Ten Bensel noted thirty years before. While in 2001 Andriy Nahachewsky created a more complex method for differentiating between living and revived dancing[42], Hoerburger's contributions remain the dominant background theory in attempting to distinguish between different existences of traditional dance.

Taking into consideration the emphasis on folk's popular or ubiquitous quality, and the academic distinctions between first and second existence or living and revived tradition, it is possible to note a distinction not unlike that between scholarly and popular discourses. In a similar manner to the distinction between categories of analysis and categories of practice, the aforementioned authors distinguish between scholarly, as studious, professional, and revived; and popular, as imitated, amateur, and alive.

In spite of the stark contrast implied by the dichotomy of first and second existence dance, the complexities of dance revival and dance "in the field" encompass a dynamic interplay between local folk dance, state-sponsored folk dance groups, and the elite directors of such ensembles. In his book *Choreographic Politics*, Anthony Shay discusses the push and pull of authenticity in relation to folk dance. As illustrated in the chapter on multiculturalism, authenticity is an important factor in regards to granting rights for group differentiated practices.[43] Shay, however, notes that within the field of state-sponsored folk dance ensembles authenticity may or may not be an integral force in the production and choreographic project. For

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[41] Ibid., 31.
[42] Andriy Nahachewsky, "Once Again: On the Concept of 'Second Existence Folk Dance'" *Yearbook For Traditional Music* 33 (2001): 17-28.
[43] See Chapter 1 Section 1, Pg. 6 of this thesis.

example, between two Eastern European state folk dance companies, in a geographic area where folk dance is purported to be "alive", the Croatian company, LADO (The Ensemble of Folk Dances and Songs of Croatia) and the now defunct Soviet folk dance group, The Moiseyev Dance Company, treat authenticity very differently. LADO is "truly devoted to the inclusion of authentic elements of traditional life" while the Moiseyev Dance Company typifies what is known as "character dance", a form of ballet that mimics folk in some movements and costuming, but is overall still a form of ballet.[44] Their directors, Zvonko Ljevakovic and Igor Moiseyev, exemplify two interpretations of traditions; essentialism and particularism. Essentialism refers to "the phenomenon of using uniformly produced costumes in matching colors, generalized orchestral tonal quality to cover the purported musical output of an entire country, and a series of steps, movements, and choreographic strategies to represent an essentialized nation."[45] Particularism "represents the use of as many minute and authentic details of movement, costuming, and music as possible in order to emphasize how distinct and particular the various regions...of a specific country can be."[46] This range of distinct local identity versus homogenized stylizing is similar to the distinction between multicultural group differentiated rights on the one hand, and assimilation to dominant group practices on the other. The overlap of the theme of authenticity also makes folk dance highly relevant to discussions about maintaining group traditions and practices.

Section II: Folk Dance and the State

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[44] Anthony Shay, *Choreographic Politics: State Folk Dance Companies, Representation, and Power*, (Middletown, Wesleyan University Press: 2002), 15.
[45] Ibid., 14.
[46] Ibid.

As illustrated by Shay's discussion of the Moiseyev Dance Company and LODA, folk dance has been an integral piece of national cultural preservation and state building projects. From Spain to Hungary, and the United States, folk dance has played a major role in nation branding, civil society development, and integration.

As Mary Taylor points out in her study of the *tanchaz* movement of Hungary, folk dance groups can form a crucial part of the development of associational civil society within various political regimes. Calhoun describes civil society as "the capacity of a political community to organize itself independent of the specific direction of state power"[47] while Walzer explains it to be "the space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks--formed for the sake of family, faith, interest, and ideology--that fill this space."[48] For associational life, the prime component of civil society according to both definitions, debates about culture and civic cultivation are key.[49] Hungary itself is a prime example of the power of associational life in liberalizing states. Yet it is not enough that public life exists, a necessary condition for civil society to have an impact upon the state is for it to "provide a discourse about shared societal concerns that is both rational/critical and influential."[50] While Taylor evaluates the various ways that folk-dance has been incorporated into civil society in Hungary over the past century, it is enough to say that groups of individuals who come together to preserve and perform folk dance have constituted state-sponsored efforts of cultural preservation, such as the Soviet era Culture Houses, but they have also proved to be a part of public society which engages its participants in meaningful political exchange. Taylor notes that "the *tanchaz* movement emerged through

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[47] Craig Calhoun, "Civil Society and the Public Sphere", *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society* (2011): 270.
[48] Michael Walzer, "The Idea of Civil Society", *Dissent* 38.2 (1991): 1.
[49] Mary N. Taylor, *The Politics of Culture: Folk Critique and Transformation of the State in Hungary* (Dissertation, City University of New York: 2008): 5.
[50] Calhoun, "Civil Society", 276.

projects of cultivation that occupied various positions vis-á-vis the 'liberalizing' Hungarian state within international conditions promoting a turn toward folk revival."[51]

Folk dance has not only been a part of national cultural preservation and liberalization, but is also part of schemes of nation branding. One of the most widely known examples of dance in relation to nation branding is the case of flamenco in Spain. Flamenco originally comes from the Andalusian *gitanos* or gypsies, who migrated to the area sometimes in the late fifteenth century. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, flamenco remained a fringe diversion, typified by gypsies perceived as "Others", and a few Spaniards who dabbled in the debauchery associated with gypsy lifestyle. However, as radio became an increasingly popular medium, the song style associated with flamenco, stylized and intricate guitar solos accompanied by mournful song and dance, became more popular.[52] After the Spanish Civil War and years of autarky after World War II, Spain's tourism minister, Manuel Fraga, led a campaign of promoting Spain as a sunny, beach paradise where the tired soldiers of northern and western Europe could relax.[53] Flamenco was adopted as part of the tourism program, partially for its pre-existing popularity within Spain, and partially because the area of Andalucia required little infrastructural development to become a tourist destination.[54] Because of this tourism campaign flamenco is now widely regarded as "Spanish" folk-dance despite not only its *gitano* origins, but also in spite of its concentration of popularity in primarily one region of Spain.

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[51] Taylor, *The Politics of* Culture, 172.

[52] Pamela Ann Caltabiano, "Embodied Identities: Negotiating the Self Through Flamenco Dance", *Anthropology Theses* (2009): 5.

[53] Sandi Holgun, "'National Spain Invites You': Battlefield Tourism During the Spanish Civil War", *The American Historical Review* 110 (2005), DOI: 10.1086/ahr.110.5.1399.

[54] Neal Moses Rosendorff, "Be El Caudillo's Guest: The Franco Regime's Quest for Rehabilitation and Dollars After World War II via the Promotion of US Tourism to Spain", *Diplomatic History* 30.3 (2006): 367-407.

Folk dance also constitutes an international system of civic groups which function within the parameters of the nation-state system. In fact, the global organization which oversees folk-dance festivals, providing and setting standards for acceptable musical and choreographic performances as well as coordinating contact between festival organizers across the globe, is a subset of the United Nations Cultural, Educational, and Scientific Organization (UNESCO), and is known as CIOFF (The International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts). CIOFF also mandates that its members be members of the United Nations, and that the members from a country must represent the state represented in the UN General Assembly and no other. In this way CIOFF reifies the system of nation-states not simply by working within the currently existing infrastructure, but also by preventing national minority groups from representing their national minority, and instead forcing them to represent the state to which they belong.[55]

Folk dance as a performance is largely typified by its widespread commonality. Authors note its divergence from more professional types of music and dance such as classical and ballet, which involve critical study and immutable forms, while folk dance is a lesson in imperfection largely transmitted by mimicry. This dichotomy mirrors the dichotomy of scholarly and popular discourses which is attributed to interpretations of categories of analysis and categories of practice. There is also a persistent differentiation between geographical areas in regard to living, dying, or revived folk dance which permeates conceptions of folk dance still. Folk dance's role in civil society makes it a promising locale for case studies regarding political ideologies and beliefs, as illustrated by Mary Taylor's evaluation of the role of the *tancház* movement in Hungary. Finally, the role of folk-dance in nation branding and the system of nation-states

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[55] CIOFF Conseil International des Organisations de Festivals de Folklore et d'Arts Traditionnels, "How to Become a CIOFF Member: Guidelines and Procedures" cioff.org.

establishes the international organization of this civil society practice into the domain of banal nationalism because of its passive reproduction of the discursive system of states. All of these aspects make a study of folk-dance highly relevant in regards to analyses of political ideologies.

Chapter 3: Methodology, Analysis, and Conclusion

The inspiration for the methodological aspect of my field research came largely from Joanna Bosse's article "Whiteness and the Performance of Race in American Ballroom Dance" for a multitude of reasons. Firstly, Bosse's research is based on discourse within the dance community, which my own research mirrors albeit concentrating on a different sort of discourse. Secondly, Bosse conducted interviews with ballroom dancers with whom she was familiar or acquainted with. Her research within a group that she could be said to be a part of inspired me to study a group with which I was friendly and familiar. Finally, Bosse coded the discourse she collected by searching for words that her interviewees most commonly used. Her coding was bottom-up, or interviewee led. This aspect I particularly concentrated on. Because my research involves looking for representations of a certain sort of worldview or ideology I was constantly worried about the risk of applying forced codes and categories onto the information I collected. Through a combination of top-down and bottom-up coding I have hoped to avoid this, and will return to the details of this process later.

I knew from the very beginning that I wanted and should work with a folk-dance group that I knew at least vaguely from my work at a folk-dance festival. Firstly, because of the relevance of studying folk-dance groups, and secondly because it was a route that was easily open to me. After careful and sometimes exasperated deliberations I arrived at Paloina, an amateur folk-dance group from the Netherlands which I have previously described.

In the following sections I will describe in detail the field research portion of this thesis. This will include: travel to the Netherlands, the relevance of my insider status to this project, the actualities of the interview process, the method of analysis, and finally the analysis itself.

Because it was my closeness to a few of the Paloina members which allowed me to work with them in this research process I would like to explain my insider status, and its relevance to this research project.

For this project I was in close contact with the director of Paloina, Lynda Hoekstra who aided me almost entirely throughout the project. Not only did she host me in her home, she also designed that week's practice around my presence so that dancers had time to speak with me, and even took me to a few small villages where I could see folk-costume worn "in the wild". I am close friends with two of her sons, and have had friendly interaction with both her and her family since I first met them at Folkmoot in 2009. While I am not a folk-dancer my research with Paloina falls into the category of participant observation because of my past insider interaction with the group as well as my own past as a dancer (of tap). Many of the dancers recognized me from Folkmoot (the folk festival where I first met Paloina) and when I disclosed that I too was a dancer they became much more responsive to my questions. My insider status was granted by past experiences which did not conflict with my own identity, but highlighted mutual similarities between me and the dancers.

Despite my familiarity with Paloina I was still worried about misconceptions or presumptions about who I was, why I was there, and how I was benefiting from this experience. In his chapter on establishing relationships and trust with insider informants, DL Jorgensen describes establishing a system of reciprocity and exchange.[56] These systems may include obvious exchanges such as money for information rendered. However, Jorgensen notes that simple monetary payment is often insulting and does not establish the amount of trust or

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[56] Danny L. Jorgensen, *Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Study*, (Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publications:1989).

friendship a researcher needs. Instead he suggests "to offer...something else of value as a gift in reward for assistance." Favors may also be offered in exchange for trust and information.

In the world of international folk-dance festivals we also have a system of exchange, reciprocity, and thanks for performers and groups. On the last full day of the festival period at Folkmoot a ceremony occurs in which the festival presents gifts and souvenirs to each group, and usually the group gifts a souvenir to the festival. These gifts often represent either the festival or the state that the group comes from. For example the festival presents American flags, festival programs, and t-shirts while groups present DVD performances, traditional handicrafts, and group t-shirts or memorabilia. With this in mind I brought the Hungarian candy, Pöttyös Toldi, to give each of the interviewees. I explained to the dancers that instead of bringing a gift I brought Hungarian candy, which was meant both as a thank you and as an emblem of "where I was coming from" in the same manner as exchanging gifts at a festival. I should also point out that I presented Lynda with a gift as well; a bottle of Tokay wine and a piece of folk-embroidered linen.

After a dinner of Dutch pancakes Lynda drove us to North Amsterdam, where Paloina meets every Thursday for a few hours of practice. The practice itself is held in the gymnasium of a local school, which they are allowed to use because the principal happens to be on the Paloina advisory board. We arrived early, and I helped Lynda carry in necessary costumes and other miscellaneous items. She showed me the building; a large gym with two locker/changing rooms, and explained that while the group used the closest locker room for changing I would be stationed in the second one so that I could speak to the interviewees in relative quiet and privacy. As the dancers came in I went to my designated space to set up and collect my interview materials and surveys, as well as to provide a little mental distance between us. While I couldn't

avoid being friends with a few of the dancers I already met, I thought setting up a

researcher/interviewee distance might be necessary especially so that the interview began only

when they walked into my room, instead of discussing it with them beforehand. I waited while

the dancers set out the floor-covering (so that their shoes do not scuff the wooden gym floor),

and while new dancers practiced some of the routines they had trouble with. Finally I heard

Lynda begin to speak and so I decided to come out into the gym to show myself.

The practice began with Lynda debriefing the dancers on tonight's practice and other

upkeep items before introducing me. While she spoke in Dutch, which I could not understand,

the speech mentioning me was brief and I believe only constituted my name and what I was there

for. Paloina's media specialist then made some announcements about online advertising and the

Facebook group (www.facebook.com/InternationaalDansensemblePaloina), and then the practice

began.

While the dancers warmed up Lynda explained to me that she had set up the evening so

that at all times at least one or two dancers would be available to talk to me. I had previously

planned on longer group interviews, but when I discovered I would be allowed to talk to all of

the dancers I decided to pare down my interview questions to a total of six. These questions

were, in the order of their asking:

1. What does folk dance represent that other types of dance do not?

2. Are there any national dances that you have not danced but which you would like to dance?

3. Is there anything you hope to share with audience members and other dancers at international

festivals?

4. How would you respond to the claim that "only group X should celebrate the traditions of

group X and there should be no mixing of cultures"?

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5. What makes Dutch folk-dance Dutch and not something else?

6. Is the Netherlands an immigrant society?

I chose these questions because amongst the many questions I had designed they sought

evaluations of essentialized representations of national groups, preference for intergroup contact,

resentment or confirmation of assimilationist concepts, and the cultural definitions of self. Each

of these concepts which I hope were represented by the six questions I chose are integral to

multicultural practice, which as I have illustrated often addresses groups as homogenous entities

with specific inherent cultural traits while also emphasizing the value of intercultural contact.

The question concerning national dances that the interviewee would like to pursue attempts to

address cultural preferences of the interviewee. Does the interviewee suggest Eastern European

or Middle Eastern dances? If so, can this be said to be resistant to a growing anti-Muslim/anti-

Eastern European trend in the Netherlands? If not, is this resistant to it? And finally, question

number five addresses how this group is defining their own "culturally homogenous group" in

conjunction with essentializing the foreign group. I must also stress that while I had prepared

almost twenty questions for the interview process, I was forced to narrow them down when I

found I would be interviewing *all* of the dancers. I had only a few minutes to decide which

questions were the most relevant, and decided on these.

     I also brought surveys[57] which attempted to address the same sort of issues as well as

providing demographic information. The following is what the surveys were comprised of:

1. Name

2. Age

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[57]See survey results in the Appendix.

3. Education

4. Where are you from?

5. How long have you danced? Which types of dance?

6. Why did you start dancing?

7. How many times have you travelled internationally in the past year? To where?

8. What is your favorite part of folk-dancing?

9. How would you describe yourself politically? How do you normally vote or what party do you currently support?

10. *Non*-Dutch folk-dance is...

For the following questions rate your answer from 1 to 5, with 1 being "not very strongly" and 5 being "very strongly".

11. I feel that Dutch folk-dance represents the Netherlands' cultural heritage.

     1   2   3   4   5

12. Folk-dance shows a nation's traditions.

     1   2   3   4   5

13. Only Dutch people should dance Dutch dances.

     1   2   3   4   5

14. It is important to me that the dances I perform are authentic.

     1   2   3   4   5

15. I feel more Dutch when I perform Dutch dances.

     1   2   3   4   5

16. I feel less Dutch when I dance non-Dutch dances.

       1   2   3   4   5

The interviewees were asked to fill out the surveys to the best of their abilities and without further direction to elicit their honest, first-impression responses.

The interview process began with one of the dancers entering the locker room, at which point either I or s/he would close the door to block out the noise of the practice. Many of the dancers professed worry that their English was not up to scratch with what I might be asking, and because I knew that they were nervous about the language skills and possibly the interview itself I tried to be friendly, engaging, and responsive. I was interested in obtaining more honest answers, and less clinical responses. Because of this, once the interview began I tried to become more of an interested outsider and less of a researcher with inside connections. I tried to maintain "being respectful, nonjudgmental, and non-threatening"[58] with "enough distance to enable them (the interviewer) to ask real questions and to explore, not share, assumptions."[59]

I then asked the interviewee to please sit (the locker room was lined with benches) and asked if s/he had any problem with being recorded. No one professed any issue with recording. To record I used the webcam device in my own laptop, but I positioned the computer facing me, so that the participant was not pictured, and I kept the laptop half-closed, so that it did not block our interpersonal space. I then asked the participants the aforementioned five questions. Whenever a respondent became confused or answered very briefly, I attempted to draw out their answers by using probes; mostly switching between affirmative noises ("uh huh" or "mmm") or

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[58] Sharan B. Merriam, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*, (San Francisco, Jossey-Bass: 2009), 107.
[59] Ibid.,108

questions such as "Could you please explain what you mean by....?" At times I had to clarify certain words in the questions, as certain interviewees did have some language trouble.

Once the interview had finished I thanked them and then asked them to fill out the survey whenever they had time, to be returned to me by the end of the practice session. Some dancers filled out the forms immediately, whereupon I left the room to accord them privacy, and some filled them out whenever they had a break from dancing. I also gave each of the dancers Hungarian candy which I brought with me. The evening ended with Lynda taking a picture of me with two of the dancers who had put on Dutch costumes.

As word of my coming had preceded my arrival, there were other members of Paloina who wished to participate who had not had the chance to do so during the practice on Thursday evening. I met three dancers (one whom I had previously interviewed) on Friday evening in Amsterdam for two more interviews. These took place in the Amsterdam public library, as we needed a quiet area for me to record the responses. Once again, there were no issues with recording. I conducted each of the interviews in private, the same as the night before.

Finally, on Saturday I interviewed Lynda. This interview was the longest as I had more to ask her about the background of the group and motivations for selecting the repertoire. Topics covered during the interview included: the importance of authenticity, the actuality of authenticity, the source of choreographies, interaction with foreign groups (especially middle-Eastern groups), public performances, the structure of Paloina, recent trips to international festivals, and discussions about CIOFF (The International Council of Organizations of Folk Festivals, a UNESCO organization which oversees many, but not all, international folk-dance festivals). Our interview took place in her home and was approximately 35 minutes long.

Section I: Methodology

In choosing what type of analysis to use I found myself slightly confused. In the vast world of qualitative analyses open to me I found myself caught between content analysis and discourse analysis. While at first it seemed that conversation analysis might be another realm I should explore, I am less interested in the structure of the conversation, than the discourse that it is composed of. Content analysis emphasizes "the content and context of documents...the way the theme is treated or presented, and the frequency of its occurrence"[60] while discourse analysis "is concerned with the way knowledge is produced within a particular discourse through the use of distinctive language"[61]. In this case I want to combine both by examining the way multiculturalism is reproduced in conversation by examining the frequency and prevalence of codes identified with multiculturalism.

With respect to coding, I also found myself dissatisfied with only using one method. In their article on coding in chat-based problem solving, Zemel, Xhafa, and Cakir characterize two types of applied coding, endogenous and exogenous[62]. Exogenous (or top-down) coding is researcher-led. The researcher identifies codes that s/he wishes to analyze and then notes the prevalence and frequency. Endogenous coding (bottom-up) on the other hand is led by the interviewee. Instead of applying codes beforehand, the researcher takes note of certain themes that arise during the conversation on the part of the interviewee. Because I am looking for discursive markers of multiculturalism it seemed obvious to apply a top-down coding technique. However, I do not want to force categories on the conversation themselves. So I have combined

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[60] Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis,*Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, (London, SAGE Publications: 2003), 4.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Alan Zemel, Fatos Xhafa, and Murat Cakir, "What's In the Mix? Combining Coding and Conversation Analysis to Investigate Chat-Based Problem Solving" *Learning and Instruction* 17 (2007): 405.

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the two. In looking for interviewee-led themes I found that many of the research-led themes recurred, with one exception. A majority of the interviewees mentioned what I have termed an "East/West" divide. While this theme may not appear to be central to the idea of multiculturalism, it is indicative of intercultural contact and barriers between groups that are seen as bounded and separate. This East/West divide was used to describe perceived differences between Eastern and Western Europe, but also between Western Europe and non-European countries and folk-dances, such as those from Korea and South America. The theme occurred often enough that I have included it as the one interviewee-led theme of the analysis. Below is a list of codes informed by academic research on multiculturalism, with descriptions for better understanding:

authenticity- This theme refers to the forms of hot and cool authentication discussed in the multiculturalism section, in regards to multicultural policies and personal beliefs about a practice's genuineness and reality.,.

tradition- This theme refers to common practices within a group that may have a historic timeline associated with them. (Although the theme is similar to "authenticity", the theme "tradition" refers to the practices themselves, while "authenticity" refers to a way of describing those practices).

people as groups- The use of names or titles which describe groups of people. These titles may be national, ethnic, regional, or racial. References to this theme also include personality attributes to groups of people.

intercultural contact-This theme refers to any type of contact between bounded groups, via discourse, dance, art, music, government, or other forms of interaction.

Self-government- this theme refers to the representation of minorities within government.

right to self-expression- This theme is indicated by discourse concerning government accorded rights to differential practices.

assimilation- This theme is indicated by discussion of linguistic or civic assimilation on the part of newcomers.

East/West divide- This theme refers to any division between East and West in the interviewee's response. This can be between Eastern and Western Europe, or between Eastern "oriental" cultural practices and Western practices.

One problem I found when quantifying the data was that while codes were used to represent themes, the themes had different connotations. Some respondents reaffirmed the idea of people as homogeneous bounded entities by using vocabulary that indicated this. Some examples include "it is the people's personality" or "Dutch people are extroverts". Other respondents used national vocabulary, but in a way that indicated skepticism about national/ethnic bounded groups, "Dutch dances are very much like Belgian dances", "Western European dances are all very similar, because our folk dance is not alive anymore". However, in all of these responses the interviewees used vocabulary inherent to the system of nation-states. They questioned the real existence of bounded groups, but also reaffirmed their existence by using words which reaffirm them. In this way the respondents confirm that "nationalism embraces ways of thinking--patterns of common-sense discourse--..."[63] This also created a problem with coding. It became necessary to create layers of coding which reference not only themes of multiculturalism, but also themes of nationalism that began to arise within interview responses. When looking at the responses I decided to sub-code three themes of nationalism. These three themes are primordialism, situationalism, and constructivism. While any nationalist

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[63] Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 21.

scholar is familiar with these three concepts, I will briefly discuss their relevance to the interviewee responses.

Each of the three definitions for the themes came from David Brown's book on Contemporary Nationalism, which concisely described the themes and concepts and setbacks associated with each. Firstly, when discussing these three themes I do not mean to apply the tenets of each nationalist interpretation to the interviewee. Those who expressed ideas which are part of primordialism are not necessarily primordialist nationalists. They simply used ideas which are part and parcel of these three conceptualizations. That being said, the theme *primordialism* refers to an interviewee response which indicates a "natural emotional bond between the individual and the community", and "objective attributes arrived from common ancestry".[64] The *situationalist* theme refers to responses which indicate the use of "ethnic and national identities...as resources employed by groups of individuals for the pursuit of their common interests".[65] Finally, the *constructivist* theme is indicated by responses which note the constructed nature of national or ethnic identity.

In addition to the three sub-codes for various concepts of nationalism I also sub-coded for responses which did not fall easily into any of three categories. These responses are labeled "N/A". Responses in this category included simply using state or national names. For example one respondent answered the question, "Are there any national dances that you have not danced but which you would like to dance?" with "Georgian and Armenian". When prompted he simply stated that he was interested in learning those dances. The question itself was aimed at seeing if the respondent would apply attributes or characteristics to the groups they named, mimicking

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[64] David Brown, *Contemporary Nationalism: Civic, Ethnocultural, and Multicultural Politics*, (London, Routledge: 2000), 10.
[65] Ibid.,12.

Joanna Bosse's article in which respondents described Latin/Hispanic dances as "passionate", and "sexual".[66]

Section II: Analysis

Considering the information on coding and sub-coding, the results of the interviews are as follows. Responses which indicated the primordial sub-code included statements such as; "folk-dance represents how people were and are in their essence", "folk-dance shows the character of a people...that is why Dutch dances are slow and boring, and Bulgarian dances are passionate", and "South American dances are about passion". All of these responses apply personality attributes to a group of people, or imply that there is something essentially unique to various groups of people.

The responses which I coded for situationalism were those which indicated use of national categories or national folk-dance as means of getting somewhere or doing something. Respondent 8, for example, indicated that when she was at international folk-dance festivals she wants "to share Dutch culture and our Dutch traditions". For her, nationality provided a basis for interacting with the people she met at foreign festivals. To a certain extent this situational type of nationalism can be applied to each of the folk-dancers, as all of them are in a situation in which their Dutch nationality is what allows them to participate in travel to foreign festivals, and interaction with people while there. Their nationality is applicable in this situation, but not necessarily in other aspects of their life.

Responses which coded for the constructivist category hinted at the constructed nature of national practices and traditions. For example Respondent 4 explained, "In the Netherlands they

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[66] Joanna Bosse, "Whiteness and the Performance of Race in American Ballroom Dance" The Journal of American Folklore 120 (2007): 19-47.

just decided to start making them [folk-dances], instead of that they sprung into existence..."

while another respondent said, "I don't think Dutch folklore is very ancient, I think it is modern".

A number of respondents also discussed how Paloina's Dutch costumes and choreographies are

constructed concepts of Dutch stereotypes. For example, wooden shoes are traditionally used to

protect shoes during farming and gardening, not for dancing. As one interviewee said, "We've

grown into an image of what others think Dutch folk-dance is."

Overall the breakdown for the aforementioned sub-codes was as follows; (out of a total of

34 responses) *constructivism*, 7; *situationalist*, 9; *primordialist*, 13; and N/A, 5. Primordialism

proved to be the most frequently referred to sub-code, followed by situationalism,

constructivism, and the outliers.

While the coding for "people as groups" had to be sub-coded because of the various ways

in which the respondent's referred to the category, the other themes identified were all referred to

in the manner of their definition as explained earlier in this section. To follow I will illustrate the

prevalence of each theme and discuss aspects of the use of, or outlying issues regarding the

theme.

Unlike some other themes, authenticity was referred to sparingly in the interview process.

While I might have sub-coded for hot and cool authentication, as discussed in the

multiculturalism section, within the eight responses which coded for authenticity there was very

little evaluation. The interviewees did not formulate their responses in clearly cool or hot terms,

and I felt uncomfortable applying these abstract themes to their rather succinct and non-

descriptive statements. However, I was able to verify a smattering of references to cool

authentication, mostly dealing with question five, "What makes Dutch dances Dutch, and not

something else?" Responses indicated that while the Dutch dances performed by Paloina were

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traditional, they were also indicated as being inauthentic. To explain, some of the dancers noted that yes, dance X was performed in barns 150 years ago, and so it was a traditional dance. Yet the costumes for the dance, while also traditional, were "Sunday best clothes", and would never have been worn for dancing. While it may seem contradictory, the dance was traditional, while other performance aspects of it were not.[67]

Yet while authenticity was not the most popular of codes, it was very important in regards to choreography, song choice, and performance styling for the Paloina director. In my interview with her she explained to me the process of obtaining new choreographies. The system relies largely on personal contacts; meeting dance experts at folk-festivals or working with them in the past. It is always necessary that the choreographers be "experts" in some manner. For example, the choreographer of the Serbian dances in Paloina's repertoire is the director of a Serbian folk-dance group, while the choreographer of one of the Polish dances was a member of the Internaational Dans Ensemble, a now defunct professional folk-dance group based in the Netherlands. Furthermore, in regards to costumes, what the group purchases is largely what is available; on the Dutch Volkdansen Facebook group individuals often list and display various costuming items they have for sale. However, Lynda and her fellow Paloina directors are sure to verify with professionals they know, some within the group and without, whether or not the costumes are traditional.

For the theme of "tradition" respondents referred to it most often for question number one, "What does folk dance represent that other types of dance do not"? Three of the fourteen respondents referred to "tradition" more than once in their interviews, while six did not refer to tradition in any way. These six respondents in answering the first question instead commented on

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[67] See Appendix 1, Figure 1B for a graphical reproduction of responses.

"community" or a sense of "togetherness". None of the respondents who answered that community was what defined folk-dance coded for tradition in any way for the rest of their interviews. Thus there were two separate groups identified; those who identified tradition and those who did not, with a slight majority for tradition.

The theme of "intercultural contact" was referred to twice as much as the theme of "tradition", 24 times to 13 times respectively for all respondents over the course of the interview. I included references to immigration within this theme because all of the respondents who referred to immigration did so in regard to meeting new people or interaction between people, which are part of the intercultural contact theme. Graph 3 illustrates the frequency and prevalence of the themes.

These three codes were extreme outliers in that no respondents referred to government representation or government-provided rights of expression in any way at any point during the interview. 2 of the 14 respondents mentioned a government figure, Geert Wilders, but did not remark on the Netherlands' history of group differentiated rights. 3 of the interviewees mentioned multiculturalism by name, but did not discuss it in any way other than to mention that "We are very multiculturalistic" or "the cities are very multicultural". None of the respondents mentioned immigration in relation to linguistic or civic assimilation.

Graph 5[68] shows the frequency and prevalence of the interviewee-led theme, "East/West divide". Responses which coded for this theme included statements such as "Dutch people are slow, which is why their dances are slow, while Bulgarians are passionate and have passionate dances", "this [not wanting intercultural mixing] is a Hungarian thing, an old Hungarian thing", and "Hungarian dance comes from the culture, from the heart, its very important to them". The

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[68] See Appendix 1.

remarkable thing is that the first two statements were made by two individuals with Eastern European backgrounds, Bulgarian and Hungarian respectively. The third remark came from an individual with intimate ties to Hungary and who had recently returned from a folk-dance training camp in Hungary and Romania. Other respondents indicated a difference between folk-dance in Western Europe and folk-dance in Eastern Europe, with the West having a second-existence dance tradition and the East having a first-existence tradition.[69]

Section III: Conclusions

As I indicated in the introduction of this thesis, the model for this project on discursive multiculturalism is Michael Billig's <u>Banal Nationalism</u>. In it he discusses the rhetorical reproduction of the world of nations; a vocabulary system of state names, national languages, and recognized borders which is taken for granted, thus becoming everyday or banal, and thereby reproducing that from which it originally came. In completing this project I have discovered something similar, which is that in discussing the themes of multiculturalism, respondents continue to reproduce the world of nations and states. As I discussed in the section on multiculturalism, multicultural policies and practices include within them an implicit acceptance of nationalities, ethnicities, races, religions, and borders as real constructions. While it seeks to promote group differentiated rights and autonomous or semi-autonomous self-government, multiculturalism does not necessarily regard personal individual identifications as the basis for the groups it identifies. The respondents featured in this study constantly used titles which reinforced the world-system of nation-states, even when they were using the words to express skepticism.

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[69] For review on First and Second-Existence see Chapter II.

This dovetailing of multicultural and banal nationalist discourse also mirrors the responses for the final question, "Is the Netherlands an immigrant society?" This question was meant to make the interviewee categorize their country as nationalist, multicultural, neither, or both. The Netherlands is one of the most infamous cases of multiculturalism "gone wrong". A quick search on Google Scholar, JSTOR, and many other journal sources will provide a copious amount of links to prove this. Therefore, question 6 was aimed at discovering how the interviewee would categorize the situation in their own terms, as discussing immigration entails discussing views on immigration, assimilation, and government adequacies and inadequacies in this area. Of the fourteen respondents only one indicated that the Netherlands was not an immigrant society, but then proceeded to describe her multicultural neighborhood where she lived "next to many immigrants". All of the respondents who mentioned nationalism in relation to the Netherlands mentioned Geert Wilders, the infamous anti-Islam, anti-Eastern European immigration politician. One respondent claimed "There are a few rotten apples like him" while another noted "nationalism is not treasured here" despite saying "there are many others like him [Geert Wilders]". As a whole these responses indicate that the interviewees are supportive of immigration and enjoy the presence of people from other countries, and do not associate nationalism with the Netherlands. Moreover, none of the respondents mentioned the strict Dutch integration and immigration policies, although it is unclear whether or not they knew about them.

While it may seem obvious that this group of highly travelled, well educated young people was supportive of diversity, their responses indicate a sort of multicultural nationalism, whereby they associate diversity and immigration with the Netherlands, but not nationalism or exclusivity. According to Simon Sweeney[70] and David Brown this is an exhibition of

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[70] Simon Sweeney, *Europe, the State, and Globalization*, (Harlowe/Essex, Pearson: 2005).

multicultural nationalism. While it may seem similar to civic nationalism, multicultural nationalism is marked by a specific emphasis on multiculturalism. Multicultural nationalist societies "offer a vision of a community which respects and promotes the cultural autonomy and status equality of its component ethnic groups".[71] While this description may or may not be accurate in regards to Dutch policies on immigration, integration, or guest-worker policies, what matters is that in this case-study the respondents perceive it to be the truth.

Furthermore, the prevalence and use of the themes illuminates the way that respondents think of multiculturalism. Not only do they think of it as Dutch, in a way that nationalism is not, they do not associate it with any of the themes associated with government-provided differentiated rights. In this we can see the classic difference, highlighted by Brubaker[72], between categories of analysis and categories of practice. As an analytical category, multiculturalism entails all of the highlighted themes discussed previously and more. As an analytical tool multiculturalism is highly diverse, as it is defined differently at varying levels of government and in different countries. The interviewees' practical categorization of multiculturalism was much closer to the 3S Model discussed in the multiculturalism section; the visible and economical availability of diverse products, people, and food. When I prompted the participants to describe why they thought of the Netherlands as an immigrant society responses included, "When I leave my apartment I see Turkish shops and restaurants", "The regions vary in how multicultural they are, but yes there are many immigrants", "All my neighbors are from another country. When you walk down the street you smell different spices--they're nice people, so I don't know what is the problem", and "We have Little Morocco and Little Turkey, and many Polish restaurants".

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[71] Brown, *Contemporary Nationalism*, 126.
[72] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'", Theory and Society 29 (2000): 4.

Most interestingly was the interviewee-led theme of the East/West dichotomy. While arguments for East/West differences occur in articles on citizenship, identity, and in types of nationalism[73] I was not necessarily expecting it to crop in this study. It occurred eight times within the total of the fourteen six question interviews. As opposed to the Netherlands, which the interviewees associated with a tolerance of immigration, Hungary was cited twice as being a place where people "think like that" (in reference to maintaining group boundaries and cultural homogeneity). As one respondent, of half-Hungarian and half-Dutch origin, explained "that is a very nationalistic way of thinking...I know some people in Hungary who are like that", while another respondent told a story of her recent visit to a dance-camp in Hungary where a fellow dancer was confused as to why a Dutch girl would be learning Hungarian dances. When she turned his question on him he answered "I am Hungarian!" The differences between East and West highlighted by the participants were not necessarily always between East and West, but were also between practices perceived as "technical" (Dutch and Western European folk dance) and "passionate" (South American and Eastern European folk dance). This dichotomy is similar to that featured in Joanna Bosse's article on the perceptions of Latin and European ballroom dance (mentioned earlier in the methodology section). However, this understanding of East/West is indicative of a similar East/West division discussed in chapter two. The interviewees' responses mostly confirmed the interpretation of the East as a place where traditions are alive, while the West is a place where traditions are revived. This type of response is similar to that promoted by Elise Van der Ven-Ten Bensel in 1935.

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[73] Rainer Baubock and Andre Liebich, "Is There Still an East/West Divide in the Conceptions of Citizenship in Europe?" (an EUI Working Paper, RSCAS, 2009); Stephen Schulman, "Challenging the Civic/Ethnic and West/East Dichotomies in the Study of Nationalism" *Comparative Political Studies* 2002: 554-585; and Krzysztof Jaskulowski, "Western (Civic) versus Eastern (Ethnic) Nationalism. The Origins and Critique of the Dichotomy", *Polish Sociological Review* 171 (2010): 289-303.

As Brubaker notes, "We must take vernacular categories and participants' understandings seriously...even when they are not ideal categories of analysis."[74] In essence that is what this thesis illustrates. From the point of view of the respondents, multiculturalism is not a government-initiated system of group differentiated rights and privileges which include self-government and rights of self-expression. Rather, a multicultural society is one in which there are visible markers of cultural difference all around; in the form of food, fashion, people, and smells, and where this diversity is accepted, if not wholly promoted. This practical categorization marks the divergence between analytical ways of thinking about multiculturalism, and the way that people on the ground think of it. Understanding this difference is key to understanding how and why citizens promote and adhere to certain ideologies, as it explains how they conceive of them. This information can also lead to creating and implementing policies and practices which are more representative of popularly accepted interpretations of political ideologies.

Section IV: Critiques

The main problem I found in doing this project was that it is difficult to ask questions aimed at seeing if the respondent will reify the nation-state system without reifying them in the interview questions. Asking a question about "Dutch people" automatically reifies the concept that there are people who are inherently Dutch. Because Paloina has an international repertoire I could not ask "What makes your folk-dance different from other folk-dance". In fact, not only would this question have been problematic because of the repertoire, it would have been problematic because Paloina contains people with different national backgrounds. Although this question would be interesting from a social-psychological perspective to examine how each person interpreted the meaning of "your folk-dance", it would not have examined the area I was

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[74] Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*, 470.

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looking at, which was to see if the dancers regarded national characters as distinct, cohesive structures.

Another issue was the process of producing themes and then coding for those themes. If I could do the project over I would prepare all of the themes beforehand. As it was I had a concept of the themes I wished to code for when I left, but they were not concrete. I organized almost all of the themes only after I returned from doing my research. It is possible that the experience of research and the knowledge of the respondents' answers may have colored my emphasis on certain themes, although I also feel I tried my best to apply an objective stance in regards to the choice of themes.

Finally, if I were to do this project again or extend this project it would be pertinent to examine case studies of other groups of people; people from different backgrounds than those of the Paloina members. It would, for example, be interesting to see how lower-income Dutch or lower-income immigrants in the Netherlands respond to these questions, as well as how wealthy business people or high school students respond. Essentially I would be looking to expand my knowledge of how people think of multiculturalism in their daily lives. Do they reify the same themes as Paloina? Do they emphasize themes not mentioned by the respondents in this study? Beyond this expansion it would also be pertinent to examine case studies in other countries which either have or have not made the same assimilationist policy changes as the Netherlands. This might help us understand how concepts of multiculturalism vary not only between groups and individuals, but also between countries. All of this would more accurately illustrate possible differences between multiculturalism as a category of practice and a category of analysis, which I think is the true result of this thesis.

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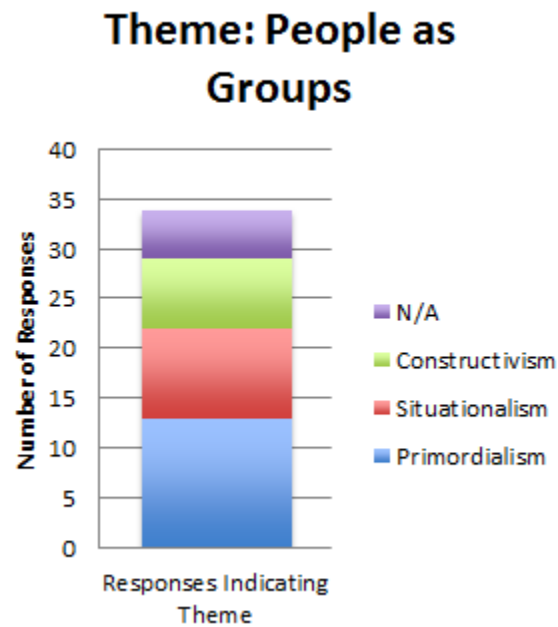
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Appendix 1: Coding Results

The following graphs illustrate the prevalence and frequency of the established codes for multicultural themes.

Figure 1A: People as Groups

This chart illustrates the responses which coded for the theme "people as groups" which was then sub-coded for three interpretations of thought regarding peoples and nations, as discussed in Chapter 3 Section II; *primordialism*, *situationalism*, and *constructivism*, as well as the category "N/A" for those responses which did not code for the three subcodes.
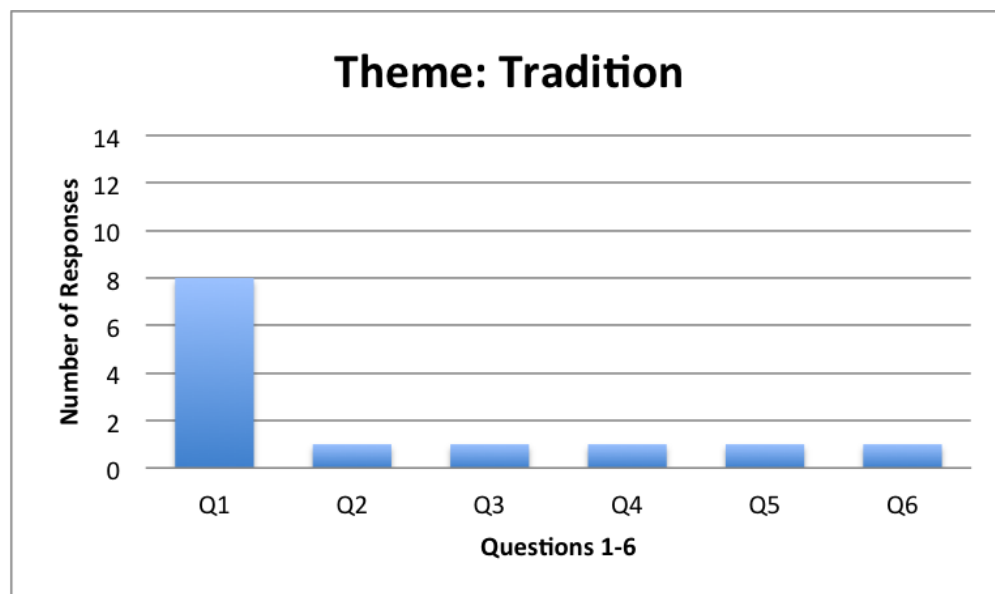
Figure 1B: Authenticity
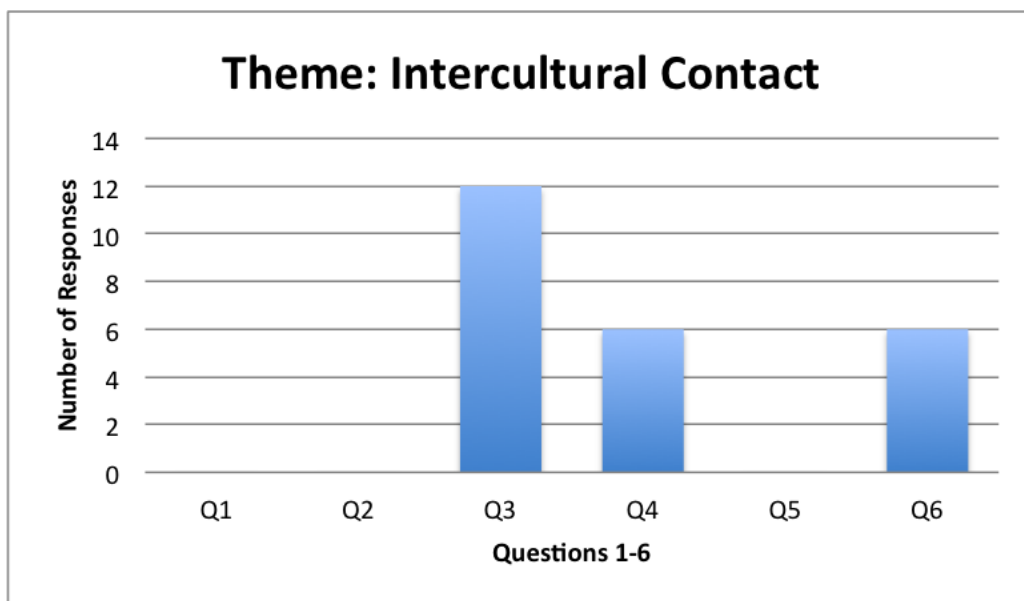
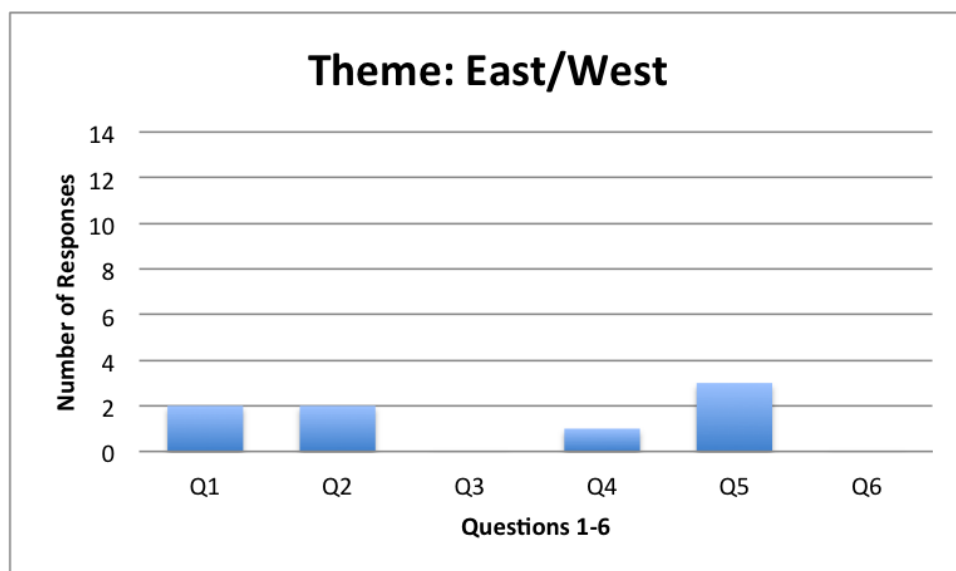Figure 1C: Tradition

Figure 1D: Intercultural Contact

Figure 1E: East/West

Appendix 2: Survey Data

The following data are the demographic results for the surveys mentioned in the methodology section. The demographic information includes the interviewee's education, age, and where they are from. The method of response varies from respondent to respondent as they answered the survey questions individually without asking for further direction.

Respondent 1:
Age: 27
Education: Masters of Applied Physics
From: Holland

Respondent 2:
Age: 20
Education: Psychology
From: NL/Hungarian

Respondent 3:
Age: 22
Education: Cultural Heritage Collection Conservation
From: the Netherlands

Respondent 4:
Age: 20
Education: (Current) Codarts Arts Academy, conservatory in Rotterdam
From: Almere, Flevoland, the Netherlands

Respondent 5:
N/A, Respondent did not turn in a survey.

Respondent 6:
Age: 19
Education: High school
From: Noordwyk

Respondent 7:
Age: 27
Education: MSC Educational Science
From: NL

Respondent 8:
Age: 35
Education: PhD
From: Amsterdam, Netherlands

Respondent 9:

Age: 26
Education: Speech and Language Therapy
From: Holland, Amsterdam

Respondent 10:
Age: 20
Education: University (Business Administration)
From: Almere, NL

Respondent 11:
Age: 32
Education: MA
From: Bulgaria, Sofia

Respondent 12:
Age: 23
Education: HBO Orthoptics (Bachelor in Science)
From: The Netherlands- Huizon

Respondent 13:
Age: 23
Education: University Psychology Master
From: Amsterdam, Holland

Respondent 14:
Age: 26
Education: Bachelor Hospitality Management
From: Netherlands, Helystad

Respondent 15:
Age: 28
Education: MA Traditional Irish Dance Performance, BSC Physiotherapy
From: Amsterdam, the Netherlands