

# All men? Nein Danke: How Programmers negotiate gender inequalities in Rotterdam's niche-edm scene

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## ABSTRACT:

This thesis draws on semi-structured interviews conducted with programmers of niche electronic dance music (niche-edm) in the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. It seeks to answer the question 'How do programmers of niche electronic dance music in Rotterdam negotiate gender inequalities in relation to their programming styles?' I build on works by Gadir (2016; 2017), Gavanas and Reitsamer (2013; 2016) and Koren (2021). I used a qualitative approach and in order to analyse my findings I used a strategy called thematic analysis. I explain the role that social networks have in the creative industries and (electronic) music industry and how women deal with the exclusion of those networks. An important characteristic of the niche electronic dance scene seems to be the social ethos living in the scene, that values inclusivity and equality. Most programmers seemed to identify with this. However, there is also a pressure coming from the demand side, since this social ethos is present in that side of the scene as well. This pressure influences the programming and marketing practices of promoters. I analyse what strategies programmers employ in relation to gender when creating a line-up and why. Three different programming strategies can be identified in relation to gender: that of the active programmer, the passive programmer and the programmer who is not concerned about gender. Which strategy a programmer applies seems to be highly influenced by their own background. There seems to be a difference between the already existing numbers and theory about gender balances and my findings, where the first has a more negative view, while my findings paint a more positive or optimistic picture. I found three possible explanations for this; a shift in programming practices and values and thus a difference in time, a difference in the spaces researched and the age and experience that the programmers I interviewed have.

## KEYWORDS:

Niche Electronic Dance Music; Gender studies; Music programming; DJ; Inequality

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## 1. Introduction

In 2018 a campaign was started by DJs Fenna Fiction and Her Again, called ‘All men? Nein Danke.’ They made stickers based on the international symbol of the anti-nuclear movement, with the text ‘All men? Nein Danke.’ and stuck them on festival posters where the line-up predominantly consisted of men (NOS, 2018). Even though more women and nonbinary people seem to find their way to the decks, they are still underrepresented on the line-ups of electronic music events. In 2019 Dutch newspaper Het Parool analysed the line-ups of 32 dance festivals and six nightclubs in Amsterdam that year in terms on gender. They found that on average 17,1% of the DJs are women. The event that scored best in terms of gender balance was Milkshake Festival, a multi-genre festival aimed at the queer community, with 38,4% women on the line-up. Runner up was niche electronic nightclub De School with 32,7% (Goedegebuure, 2019).

Those percentages are not only present in the Amsterdam niche-edm scene. A quick analysis of the line-ups of three electronic music clubs in Rotterdam leads us to the conclusion that this is something that happens in Rotterdam too (see table 2, page 2). On average the clubs programmed 18,1% non-men, which is similar to the percentage found in Amsterdam.

We know for sure that cultural intermediaries like programmers play a big role in the creation of line-ups (Gadir, 2017). What do they, the people behind the line-ups, think about those gender imbalances? And what strategies do they apply that maintain or counter this? The purpose of this thesis will be to research the question: How do programmers of niche electronic dance music in Rotterdam negotiate gender inequalities in relation to their programming styles? I will answer this question by conducting semi-structured interviews and thus by using a qualitative approach. I will go into more detail about this in the methods section.

### 1.1 Academic & Societal Relevance

Inclusivity, diversity and representation are terms that have become more and more present in public discourse over the last years. The public discourse talks about the imbalance between men and women in, for example, management positions and representation in the media. A lot of research has been done already on the topic of gender representation in different fields. For example in that of the media (Krijnen & Van Bauwel, 2015) or in politics (Celis & Lovenduski, 2018).

The debate on diversity, inclusion and representation has found its way to all parts of society, including the creative industries. This field has an interesting position, since the cultural and creative industries are coping with a paradox; the sector is always presented as very open and diverse, while at the same time this sector is also dealing with gender inequalities (Conor et al., 2015). Both horizontal and vertical gender segregation are a problem. Horizontal segregation meaning that women are overrepresented in care-taking creative jobs like make-up and styling, while they are underrepresented in technical creative jobs like sound technician or film director. Vertical gender segregation in the creative sector can be seen in the division of the so called 'below' and 'above the line' workers, where men dominate the above the line positions that come with the most power (Conor et al., 2015).

In this thesis I will focus on gender inequalities in the niche electronic music scene. This field has also been investigated before. However, most research has been done from the perspective of the female DJ or just as a quantitative analysis of line-ups (Geille, 2020; Reitsamer, 2011; Van der Burgh, 2017). In this research I will investigate the issue of gender representation from the viewpoint of the programmers of niche electronic music, building on works by Gadir (2016; 2017), Gavanas and Reitsamer (2013) and Koren (2021). What also distinguishes this research is the fact that it focuses on gender in programming of niche electronic music in the city of Rotterdam. Something that has not been researched before. Rotterdam's niche electronic music scene is not very big, especially when compared to Amsterdam's scene or compared to cities outside of the Netherlands like Berlin. The size of Rotterdam's niche-edm scene could influence the way in which programmers deal with gender in their programming practices. Less competition could for example mean that there is more room to experiment. A smaller scene could also mean that there is a smaller influx of new talent, of all genders. However, I will go into more detail about my choice to investigate the city of Rotterdam in the methods section.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

In the first part of this theoretical framework I will dive deeper into the role of social networks in the creative industries and the (electronic) music scene. I will explain that it is harder for women and other minority groups to gain access to those often male-dominated networks (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013). If they have gained access they have limited space to speak up (Gadir, 2017). Besides, I will use the concept of inequality talk to demonstrate how these networks remain male-dominated (Brook et al., 2019). Finally, I will explain what the consequences are for women who are excluded from those male dominated networks and how they react to this through the self-creation of networks (Gavanas & Reitsamer, 2016) and the appropriation of identities that are granted access to the networks (Farrugia, 2012).

In the second part I will explain the differences between Electronic Dance Music (EDM) and niche electronic dance music (niche-edm). Where the first holds a more commercialist and maximalist character (Schofield & Rellensmann, 2015) and the second is focused on small scale productions (Lena, 2012). Besides, I will explain the social ethos that lives in the niche-edm scene (Koren, 2021).

In the third and last part I will describe the relation between gender inequalities and the demand of the market. I will explain how the pressure to create an inclusive program changes booking practices of promoters and how this is related to the concept of tokenism. I will also explain that organizers react to this demand with their marketing strategies. In their marketing strategies they stress the gender of women DJs, by doing this they segment the female DJs from the (male) DJs.

### 2.1 Social Networks

A main characteristic of the creative industries is that the working conditions are organised in an informal manner. The wages are low or not present at all, the work is project-based and/or based on informal contracts (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013). Lots of creative workers are self-employed, which causes social networking to be an important part of the job (Gadir, 2017). Due to the project-based nature of creative work, there is often not much time and/or money for an extensive recruitment process. Therefore, parties rely on people with whom they have worked before or who are recommended by other people in the field. Getting a job is thus heavily dependent on one's access to industry networks. A common form of an industry network in the electronic music scene is a DJ crew or collective. Success can be heavily dependent on the access to such networks, since those crews or collectives usually invite

others to play at their club nights or radio shows, which could give a DJ's career an immense boost (Gavanas & Reitsamer, 2016). Being included in such a network grants an upcoming DJ symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1993) in the form of recognition or valuation from better known DJs (Gavanas & Reitsamer, 2016).

### 2.1.1 Access to Networks

The importance of networking is not always acknowledged by successful actors in the field. In Gadir's (2017) research the interviewed DJs and booking agents show strong beliefs in hard work, skill and talent as the ingredients for a successful DJ career. This gender neutral idea of meritocracy ignores existing forms of discrimination like sexism or racism (Gadir, 2017). In practice it appears that networking opportunities are not equal for everyone. The established networks are often male-dominated and people are likely to hire people who are like them (Berkers, et al., 2019). Hence, it is more difficult for women to enter. In addition, the stereotype that women are less qualified for technical roles than men causes that women working in the field are not being taken seriously (Hopkins & Berkers, 2019).

The informal organisation of the creative and music industry makes it harder to hold gatekeepers, such as bookers, promoters and label owners, accountable for unequal hiring practices or other forms of discrimination (Gadir, 2017). These 'old boys' networks are thus obscured by the informality of social capital (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013). What also makes it harder to hold gatekeepers accountable is something that Brook et al. (2019) call 'inequality talk'. This is something senior men do through speaking about inequalities in the cultural industries, but not changing anything about it. It is a strategy used to remain in a successful position, without being accused of not acknowledging inequalities in the sector.

### 2.1.2 Dealing with Exclusion

Female DJs deal with the exclusion of male-dominated networks in two different ways. The first one is through the self-creation of networks, in order to still gain the recognition from the audience and other DJs (Gavanas & Reitsamer, 2016). Another way to deal with this is through appropriating an identity that does not feel as a threat to their male colleagues. In her study on female EDM DJs Farrugia (2012) distinguishes three identities that female DJs can appropriate. She calls those identities the Sex Kitten, the T-shirt DJ and the Dyke (see table 1). When women DJs are not seen as a threat it is easier to gain access to male-dominated networks. However, when found an entrance, they still remain in a difficult position, since

there is limited space to speak-up. The project-based nature of the contracts causes workers who are not part of this old boys’ network to feel like they would risk their job or booking when complaining about inequality (Gadir, 2017).

<b>Sex Kitten</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conforms to heterosexist beauty standards</li> <li>• Adopted by most superstar EDM DJs</li> </ul>
<b>T-shirt DJ</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wears the same as her male colleagues (t-shirt and jeans)</li> <li>• Wants to eliminate being booked because of looks instead of DJ skills</li> <li>• Adopts identity out of fear of being seen as a Sex Kitten</li> </ul>
<b>The Dyke</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identifies as a lesbian</li> <li>• Gets accepted more easily, because male DJs do not feel like they have an unfair advantage in getting booked</li> </ul>

Table 1: Identities Farrugia (2012)

## 2.2 Niche-edm versus EDM

Before diving deeper into the topic, it is important to define exactly what I am talking about when I am talking about niche or underground-edm, especially since it is a term that can be very confusing. Besides the terms I just named, people also use terms such as ‘dance (music)’ or ‘club music’, for EDM and ‘techno’ or ‘electronic music’ for niche-edm. There is a lot of confusion about the terminology and therefore the terms are often used interchangeably. Especially amongst listeners of niche-edm, EDM is often seen as something that they want to distance themselves from (Mazierska et al., 2021). The negative associations come mostly from its commercial, maximalist character. EDM is known for its superstar DJs who play in the biggest stadiums all over the world. EDM DJs are also known by people who do not listen to EDM. Think of DJs like Martin Garrix and David Guetta.

Since this is very different from what is happening in the niche-edm scene it is important to know that this is not the music I am talking about. Niche refers to the part of the electronic music industry that does not work with major record labels; the industry mostly consists of smaller labels (Lena, 2012). Niche-edm can actually be considered more as an umbrella term, since there are a lot of subgenres that fall under the niche-edm genre. Think for example about breakbeat, Italo, electro, ambient and ebm (McLeod, 2001). Labels and DJs are often not known by people outside of the niche-edm scene or even outside of a certain subscene. Niche-edm clubs put a big part of their ticket revenues back into programming. In clubbing experiences the focus is often on sound, you will probably not see a niche-edm

evening with lots of special effects and the lighting is often minimal. Contrary to the big stadiums or concert halls where EDM parties are frequently held, niche-edm parties regularly take place in repurposed industrial locations (Schofield & Rellensmann, 2015). Take for example, underground club Ankali in Prague which is situated in a former soap factory or club Trouw in Amsterdam that was located in a former newspaper printing building. The dance floor in the niche-edm scene is seen as a place where everyone is equal and the struggles of daily life can be forgotten (Koren, 2021). This social ethos is not only present on the dancefloor, but also in the existing quality criteria for niche-edm line-ups. When it comes to measuring artistic quality, inclusion and equality in nightlife are considered to be of bigger importance than playing the most obscure tracks (Koren, 2021).

## 2.3 The Demand of the Market

The social ethos living in the niche-edm scene can be found in all parts of the scene, including the consumer side. In the following paragraphs I will explain how this consumer demand influences the behaviour of programmers, promoters and organizations.

### 2.3.1 Influence of the Market on Programming

In the niche-edm genre the discussion about the overrepresentation of men focuses on line-ups and the people behind those line-ups, while in other genres it is more about creating so-called ‘women-friendly’ parties (Koren, 2021). When Koren (2021) asked his interviewees to reflect on gender equality in the scene, the niche-edm promoters already had their answer ready, this indicated that it was a topic they had thought and talked about before. This may be because critical clubbers, DJs and organisations in the niche-edm scene regularly address issues of inequality. Something that happens often through social media. Take for example the Amsterdam nightclub De School that was attacked online by its own supporters for lacking diversity. The line-ups and the team behind De School were too white according to their audience (Nandram, 2021). The close contacts between producers and consumers through social media makes promoters feel pressured to do something with this criticism coming from their consumers. It forces the often white, male programmers to reflect on their own booking practices. This may lead to a change in their booking practices and thus in the representation we see in line-ups. However, it does not inherently change the gender-based power structures in the industry (Koren, 2021). In fact, it may even reinforce the unequal power structures in the field. The men who book all those female DJs get recognition for their inclusive way of booking, without having to reconsider their own position (Brook et al., 2019). This way of



'inclusive' booking can be described as tokenism, a concept that is clearly described by Long Laws (1975, p. 51):

Tokenism is the means by which the dominant group advertises a promise of mobility between the dominant and excluded classes. By definition, however, tokenism involves mobility which is severely restricted in quantity, and the quality of mobility is severely restricted as well. The Token does not become assimilated into the dominant group but is destined for permanent marginality.

Paradoxically, tokenism also has positive implications, since it changes the minority status of female DJs (Gavanas & Reitsamer, 2016).

### 2.3.2 Influence of the Market on Marketing

Besides the influence on the booking practices of promoters, the progressiveness of the niche-edm crowd also has an influence on the marketing strategies that promoters apply (Gadir, 2016). Line-ups where the vast majority are women are regularly used as a marketing tool. In the promotion of an event it is often stressed that the DJs are female, for example by calling it an (all-)girls DJ night (Gavanas & Reitsamer, 2013). I also experienced this when I was supposed to play on a night where only girls were playing. In their posts on social media the organisation used phrases like '*A NIGHT POWERED BY GIRLS*' (Yügen, 2021). By doing this, the promoters are segmenting the market, since they are separating the girl DJs from the DJs, who are usually assumed to be men. Next to explicitly calling them girl DJs, the industry makes use of gendered signifiers that are different from those associated with male DJs. Hyper-sexualisation of female producers and DJs in magazines, posters, flyers and social media is a recurring phenomenon (Gadir, 2016). This way of promoting does not go unnoticed by female DJs. Gavanas and Reitsamer (2013) interviewed 75, mostly female, DJs. Several of the interviewees mentioned that promoters book female DJs because of their novelty value and because they are better marketable than male DJs, also because there is a possibility to use sexualized photographs.

The fact that female DJs are seen as marketable is obviously highly influenced by the demand of the market. This does not only go for gendered minorities in the niche-edm scene, but also for other minority groups like ethnic minorities. Saha (2011) found that Asian dance labels have to make use of their Asianness in order to distinguish themselves in a crowded market. The label owners oppose themselves to orientalist stereotypes, but at the same time

they have to make use of them as a marketing tool in order to gain commercial success. This also demonstrates the wider existing friction between creative freedom and commercialism in the creative industries.

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of different aspects of the niche-edm scene. It helps the reader understand the field and it will make it easier to place the results of this research into context.

An important characteristic of the niche-edm scene are the informal manners (Eikhof & Warhust, 2013). Networking is of big importance, since this is often the way to get new jobs or bookings (Gadir, 2017; Gavanas & Reitsamer, 2016). A lot of scene networks are male-dominated and women often have a harder time becoming part of those networks (Berkers, et al., 2019). This leads to the self-creation of networks by women (Gavanas & Reitsamer, 2016) and to women adopting certain identities for easier access to male-dominated networks (Farrugia, 2012).

An important distinction to make is that between the EDM and niche-edm scene. For this research, the most important difference is the social ethos and discussions that are present in the niche-edm scene, but not so much in the EDM scene (Koren, 2021). These discussions revolve around topics on inclusivity and equality on the dancefloor, but mostly behind the scenes. When talking about quality in the niche-edm scene it is not just about artistic quality, the quality of a line-up can also be measured by the inclusiveness of a line-up (Koren, 2021).

This call for inclusivity and equality also comes from the consumer side and it forces programmers to book people from different backgrounds (Koren, 2021). This may lead to tokenism, which can at the same time help changing the minority status of women DJs (Gavanas & Reitsamer, 2016). This demand coming from the consumer side also impacts the marketing strategies used by promoters. They stress for example the fact that a DJ is female and create a segmented market by doing this (Gadir, 2016; Gavanas & Reitsamer, 2013). The friction between creative freedom and commercialism may lead to promoters using marketing strategies that are actually in conflict with their values (Saha, 2011).

### 3. Research Methods

In this thesis I am researching the question ‘How do programmers of niche electronic dance music in Rotterdam negotiate gender inequalities in relation to their programming styles?’.

I used a qualitative approach for answering this question. I chose this approach because there is not a lot of theory on the topic and a part of the theory that exists might already be (partly) outdated. In qualitative interviews there is space for the interviewees to give extensive answers and to make clear what themes are of importance to them. The flexible nature of qualitative research thus allows you to gain insight into subjects about which there is still little knowledge (Bryman, 2015). Besides, I investigated the situation in Rotterdam, therefore it was not necessary to generalise my findings to a broader population, in which case I would have had to take a quantitative approach.

The most fitting way to find an answer to the research question was to conduct semi-structured interviews with different programmers of niche electronic music in Rotterdam which allowed me to understand the thoughts and experiences of the programmers. Besides that, the topic of gender inequalities in the cultural field is a precarious topic, therefore there is not much already-existing data from the viewpoint of electronic music programmers that can be analysed.

In the following parts I will go into further detail about the sample and sampling method I used, the way in which I operationalised my theoretical concepts, the data collection and analysis and finally I will say something about positionality, validity, reliability & ethics

#### 3.1 Sample & Sampling method

The sample consists of five programmers of niche-edm in the city of Rotterdam. Rotterdam is a city that is known for its harbour and working-class mentality. Those things often hold masculine connotations and these connotations can also be seen in Rotterdam’s electronic music legacy when looking at gabber music, a typical Rotterdam style that emerged in the 1990s. The atmosphere of gabber parties is described as raw and harsh and the majority of gabbers are men (Verhagen, et al., 2000). However, this masculine character of Rotterdam is something that the city marketing bureau working for Rotterdam’s city council, is trying to change into a more feminine character. A character that is more associated with creativity and gentrification (Van den Berg, 2011). Rotterdam is a city in the Randstad, the urban heart of the Netherlands, where discussions about inclusivity are often more present than in rural areas. In the 2017 elections, cosmopolitan parties like *D66* and *Groenlinks* were significantly

more popular in the Randstad than in the national vote share (Huijsmans et al., 2021). However, local populist party *Leefbaar Rotterdam* also has a big vote share in Rotterdam; they were the biggest party in Rotterdam's municipal elections of the last three years (Kiesraad, n.d.). This contradiction makes Rotterdam an interesting city to investigate when it comes to gender inequality. It raises questions about whether this populist ideology is also reflected in the way programmers make their line-ups. Or will the cosmopolitan view be more present in the line-ups of the niche-edm events?

I chose a sampling form that is called purposive sampling (Bryman, 2015), since it is not necessary to generalise my findings to a wider population. Another reason is that I am familiar with Rotterdam's scene and have a good overview, in combination with the literature, of who could be relevant to interview. My focus was mostly on programmers of businesses with a weekly program instead of promoters of single events or festivals. This because constantly having to fill a program brings other factors like a higher time pressure into play, which could affect the diversity of the program.

To make a selection of the venues I made use of a list by Resident Advisor with all the places where events had happened in the past (Resident Advisor, n.d.). However, this list was not immediately useable since I had to eliminate all the places that do not exist anymore and all the places where parties were held but are not regular event spaces (like museums and parks). Then I selected the clubs that can be categorized as niche-edm club on the basis of the description I gave of the niche-edm genre in my theory section.

After the selection process I ended up with seven businesses and I sent the programmer(s) an invitation to take part in the research via email or Instagram. In total I reached out to nine programmers, of whom six were men and three were women. Five of the programmers wanted to take part in the research, this was also my final sample. The sample consisted of two female programmers and three male programmers. Three of them were in their late 20s, one in her early 30s and one in her late 30s. All programmers were Dutch, however two of them also had a different background (Surinamese and Israeli). Three of the programmers were heterosexual, the other two programmers preferred not to share this information. See appendix A for a complete overview of my sample. All programmers I interviewed work on multiple projects at the same time. They organise festivals or parties at different locations, DJ or have another sort of job on the side.

### 3.2 Operationalisation

In order to operationalise my research question I divided it into sub questions. The first one being: How can we describe the niche-edm scene in terms of gender inequality? In order to get an answer to this question I asked my interviewees among others how they would describe Rotterdam as a city and how they would describe the niche-edm scene of Rotterdam. I did not immediately ask the question how they would describe the Rotterdam niche-edm scene in terms of gender, since I wanted to leave some space to see if the interviewees would touch upon this topic themselves. This was done to avoid leading questions, besides that I started the interview guide (see appendix B) with simpler questions in order to start off easy. The questions about programming in general slowly built up to questions about programming and gender inequalities. However, since it was a semi-structured interview there was also room for the interviewees to bring up the topic of gender inequalities earlier.

The second sub question was: What strategies do programmers of niche-edm apply in relation to gender when creating a line-up? Here I applied the same strategy; first I asked about the requirements that the programmer set for themselves when creating a line-up, to see if they gender equality was a requirement without posing leading questions. Later in the interview I asked more specific questions like: To what extent are you concerned with the gender of the artists you book?

Thirdly I had the question: How does the programmer of niche-edm evaluate their own role in the mechanism that creates gender imbalance in the niche-edm scene? This was operationalised through questions like: How much influence do you think you have on someone's DJ career?

### 3.3 Data Collection

Bryman (2015) describes a semi-structured interview as a qualitative research method where the interviewer makes use of an interview guide, a list of questions and/or topics that need to be covered in the interview. The order of the questions is not set and can differ per interview to allow for a more natural conversation flow. There is a lot of space for the interviewee to reply in the way they want, since the questions are always open-ended. There is also space for the interviewer to come up with probing or follow-up questions. This flexible way of interviewing thus leaves room for rich answers and can really give insight into what the interviewees consider important (Bryman, 2015).

This all sounds very positive, but semi-structured interviewing also has its downsides. The biggest one being that it is very time consuming to conduct, transcribe and code the interviews. This was not a big problem, since I only had five interviewees. Secondly, it is also possible to, often unconsciously, ask leading questions, which could lead to a bias in the interview. This was something that I had some difficulties with. While transcribing my interviews I saw that I asked some closed ended questions or some either/or questions. This was only the case with follow-up questions I made up during the interview, the interview guide questions were asked as they were written down. However, it does not look like the interviewees were much influenced by this. When I asked an either/or question they luckily also felt the space to state something else. A reason for this could be my position in the niche-edm scene of Rotterdam, but I will go into more detail about this in the paragraph on Positionality, Validity, Reliability & Ethics.

I was the only person involved in the actual collection of the data; I conducted, transcribed and coded the interviews. Since all programmers that I interviewed were Dutch, the interview guide (see appendix B), interviews, transcripts and codebook (see appendix C) were all in Dutch. This in order to make sure that everyone can express themselves as well as possible in their native language.

I sent an email or Instagram message to the people I wanted to interview and we set a date, this went all pretty smoothly. I let the programmers choose the location where they wanted to be interviewed, all interviews were supposed to take place at the location where the programmer worked. In the end one interview had to take place via Zoom, due to the interviewee being ill. This interview was also recorded through Zoom. The other interviews were recorded by mobile phone. During the interviews I made notes when the interviewee said something interesting, that I could use as a reminder for a follow-up question. The eventual length of the interviews was in accordance with how long I expected them to be; around 60 minutes long, varying from 49 minutes to 1 hour and 16 minutes.

### 3.4 Data Analysis

For the analysis of the interviews I chose to go with a strategy called thematic analysis. Like the name suggests this way of analysis focuses on finding key patterns or themes in the gathered data. According to Braun and Clarke “A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (2006, p. 82). Thematic analysis can happen in an deductive or in an inductive manner, but those two can also be combined (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I

chose for this method because it allows for a lot of flexibility. Besides that, I had a lot of text to analyse and thematic analysis is a suitable method for analysing large amounts of data.

For my analysis I combined an inductive and deductive way of coding and theme making. I created some codes beforehand stemming from the theory, for example the codes ‘necessities successful DJ’ and ‘niche-edm vs. EDM’. However, I mostly made use of an inductive way of coding where I came up with the codes during the reading of the transcripts.

The first step was open coding. This caused me to eventually have 113 different codes, of which a lot overlapped or only spoke about one quote. Therefore, the second step was axial coding, where I merged and deleted codes. After this I ended up with 47 codes. This is also the point where I finished my codebook (see appendix C) Then I went back to the interviews and checked with the codebook if I had coded all the relevant quotes with the final quotes in mind. Finally, I had to do the last step called selective coding. Here I grouped the codes or quotes together in different categories that covered the same theme. I ended up with 12 different themes, consisting of 2 to 7 codes per theme or code group (see appendix C). Some examples of the themes are: audience, reasons for not programming inclusively and ways to program inclusively. This whole coding process took place in Atlas.ti.

### 3.5 Positionality, Validity, Reliability & Ethics

Even though some degree of subjectivity is hard to escape with qualitative research, this research can still be seen as valid and reliable. Important here is to discuss my own position as an interviewer. My subjectivity as an interviewer is influenced by the fact that I am female, queer and a DJ. This influences my view on certain topics, but may also have an influence on the interviewees. It could be that the interviewees are more cautious when talking about gender inequalities to me instead of to a male interviewer. However, it could also be that the interviewees feel more at ease when talking to me about gender inequalities, since I am a woman. I am also part of the same scene as the people I interviewed, this has advantages, but also some disadvantages. Advantages are that we speak the same language, four of five interviewees already knew me and it was easy for me to find interviewees. Disadvantages may be that I could be biased. Or that the interviewees are afraid to share everything because I know others in the scene. At the same time it is important to note that even though I am in the same scene as them, I am not in a higher or equal position with a lot of influence in the scene.

The interviews are replicable with different interviewees, as long as they are programmers of niche-edm in Rotterdam. The interviews can also be conducted at a different

moment. However, the interviews can never be done identically, since we are dealing with semi-structured interviews. It can be reproduced through asking the same questions that are stated in the interview guide (see appendix B). The code book is also given (see appendix C), this allows other researchers to read the explanation of different codes so that they can apply the same coding method.

Of course it is also important to do research in an ethical way. For example, doing research without harming the interviewees. Before conducting the interviews the participants were asked to read and sign an informed consent form. This was needed so that they knew prior to the interview what it was about and for what it will be used, in order to prevent deception. The informed consent form also informed the interviewees about the fact that they had the right not to answer a question if they did not want to. During the interviews this did not happen. However, two interviewees asked me to not include their sexuality.

Even though all respondents were fine with me naming the place they worked for, I chose to not include their names or the names of the company they worked for. Instead I reduced this to some traits like age group, gender, ethnicity and sexuality (of the programmers who were fine with this. I chose for this because the niche electronic music scene in Rotterdam is relatively small and others in the scene would immediately know what programmer was talking if the venue was named.



## 4. Results

This chapter seeks to explain what programmers of niche electronic music in Rotterdam do in order to shape the gender balance of line-ups. These findings follow from the five interviews I conducted with programmers of niche electronic music in Rotterdam.

The first part of the results focuses on inclusive programming. I will show how a social ethos can or can not be seen by the interviewed programmers and I will explain how the identity of a programmer influences what they value in line-ups. I found that the programmers who belong to a minority group are also the ones evaluating their line-ups in terms of gender. Finally, I will explain what purpose programmers have with inclusive programming.

Second, I explain the three different strategies applied by programmers in Rotterdam when it comes to inclusive programming in terms of gender. The difference in these programming strategies can be found in the moment of evaluation. The first strategy is applied by two programmers, and they keep the number of female DJs on the line-up in mind during the creation of the line-up. The two programmers who apply the second strategy evaluate afterwards and correct it, when needed, through other line-ups. The programmer applying the third strategy does not evaluate his line-ups in terms of gender.

The third part seeks to explain the difference between the existing numbers and theory about gender balances and my interviews. Here I name time and space as a possible explanation. Finally I will explain how the newcomer position of most interviewees might influence the view they have on inclusive programming.

### 4.1 Inclusive Programming

#### 4.1.1 Social Ethos

The interviews clearly showed that the gender imbalance in the niche electronic music scene is something the programmers had thought or talked about before. I noticed, just like Koren (2021) did, that the interviewees already had their answers ready. All of them touched upon the topic of inequality before I asked specific questions about it. Most of them brought this up when I asked what a good line-up is or what requirements they set for themselves when creating a line-up. One of the programmers went so far that he did not even mention any artistic or musical qualities that a good line-up should meet, instead he only focused on diversity and inclusivity:

Uhm, for me a good line-up mainly consists of being very diverse and inclusive, so that everyone who is in the club can feel represented by the people who are playing in front of them. So that could be a woman, people of colour, or uhm, I think that's really the most important thing, a diverse line-up mainly.

Programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch-Surinamese

This quote demonstrates the social ethos living in the niche-edm scene, from which the idea follows that artistic quality in the niche-edm scene is not just measured by the quality of the music, but also by the diversity of a line-up (Koren, 2021).

One of the programmers clearly did not seem to identify with the social ethos living in the niche-edm scene. For him, there seemed to be a conflict between diversity and artistic quality. In this conflict he chooses artistic quality over diversity: “I think that sometimes we overdo it a bit and the trends are becoming more important than the content” (programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch). Immediately after this statement he continued with “And that is very dangerous to say and I know that, so I’m really careful about that”. Saying this after his statement also indicates that he had talked about it before. And even though he was on the other side of the spectrum, this programmer also brought the topic up himself.

#### 4.1.2 Influences of own Social Position

Besides valuing an inclusive line-up in terms of gender, the interviewees also noted that they valued an inclusive line-up in terms of sexuality and/or race. This valuation seemed to be a reflection of their own identity or background. All the interviewees who were concerned about inclusive programming were also part of a marginalised group themselves, whether it was through their gender, sexuality or race. The female programmers seemed to focus mostly on having an inclusive line-up with an eye on gender, the programmer who belonged to the LGBTQIA+ community focused mostly on having a line-up with queer artists, and the programmer who was of colour focused mostly on programming other people of colour. They were of the opinion that their own identity, consisting of factors like gender, race, age and sexuality had a big impact on their programming. To the question to what extent this influenced their programming choices one of the programmers answered: “I think that is why my focus is more on women, because I’m a woman myself” (programmer, early 30s, female, Dutch). Another interviewee answered:

Yes, I think a lot. It is of course when you are bi yourself then you will automatically look for people who are also slightly different. I think you've had that all your life. And because of that you also come into contact with a lot of artists who are also queer, for example, or you know, that just has everything to do with your interests and your own preference and you can see that, I think.

Programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch

Here the programmer expresses that he comes in contact with a lot of artists who are queer, because he is queer himself. He is thus part of a certain social network. Gavanas & Reitsamer (2016) describe how being excluded from scene networks will lead to self-organisation and the creation of female networks. In this example it is not the creation of a female network but of a queer network in which the programmer takes place. This way of network building is something the other programmers contribute to as well. For example through creating a resident pool only consisting of female and queer DJs or through creating a womxn series.

When I asked the only programmer who did not belong to a marginalised group to what extent he thought his identity influenced his programming practices he responded with “Well probably very little, because if you look at me, I'm kind of the stereotype which is the opposite of that. I am a white, straight man so to speak, with many white friends” programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch). Here the assumption is made that your identity can only be of influence when you do belong to a marginalised group. This is also expressed in the following quote:

I think if you're in a certain minority you are more aware of the fact that you have to take all minorities into account. At the same time we're all human and I don't see myself as a white heterosexual person per se, but just as a human. I think everyone should be equal and I'm just trying to approach it from there, yeah.

Programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch

The background or the identity of the programmer thus seems to be an important influence on their programming practices. Also for a programmer who does not belong to a minority group. For him it seems to work the other way around; he does not belong to a minority group and thus takes a programming value as inclusivity to a lesser extent into account than the programmers who do belong to a minority group.

### 4.1.3 Motives for Inclusive Programming

Most programmers did not clearly explain why representation exactly mattered to them, they seemed to use intrinsic motivation as the reason. One of the programmers connected it to what he had missed in the club when he was younger:

I mean I would have liked to see that myself in the club back in the days. For me it when I went to clubs and I saw someone of colour I also thought 'oh that's pretty sick'. [...] That has a stimulating effect, also for them. That also gives a nicer feeling or something. When you see people who look like you standing behind the decks.  
Programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch-Surinamese

Another reason for inclusive programming could be the fear of critique or the pressure coming from the scene. When I asked about this most programmers first said they did not experience this, because they were intrinsically motivated. After posing some follow-up questions the programmers did speak about feeling a pressure sometimes. One programmer even saw inclusive program-making as her responsibility as a programmer and said: “I sometimes find that responsibility quite heavy” (programmer, late 30s, female, Dutch).

While the programmers seemed to have a hard time explaining why representation exactly mattered to them, they did not have a hard time explaining what the goal of inclusive programming was for them. The goal was breaking through certain structures in order to arrive at a point where it is normalized to have the same amount of female as male DJs on a line-up. One programmer describes it as part of a learning model:

And in the end we just have, maybe we have more women and then we are not aware of it anymore. Then it's kind of unconsciously competent, that it's not something you have to think about at all, but that it's just balanced. That there's just enough of it, so that's where I'd like to go. That there are just as many men as women to choose from, that it all just happens gradually.

Programmer, late 30s, female, Dutch-Israeli

## 4.2 Programming strategies

Four out of five programmers stressed that there is a lot of female talent and that they value having an inclusive line-up in terms of gender, however, the ways in which they translated

this to their programming practices differed. This translates into two different programming strategies; that of the active and that of the passive programmer, where the difference can be found in the moment of evaluation. The fifth programmer did not stress that an inclusive line-up in terms of gender was of importance to him, he holds a third strategy; that of the non-concerned programmer.

#### 4.2.1 Strategy 1: The Active Programmer

Two programmers stated that they actively looked for and programmed female DJs. The two programmers who applied this strategy were also the two female programmers. During the creation process of a line-up they kept in mind that a certain number of the DJs had to be female: “I also always keep a kind of, I don't communicate that, but I have a ratio in mind or a quota that I want as many women as men on the line-up” (programmer, early 30s, female, Dutch). This sometimes also results in choosing inclusivity over what would fit best musically, like the other programmer demonstrates in this quote:

Sometimes I choose for a woman that I actually think is less good, to be very honest [...] When it comes to sound, I would have made very different choices. But, I think it's important to choose women, so I consciously choose to do that, only for that reason, to break through it. Sometimes that is necessary, to achieve something we want to achieve. We want it to become equal.

Programmer, late 30s, female, Dutch-Israeli

The social ethos in the niche-edm scene that Koren (2021) talks about can clearly be seen in this quote. Artistic quality is not only measured by the quality of the music, but also by the diversity of a line-up. However, this way of programming can also be seen as a form of tokenism since female DJs are not always programmed because of their artistic qualities, but because of their gender. According to Gavanas & Reistamer (2016), tokenism can also have positive implications. This is also what the programmer in the last quote refers to. She sometimes sets her musical preferences aside in order to achieve equality and thus change the minority status of the female DJ. Inclusivity and equality on line-ups in the niche-edm scene are also seen as quality criteria (Koren, 2021), so an inclusive line-up helps changing the minority status of the female DJ and will also be received better by the scene.

#### 4.2.2 Strategy 2: The Passive Programmer

The other two programmers were more passive in booking women, they said that it was something that happened organically:

Yes, I think that the male-female ratio is very important and that actually goes very natural. I often have more women than men on my list. Because I just think we have so much female talent here in the Netherlands. Especially from the local DJs.

Programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch

They simply argued that they unconsciously had more female artists on their wish list, because there is so much female talent. An explanation for this could be the industry networks where they are part of. The programmer of the last quote replied as follows when asked how he discovers new talent: “Uhm, I think anyway by being part of those communities and going to those parties myself.” However, instead of calling it networks he calls it communities, something that has been done by most of the interviewees. According to Gavans & Reitsamer (2016) a DJ’s success can be highly influenced by being part of such networks or communities. This is something that the same programmer demonstrates in the following quote: “Uhm, for example, we had [name of party organisation] here a few weeks ago, there were some artists that I have on my list now for September for our own program.” Because those DJs had access to industry networks, they were invited by the organisation to play and because they were invited they got picked up by the programmer of the club itself and invited to come back.

Even though the statement that there are a lot of talented female DJs is something that the programmers who actively program women agree with, they still apply a different strategy. The passive programmers feel like they do not have to make use of something like a quota: “... it's not really that I create requirements for myself. It actually goes pretty automatically or so, you know. Women are killing it in the electronic music scene right now, so that's covered anyway” (programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch-Surinamese). It is not that the programmers who make use of this second approach do not reflect on the ratio of men and women in their own booking practices. They said to do this by looking afterwards at their monthly planning and adjust where needed. As one of them explained, “So if I afterwards see that this month I only have a few women, then I would try to correct that in the next month” (programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch). It is thus about finding balance.

### 4.2.3 Strategy 3: The Non-Concerned Programmer

The choice for the last strategy, that of not paying attention to gender, was fuelled by the belief that an artistically and technically well put together program goes before an inclusive program. This programmer does thus not hold the same social ethos that is often seen in the niche-edm scene, where inclusivity is also seen as a quality criterion (Koren, 2021). The programmer who applied this strategy stated:

I actually try to first look at the actual experience that someone has, technical experience that someone has too [...] So I always look at that first and only then at the male/female ratio, cultural background, age, and also difference in taste.

Programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch

Later on in the interview I asked if he thought that he programmed in an inclusive manner, the programmer's response to this question was "Uhm, pff. Then I should have a good look at the program...", indicating that there is usually no moment of evaluation in terms of inclusive programming. He chooses not to have this moment of evaluation, since for him good programming must be musically well put together, gender is not an important factor in this.

However, this programmer does acknowledge the gender inequalities in the niche-edm scene. He does also see his own role as the stereotypical white, heterosexual male with a lot of white, male friends. He notices that there is a trend going on where more DJs from minority groups are being booked, about which he says the following: "I think that it's not good for the development of music as art, but of course it's good for social development. Because it puts a lot of things on the agenda and gives it a stage that wasn't there before." This shows some similarities with Brook et al.'s (2019) concept inequality talk. The programmer acknowledges inequalities, but does not do something against it through his own programming practices. This secures the position of DJs who do not belong to a minority group.

### 4.2.4 New DJs

The programmer who applied this last strategy was also the only programmer that did not really want to program people for their first gig, about which he says the following: "So if you've just been playing for a year, you don't get on one of my line-ups quickly. Even if you spin every day, I know you don't have that experience yet" (programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch). Just like the interviewed DJs and booking agents that Gadir (2017) interviewed, this programmer shows a strong believe in meritocracy; you need to practice a lot and gain

experience and then you will be rewarded with a place on the line-up. Instead of new talents he focuses on names that are a bit more established, which could also reinforce certain gender structures, since the established names already had to be part of or break through the male-dominated networks described by Eikhof & Warhurst (2013) and Gavanas & Reitsamer (2016).

The other programmers had a completely different attitude when it came to programming new DJs. They really enjoyed creating a place for this and saw it as an important part of their programming practices:

Hmm, how I always try to describe it myself is that we are a bit of a breeding ground, a breeding ground for new talents. [...] We do want to be the space for artists who can get their first gig here, so to speak.

Programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch-Surinamese

This approach makes it easier for DJs who belong to a minority group to find their way into the scene networks and gain social or symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1993). At the same time it offers advantages for the programmers, since it is easier for them to meet the quality criterion of inclusivity. Including new DJs on line-ups, means that programmers have a bigger pool of DJs to choose from. Besides, this pool also consists of female or other minority DJs who did not manage to break through the male-dominated networks.

#### 4.3 Explaining Differences

The existing numbers and theory about gender balances on line-ups do not really correspond with the interviews I conducted. The already existing literature paints a relatively negative picture, while the interviews paint a very positive and optimistic one. In the following sections I will give some possible explanations for this. The differences may be caused by differences in time and space between the existing literature and my research. The differences may also be caused by the age and experience of the programmers that I interviewed. All programmers are below the age of 40 and most of them still hold a newcomer position when it comes to programming a weekly program.



### 4.3.1 Time and Space

All interviewees felt like over time a shift has happened in programming when it comes to the importance of diverse or inclusive programming. One of the programmers, the one who has been programming for the longest time, also expressed that her own attitude changed over the years:

To be honest I wasn't really concerned with whether someone had a penis or not, it didn't really interest me at all. I just listened to the music, I thought I like this, this will be my line-up. It's just really been the last couple of years [...] but that makes it a good line-up I think, that you also think about that.

Programmer, late 30s, female, Dutch-Israeli

The programmers state that this shift to a more diverse way of programming started about 5 years ago, so around the year 2017. One of the programmers connected this to an article:

Well, I remember the moment that I think 3voor12 or so wrote about it, that some festivals just consisted of 100% white men. And since then it has shifted a bit and a lot of programmers, festivals and events and such have pushed women quite a bit.

Programmer, early 30s, female, Dutch

Another programmer connected it to the rise of a female black trans DJ: “For me it started with Honey Dijon I guess, if I have to point to a big name that exploded out of nowhere” (programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch). However, the programmers did not give a specific reason for why this shift might have happened.

The literature that formed the foundation for my theoretical framework was published in and before 2017. Take for example Gadir (published in 2016 and 2017), Gavanoas & Reitsamer (published in 2013 and 2016) and Farrugia (published in 2012). And the interviews from these articles were conducted even before. Gadir's interviews took place between 2010 and 2015, Gavanoas & Reitsamer's between 2005 and 2011 and Farrugia's between 2003 and 2005. A possible change of zeitgeist could thus be an explanation for the differences between the existing literature and this research.

Next to the time, another explanation for this dissonance can be found in the place of the research. In my case the research focuses just on one city; Rotterdam. In her 2016 research Gadir did not focus on a city, but on a few countries, including Australia, Taiwan, the United

Kingdom and the United States (2016). In her 2017 research she solely focuses on Oslo (2017). Gavanas & Reitsamer (2016) looked at different cities in Europe like Berlin, London and Vienna. And Farrugia (2012) investigated different cities in the United States, like Los Angeles, Detroit and Chicago. Attitudes towards the importance of inclusivity can vary greatly by place. In my sampling section I already posed the question whether the populist ideology of Rotterdam is reflected in the way programmers of niche-edm create their line-ups or if the cosmopolitan view was more present. I think the answer to this question is very clear, the cosmopolitan view seems to prevail, since the majority of programmers are concerned with creating inclusive line-ups. It could be that in the other researched cities and/or countries another view prevails and impacts the gender balance of line-ups.

#### 4.3.2 Age and Position

Besides the influence of time and space it is also important to note that all the programmers that I approached for an interview were below the age of 40. One of the interviewees saw this too and used it as an explanation for why there were not as much female DJs a few years ago as there are now: "...that must really be because of the programmers of the time. That they were just old white kills, booking the same peeps all the time. Uhm, everyone is quite young, the current programmers I know now" (programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch-Surinamese).

All programmers claimed to see the importance of an equally distributed line-up when it comes to gender. And four out of five said they did something in order to get rid of the gender imbalance of niche electronic line-ups. It is interesting to hold these attitudes next to the line-ups from 2019, the year before the Covid pandemic started. I analysed the line-ups of three different clubs in Rotterdam; BAR, Perron and MONO in the months January and June<sup>1</sup>. From the three clubs MONO programmed the highest percentage of women and nonbinary people (40% in January and 29,1% in June). On average the clubs programmed 18,1% non-men.

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<sup>1</sup> I counted the male and female or nonbinary DJs that were presented on the line-ups on Resident Advisor, an international online platform about electronic music where events can easily be found back (Resident Advisor, 2019a; Resident Advisor, 2019b; Resident Advisor, 2019c). When an act consisted of two people I counted them separately. So, if a man did a back-to-back set with a woman, they were counted as one man and one woman. There were a few cases in which the DJ was not traceable or still had to be announced. Because I was not sure of what gender those DJs were, I did not count them.

	<b>BAR January</b>	<b>Perron January</b>	<b>MONO January</b>	<b>BAR June</b>	<b>Perron June</b>	<b>MONO June</b>
<b>Men</b>	26 (86,7%)	18 (94,7%)	3 (60%)	91 (87,5%)	22 (91,7%)	17 (70,8%)
<b>Women, nonbinary</b>	4 (13,3%)	1 (5,3%)	2 (40%)	13 (12,5%)	2 (8,3%)	7 (29,1%)
<b>Total</b>	30 (100%)	19 (100%)	5 (100%)	104 (100%)	24 (100%)	24 (100%)

*Table 2: gender distribution of line-ups in Rotterdam 2019*

These numbers seem to be in stark contrast with the views of the programmers I interviewed. Important to note here is that before the pandemic, most of the interviewees were not operating from the spot from which they are operating now, so the line-ups from before the pandemic are not representative for their work. Unfortunately, it is hard to do a similar analysis on the current line-ups. At the moment of interviewing the clubs in the Netherlands have only been open for 2 months after being closed for 2 years because of the Covid-19 pandemic. This situation makes counting harder; we can only look at a short timeframe and because of the sudden opening programmers have been dealing with different circumstances. When just looking at the attitudes of the interviewed programmers, you would think that the gender imbalance on line-ups in the niche-edm scene of Rotterdam would not really be present anymore.

Of course, it can be expected that programmers will give politically correct answers during an interview. It is possible that they say they try to get a balanced line-up, but that in practice the line-ups remain to be predominantly male. However, the newcomer position that these programmers hold must also be taken into account. This position may namely be a reason for their optimism. This goes mostly for the programmers who applied the passive strategy. They stated to have a list of artists that mostly consists of people coming from minority groups. Since they just opened and started programming after the pandemic there are still a lot of DJs on this list that have not yet been programmed, but over time this list with names who have not been programmed will probably become smaller. Time will tell whether this attitude will really make a difference on the line-ups of niche-edm programmers in Rotterdam.

## 5. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to answer the following question: How do programmers of niche electronic dance music in Rotterdam negotiate gender inequalities in relation to their programming styles?

I found that there are three different strategies applied by niche-edm programmers in Rotterdam. The difference between the strategies can be found in the evaluation. The programmers using the first strategy, the active programmers, actively think of the amount of male/female DJs on their line-up while creating the line-up. The moment of evaluation is thus during the creation of the line-up. The programmers using the second strategy, the passive programmers, do not have this in mind while creating the line-up. They say they create inclusive line-ups because they organically have a lot of minority artists on their wish list. They evaluate their programming afterwards and, when needed, they compensate it through other events. The third strategy was applied by one programmer, who did not take gender into account before, during or after the creation of line-ups and there was thus no moment of evaluation. It appeared that the background was of big influence on the programming strategy the programmer used. All programmers who belonged to a minority group themselves applied a strategy where inclusive programming was important. And the programmer who did not belong to a minority group chose not to do so.

In the niche-edm scene a shift has happened over the last years when it comes to gender inequalities, where the focus has moved to inclusive programming. Not all programmers find this a good artistic development, but they do all find it a good social development. This shift is not without consequences; it brought a pressure to program inclusively and for some, a fear of criticism. This shift in programming could be a reason why the interviews contradict with the already existing literature in some ways, since the majority of literature is older than 5 years and this is also the period in which the shift happened. However, another explanation for this difference could be the location of the research, since this is the only research conducted in Rotterdam. The fact that most interviewed programmers belong to a young generation of programmers could also be an explanation for the differences. At the same time it promises a lot in terms of gender equality in the niche-edm scene of Rotterdam. We will need to have patience to see if how this will develop.

For this thesis I used a sample size of five programmers of niche-edm in Rotterdam. In qualitative research it is hard to know in advance how many people should be interviewed. It is expected that researchers go on with interviewing until saturation occurs (Bryman, 2015).

During the fifth interview that I conducted I found out about a different programming strategy where (almost) no attention is paid to the gender of the artists. Therefore, I did not reach saturation. Due to the size of this research, some programmers who did not respond and the time pressure, I had no other choice than staying with my sample size of five respondents. However, for further research it would be interesting to investigate if there are more programmers of niche-edm in Rotterdam who apply this strategy and to see if there are even more strategies. It would also be interesting to investigate this on a different scale, for example in the Netherlands as a whole and investigate whether there are differences between different cities.

For future research it could also be interesting to dive deeper into the conflict between creative freedom and making money. Aspects that need to be looked at in this case are for example the size of the venue and if the organisation receives any funding. A big venue will most likely book more big and established names than a small venue, since they need to sell more tickets. And an organisation that receives funding is able to experiment more since they do not (only) have to generate revenue through ticket sales. Those factors might all be of influence on the gender (im)balance of line-ups. Another interesting approach would be to extend this research with the evaluation of the line-ups that my interviewees created, so that the interviews and the line-ups can be compared. It is best to wait a few months with this, since the programmers only programmed for two months when writing this. In this way we can find out if the programmers are really changing the gender inequalities in Rotterdam's niche-edm scene, or if it is just the optimism of junior programmers.

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## Appendix A: Overview interviewees

1. Programmer, early 30s, female, Dutch, heterosexual
2. Programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch, prefers not to say sexuality
3. Programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch-Surinamese, prefers not to say sexuality
4. Programmer, late 30s, female, Dutch-Israeli, heterosexual
5. Programmer, late 20s, male, Dutch, heterosexual

## Appendix B: Interview guide

### Introductie

- Dit interview gaat over elektronische muziek in Rotterdam met een focus op programmering en gender
- Je bent niet verplicht om antwoord te geven op een vraag en je kan op elk moment aangeven om te stoppen als je je er niet prettig bij voelt
- Het interview zal geanonimiseerd worden en alleen voor onderzoeksdoeleinden worden gebruikt
- Check of het consent form is gelezen en ondertekend, akkoord met opname

### Persoonlijk

- Wat doe je graag in je vrije tijd?
- Kan je me iets vertellen over je passies?

### Werk/Rotterdam

- Hoe zou je Rotterdam omschrijven als stad?
- Hoe zou je de underground of niche scene in Rotterdam omschrijven?
- Kan je me iets vertellen over het werk wat je doet?
  - Uit welke taken bestaat dit allemaal?
- Kan je me iets vertellen over de plek waar je werkt?
  - Is dit de enige plek waar je werkt?
- Hoe ben je met dit werk begonnen?
  - Hoe lang werk je al op deze plek/Hoe lang doe je dit werk?
- Waarom doe je dit werk?

### Programmering

- Wat maakt volgens jou een goede line-up?
- Hoe gaat het proces van programmeren voor jou in zijn werk?
- Hoe ontdek je nieuwe talenten?
- Wat zijn jouw favoriete talenten?
- Wat zijn jouw favoriete gevestigde namen?
- Wat heb je volgens jou nodig om een succesvolle dj te worden/zijn?
- Hoe zie je jouw rol als programmeur binnen de Rotterdamse of Nederlandse scene?
  - Hoeveel invloed denk je dat je hebt op iemand dj carrière?
- Wat zijn eisen die je stelt aan je line-ups?
- Programmeer je alles zelf of laat je ook andere mensen/partijen avonden programmeren?

- Hoe gaat dat in zijn werk?
- Krijgen ze programmabudget vanuit de club of moeten ze dit zelf bekostigen?
- In hoeverre hebben zij vrijheid in het samenstellen van een line-up?
- Wat zijn de eisen die je aan hun programma stelt?
- In hoeverre denk je dat jouw identiteit (gender, leeftijd, afkomst, seksualiteit, etc.) invloed heeft op de manier waarop je programmeert?

#### Gender & programmering

- Hoe zou je de Rotterdamse underground/niche-edm scene omschrijven met betrekking tot gender?
  - Heb je het idee dat dit aan het veranderen is?
- In hoeverre ben je bezig met het gender van de artiesten die je boekt?
  - En met iemands etniciteit?; Andere factoren waar je op let?
  - Waarom ben je hier wel/niet mee bezig?
- In hoeverre houdt je rekening met de spot waarop je een vrouw of non binair persoon plaatst (opening, headliner, closing)?
- Vind je dat je inclusief programmeert?
  - Waarom wel/niet?
  - Wat maakt volgens jou een inclusieve line-up?
  - Gaat dit organisch of hoe doe je dit?
- In hoeverre voel je een druk om inclusief te programmeren?
  - Hoe komt dat?
  - Van wie komt die druk?
- Ben je wel eens bekritiseerd voor een of meerdere van je line-ups?
  - Wat was deze kritiek?
  - Wat vond je hiervan?

#### Gender/ongelijkheid

- In hoeverre ben je bezig met ongelijkheid in je dagelijkse leven?
- In hoeverre heeft dit thema (genderongelijkheid) invloed op je stemkeuze?
- Zou je jezelf omschrijven als een feminist?
  - Waarom wel/niet?

#### Einde interview

- Is er nog een onderwerp onbesproken gebleven waar je het graag nog over wilt hebben?
- Vragen aan mij?

## Appendix C: Codebook

Code	Omschrijving
Aanbod minority DJs is schaars	Programmeur geeft aan dat er niet veel minority DJs (behorend tot een minderheid m.b.t. gender, seksualiteit, etniciteit) zijn
Angst voor kritiek	Programmeur bespreekt dat er angst is (bij zichzelf of bij anderen) om bekritiseerd te worden wegens een niet inclusieve line-up
Balans	Programmeur geeft aan dat er een balans moet zijn in de programmering m.b.t. gender, seksualiteit, etniciteit van de DJs
Bekendere namen podium geven	Programmeur geeft aan podium te bieden aan gevestigde DJs i.p.v. startende DJs
Benodigheden succesvolle dj	Programmeur benoemt eigenschappen die nodig zijn om een succesvolle of goede DJ te zijn
Bezig met gender ongelijkheid in dagelijks leven	Programmeur legt uit op wat voor manier hij/zij in het dagelijks leven met gender ongelijkheid bezig is
Doelgroep	Programmeur vertelt iets over de doelgroep waarvoor hij/zij programmeert
Druk inclusief programmeren	Programmeur geeft aan druk te voelen om inclusief te programmeren
Eisen programmering	Programmeur vertelt aan welke eisen zijn/haar programmering moet voldoen
Favoriete DJ behorend tot minderheid	Programmeur benoemt een DJ die hij/zij tof vindt die behoort tot een minderheidsgroep (gender, seksualiteit of etniciteit)
Favoriete DJ geen minderheid	Programmeur benoemt een DJ die hij/zij tof vindt die niet behoort tot een minderheidsgroep (gender, seksualiteit of etniciteit)
Geen druk inclusief programmeren	Programmeur geeft aan geen druk te voelen om inclusief te programmeren
Generatie programmeurs	Programmeur zegt iets over de houding van oude of jonge generatie programmeurs m.b.t. divers/inclusief boeken
Goede maatschappelijke ontwikkeling	Programmeur vindt het een goede maatschappelijke ontwikkeling dat er meer wordt gelet op inclusieve programmering
Goede programmering	Programmeur geeft aan waar een goede programmering aan moet voldoen
Groei in aantal vrouwelijke DJs	Programmeur geeft aan dat er een groei is in het aantal vrouwen dat DJ is

Inclusief programmeren gaat niet organisch	Programmeur geeft aan dat divers/inclusief programmeren van zelf gaat
Inclusief programmeren gaat organisch	Programmeur geeft aan dat divers/inclusief programmeren niet van zelf gaat en er actief mee bezig is
Inclusiviteit > artistieke waardes	Programmeur geeft aan inclusiviteit belangrijker te vinden belangrijker te vinden dan bepaalde artistieke keuzes
Intersectionaliteit	Programmeur haalt aan dat diversiteit/inclusiviteit niet alleen om gender gaat, maar bijvoorbeeld ook om seksualiteit en etniciteit
Intrinsieke motivatie	Programmeur geeft aan zelf intrinsiek overtuigd te zijn van het nut van inclusief programmeren
Invloed eigen identiteit/ervaring op inclusieve programmering	Programmeur vertelt of zijn/haar eigen identiteit (bestaande uit gender, seksualiteit, etniciteit, etc.) of ervaringen van invloed zijn op de manier waarop hij/zij programmeert
Invloed programmeur op DJ carrière	Programmeur geeft aan hoeveel invloed hij/zij denkt te hebben op iemands DJ carrière
Kaders programmering	Programmeur legt uit wat de kaders zijn waarbinnen hij/zij programma kan maken en waardoor hij/zij concessies moet maken
Kwaliteit programmering > inclusiviteit	Programmeur geeft aan de kwaliteit van de muzikale programmering belangrijker te vinden dan de inclusiviteit van de programmering
Let niet op gender	Programmeur geeft aan niet op het gender van een DJ te letten tijdens het programmeren
Line-up opbouw	Programmeur legt uit hoe hij/zij de opbouw/volgorde van een line-up vorm geeft
Marketing	Programmeur vertelt over het gebruik van gender als marketingmiddel
Movement	Programmeur spreekt over een beweging de laatste jaren waarbij er meer aandacht is gegaan naar divers/inclusief programmeren
Nadeel als meerderheid	Programmeur geeft aan dat het als DJ behoren tot een meerderheid in diens nadeel kan werken
Niche-edm vs. edm	Programmeur maakt een vergelijking tussen de niche-edm en edm scene m.b.t. gender
Nieuw talent ontdekken	Programmeur legt uit hoe hij/zij nieuwe talenten ontdekt

Nieuw talent podium bieden	Programmeur vertelt dat hij/zij podium biedt aan nieuw talent
Normalisatie	Programmeur hoopt dat het de norm wordt dat er even veel vrouwen als mannen draaien
Pushen vrouwen/queer artiesten	Programmeur geeft aan vrouwelijke of queer artiesten extra te pushen op line-ups
Quotum/ratio	Programmeur deelt zijn/haar mening over het gebruik van een quotum of legt uit of hij/zij gebruik maakt van een quotum/ratio tijdens het programmeren
Relatie tot feminisme	Programmeur vertelt of hij/zij zichzelf ziet als feminist
Representatie	Programmeur vertelt iets over representatie op line-ups
Rotterdam als stad	Programmeur vertelt over hoe hij/zij Rotterdam ziet als stad, haar inwoners en de niche-edm scene
Samenwerking externe partijen	Programmeur legt uit hoe de samenwerking met externe partijen in zijn werk gaat
Slechte artistieke ontwikkeling	Programmeur vindt dat de focus op inclusieve programmering een slechte artistieke ontwikkeling is
Structuren doorbreken	Programmeur geeft aan dat hij/zij bepaalde gender structuren wilt doorbreken met diens programmeerpraktijken
Tijdsdruk	Programmeur legt uit hoe hij/zij omgaat wanneer tijdsdruk toeneemt tijdens het maken van een inclusieve line-up
Verandering houding programmeur	Programmeur geeft aan dat zijn/haar houding t.o.v. inclusief programmeren is veranderd in de laatste jaren
Verandering van de tijd	Programmeur geeft aan dat tijden zijn veranderd in de niche-edm scene m.b.t. divers/inclusief programmeren
Voordeel als minority	Programmeur geeft aan dat het als DJ behoren tot een minderheid in diens voordeel kan werken
Vraag naar diversiteit	Programmeur geeft aan dat er een vraag naar diversiteit is vanuit het publiek

<b>Code groep/thema</b>	<b>Codes behorend tot groep</b>
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Aanbod dj's	Groei in aantal vrouwelijke DJs Aanbod minority DJs is schaars
Achtergrond programmeurs	Bezig met gender ongelijkheid in dagelijks leven Generatie programmeurs Relatie tot feminisme Verandering houding programmeur
Doel inclusief programmeren	Normalisatie Representatie Structuren doorbreken
Manier inclusief programmeren	Balans Inclusief programmeren gaat niet organisch Inclusief programmeren gaat organisch Inclusiviteit > artistieke waarden Intersectionaliteit Pushen vrouwen/queer artiesten Quotum/ratio
Minority/majority DJs	Aanbod minority DJs is schaars Favoriete DJ behorend tot minderheid Favoriete DJ geen minderheid Nadeel als meerderheid Voordeel als minority
Omschrijving scene	Niche-edm vs. edm Rotterdam als stad
Programmering algemeen	Eisen programmering Goede programmering Line-up opbouw Samenwerking externe partijen
Publiek	Angst voor kritiek Doelgroep Marketing Vraag naar diversiteit
Reden inclusief programmeren	Angst voor kritiek Druk inclusief programmeren Intrinsieke motivatie Invloed eigen identiteit/ervaring op inclusieve programmering
Reden niet inclusief programmeren	Aanbod minority DJs is schaars Geen druk inclusief programmeren Kaders programmering Kwaliteit programmering > inclusiviteit Let niet op gender Tijdsdruk

Verandering scene m.b.t. gender	Generatie programmeurs Goede maatschappelijke ontwikkeling Groei in aantal vrouwelijke DJs Movement Slechte artistieke ontwikkeling Verandering houding programmeur Verandering van de tijd
Wie krijgt podium	Bekendere namen podium geven Benodigheden succesvolle dj Invloed programmeur op DJ carrière Nieuw talent ontdekken Nieuw talent podium bieden