

## The representation of females of colour in the Dutch media



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## **Executive summary**

The purpose of this research is to find out if there is a whitewashing of the Dutch media and what effects, if any, it has on young females of colour. In order to answer this question desk research has been done about several studies regarding the representation of ethnic minorities. In addition to this, field research has been conducted in the form of a survey to view the opinions of Dutch females of colour as well as the Dutch citizens. The desk research revealed that when it comes to the representation of ethnic minorities on television, women of colour are underrepresented in the Dutch mainstream media. If they are represented on television, it is mostly in a stereotypical way (Redmond Amsterdam, 2013). Furthermore, when females of colour are shown in magazines, it always seems like they fit the *white beauty ideal*: long, straight hair and a light skin (Alvarez, 2008). This does not only influence the perception of white females about females of colour, but also the self-perception of females of colour (Covert and Nixon, 2008). Advertisers played an important role in this, since they prefer a white readers public. In addition to this, new media and social media can be considered as two important new mediums when it comes to the negative or unequal representation of females of colour (Moody, 2012). Besides this, the way females of colour are represented in hip hop videos is also an example of negatively stereotyping the female of colour. Moreover, when it comes to the representation of females of colour in Dutch history, images of black in Dutch history varies from slaves, uncivilized people, devils, bogey men or clown (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2007). According to Tessa Boerman, black females were negatively represented in Dutch paintings as well as positively represented (Boerman, 2008). The field research revealed that from the surveyed Dutch females of colour, 52% was affected by the current media representation of females of colour in the media. Of these females, 36% has felt the pressure to fit into the Western beauty ideal. This pressure was especially felt, when it came to wanting to have straight hair, a lighter skin, light eyes and Eurocentric features. These findings suggest that in general, there is a white washing of the Dutch media. The general public also thought that females of colour in the media did fit the white beauty ideal more. However, they also considered light skinned females with Eurocentric features as more beautiful.

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## **Preface**

This thesis is made as a completion of the bachelor of European Studies at The Hague University. Growing up in the nineties and the new millennium, as a child and a teenager, I have always been exposed to the rapid growth of media in all its different forms. Television, magazines, Internet, and social media: I have been an active user of all of them. With these different forms of media, also came different ways of criticism: criticism about the way people were portrayed in the media, what the media representation did not include and what its influence was on the younger generation. Harmful media ideals are often the subject of several discussions, with extreme thinness and photo shopped images as one of the most notable aspects of the whole problem. For example, images of thin models who looked extremely beautiful could make me feel insecure, because I wanted to look like them. However, growing up as a young female of colour myself, there was one thing that made me feel more insecure, even made me feel excluded in some way: the lack of females of colour in the media. Becoming an adult, it was something I eventually became used to, but it is still something that makes me feel concerned for all the young girls growing up at this moment. I have mentioned before in this section, that beautiful and thin models could make me feel insecure and caused me wanting to look like them. However, seeing these models with their pale skins and sleek hair made me besides feeling insecure, also confused: with my curly hair and medium skin tone, I was not even able to look like that. Exactly this lack of the representation of females of colour made me feel excluded. Today, it makes me in particular think on how it affects young females of colour. It makes me wonder that if these young girls would also feel excluded, they might also try certain things in order to fit into the dominant beauty ideal. These main things actually made me wanting to do more research about the topic regarding the representation of females of colour in the media. My goal is to shine a light on the current representation of females of colour in the Dutch media and how the overall situation of cultural diversity in the Dutch media is defined. With my thesis I hope to bring more awareness about problems regarding the lack of representation of females of colour, for example how it affects females of colour themselves. As a result, I hope to influence different forms of media by showing them the need for a more equal representation.

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## Introduction

The Netherlands is considered as a multicultural country with different cultures ranging from Surinamese people, to people of Indonesian or Moroccan descent. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, 21% of the Dutch population belongs to an ethnic minority (CBS Statline, 2013). However, it should be questioned how well this melting pot is shown in the media and, if so, in which way. Especially when it comes to the question how females of colour are represented in the media, several debates were the result. In the United States, the magazine *Essence* did a study based on the images of black females that were regularly seen on television, social media and in music videos. During this research, more than 1,200 respondents who participated in the study mentioned that the portrayals of black women were overwhelmingly negative. The stereotypes in which the black females were portrayed ranged from gold diggers, modern jezebels, baby mamas, uneducated women, ratchet females, angry black women, mean black girls, unhealthy black girls and black Barbie's (Walton, 2013). In contrast to this, the study also showed that more positive portrayals seem to be excluded from the media. This accounts for the portrayals of real beauties, individualists, community heroes, the girl next door or modern matriarchs. This study gained a lot of notable attention, especially since the United States seem to be fulfilled with television shows based on the stereotype of the black female. *The Real Housewives of Atlanta*, *Bad Girls Club* and *Love and Hip Hop*: they all seem to include the negative side of black females. It was due to this study, that the question came up why a similar study never has been done in the culturally diverse Netherlands.

Notable other studies have been done based on this problem in the United States. An example of this are the eight portraits defined by Dr. Dionne Stephens of the Florida International University. These eight portraits include the most common stereotypes of females of colour in hip hop videos. In addition to this, Jatin Atre also shines an interesting light on the fact that advertisers favour a white readers public over a black readers public in order to attain their loyal customer base.

In the Netherlands there are a few examples of these studies or articles. An example of an article stating the problem of representing women of colour in a negative way is the article by Redmond Amsterdam, *Who's being left out – Representation of women of colour*. In this article, the lack of women of colour in the media and their stereotypes are discussed. However, this seems to be one of the few articles really relating to this

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problem. Due to this, it is important to do more research on the representation of women of colour in the Dutch media and to analyse how Dutch women of colour feel about this. For this reason, the core of this research is to find out if there is a whitewashing of the Dutch media and what effects, if any, it has on young females of colour. With the whitewashing, the overrepresentation of white people in the media is meant. The reason that this research will be conducted based on the Dutch media in particular is due to the fact that there seems to be a lack of research based on this in the Netherlands.

In order to provide a good structure of the research and even more important, to answer the research question, the following chapters of the main body have been set up:

- The representation of ethnic minorities on television
- The representation of ethnic minorities in magazines
- The representation of ethnic minorities on the internet and in social media
- What are the most common representations of women of colour in Dutch media?
- Could the representation of women of colour be traced back to Dutch history?
- How do women of colour feel about the current representation in the media?

The practical relevance involves that the information derived from this thesis can be used by different forms of mediums, for example magazines or broadcasting networks in order to use it as a critical self-reflection when it comes to cultural diversity in the media. Besides this, institutions who are already focused on doing research on cultural diversity in the media may use this research in order to find other subjects that could have a need for more research. Finally, the thesis may also have a high value for pressure groups who strive for more diversity and a more equal representation in the media. They might use the results.

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## **Methodology**

The purpose of this research is to investigate if there is a whitewashing of the Dutch media and what affect, if any, it has on young females of colour. In order to do this, the following sub questions need to be answered which will be divided in into separate chapters:

- What is the representation of ethnic minorities on television?
- What is the representation of ethnic minorities in magazines?
- What is the representation of ethnic minorities on the internet and social media?
- What are the most common representations of black women in Dutch media?
- Could the representation of black women be traced back in Dutch history?
- How do women of colour feel about the current representation of ethnic minorities in the media?

For this research a great amount of desk research has been conducted. The reason for this was that a big amount of theory was necessary to explain the whitewashing and the relation it has with the representation of females of colour. Also, the desk research was important to search for theories that could explain the reasons for a possible whitewashing of the media and the way females of colour were represented in the media. Since there are not many studies based on the representation of females of colour in the Netherlands, desk research was an important tool in order to find studies from other countries, mainly the United States.

In the chapter, "The representation of ethnic minorities on television", the expectancy value theory by Martin Fishbein and the uses and gratification theory by Blumler and Katz will be discussed. The expectancy value theory purports that the behaviour of people is a response to their beliefs and values (Spring, 2002). The uses and gratification theory explains the uses and functions of the media for individuals and groups. The uses and gratification theory has three objectives (Blumler, Katz and Gurevitch, 1974):

- Explain what individuals do with the media.
- To discover hidden motives for the media use of individuals.
- To identify the positive and negative consequences of the media use by individuals.

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The uses and gratification theory purports that members of the audience are active in seeking out the mass media to satisfy their individual needs (Blumler, Katz and Gurevitch, 1974). In relation to addressing the research question, the expectancy theory and the uses and gratification theory will be used in order to explain the negative stereotypes of ethnic minorities. In this case, both theories will be used to explain that negative expectations may influence the behaviour of ethnic groups and its social reality. In addition to this, the theories will also be used in order to explain that the media has a broad social influence on the way it reinforces or build stereotypes of social groups (Milkie, 1995).

In the chapter "The representation of ethnic minorities in magazines", the paper *Printed in "Black" and "White": Effect of Readers' Race on Magazine Advertising Rates* by Jatin Atre (2009) will be analysed in order to explain why advertisers favour a white readers' public over a black readers' public in terms of retaining the desired customers. As a result, this is useful to explain why most magazines are targeted at white people and why most advertisements include white people. Furthermore, the research of Lisa Duke (2000), *Black in a Blonde World: Race and Girls' Interpretations of the Feminine Ideal in Teen Magazines* will be analysed in order to find out and to explain how white young females and young females of colour interpret magazines. This will be important and useful for the research in order to find out in which way females of colour perceive magazines mainly targeted at white people.

In the chapter "The representation of ethnic minorities on the internet and social media", secondary data will be analysed from the Pew Research Centre's Internet and American Life Project regarding the statistics of internet and social media use among ethnic minorities. This is important for the research in order to find out to what extent the ethnic minorities are active on the internet and social media and what this could mean in reference to the way they are represented. Besides this, the paper *New Media – Same Stereotypes: An Analysis of Social Media Depictions of President Barack Obama and Michelle Obama* will be discussed and analysed. In this study, more than 20 Facebook groups and pages were analysed regarding their use of discriminating stereotypes of Barack and Michelle Obama (Moody, 2012). The importance of this research is the fact that it involves the most common stereotypes of black people and it shows how these negative stereotypes are integrated in the new media.

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For the chapter "What are the most common representations of women of colour in Dutch media?" the research of Dates and Barlow has been used which explains that the stereotypes about people are created during slavery (Dates and Barlow, 1990). The reason that this is useful is due to the fact that this shows a relation between the stereotypes during slavery and the current stereotypes in the media. Furthermore, the study/presentation *Selling Sexy: Mainstream Hip Hop culture's commodification of Black female sexuality* by Dr. Dionne Stephens has been used. For the research, the eight most common portraits of black females in hip hop videos were analysed. The portraits explain in a clear way the current and most common stereotypes of females of colour in the media. Besides this, it also describes the beauty ideal that is desired by most females of colour. From the eight portraits, four portraits will be discussed in the research. The reason for this is that the four chosen portraits are more relevant for the research.

For the chapter "Could the representation of women of colour be traced back to Dutch history", the documentary *Zwart Belicht* by Tessa Boerman (2008) was analysed. In reference to the documentary, Dutch paintings including black figures were analysed. During this analysis a closer look was taken at the status of the black people, the way they seem to be treated and what the meaning of their presence is. The importance of this analysis was to find out if there was a relation between the representation of females of colour on Dutch paintings and the way females of colour are nowadays represented in Dutch media. Besides this, the book *"Black in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society"* by Allison Blakely (1993) was analysed. Information concerning the images of black people were analysed including its relation to the current stereotypes of black people in Dutch culture. Moreover, the book *"Sarah Baartman and the Hottentot Venus"* by Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully (2009) was analysed in order to get more details on Sarah Baartman who performed as the Hottentot Venus in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The information that was derived from the book was used to find out what the influence of the Hottentot Venus was on the way females of colour were seen in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the way females of colour are perceived nowadays.

For the chapter *"How do women of colour feel about the media"*, field research has been conducted. In order to find out how women of colour felt about the representation in the Dutch media, a survey has been sent out to Dutch women of colour. In this

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survey questions were asked regarding the current representation of females of colour in the media, eventual stereotypes and a possible lack of representing females of colour. After conducting the survey, the research was analysed in order to find out if the females of colour were agreeing with a whitewashing of the media and if it affects them. In addition to this, they were also asked how it affects them and in which ways. Furthermore, the open question was analysed in order to find a pattern regarding the most common representations of females of colour in the Dutch media. The results of the survey were useful and of high importance, since this provides a clear overview of how women of colour themselves view the representation. Besides this survey, another survey has been conducted for the general public: the Western Dutch citizens. The survey was adjusted and was send out with the purpose to find out how the general public thought about the representation of females of colour in the Dutch media. The respondents were asked questions about females of colour being adequately represented in the media and their stereotypes. In addition to this, the same open answer question was asked in order to see a pattern. Also this survey was of high importance for the field research, since it is useful to compare the results to the results of the other survey.

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### **Representation of ethnic minorities on television**

According to Redmond, a non-profit based collective of intersectional feminists, women of colour are underrepresented in mainstream Dutch media. When women of colour are shown in the media, they are often portrayed as exotic, hypersexual or the veiled other. With the veiled other the stereotype of the suppressed Muslim female is meant. (Redmond Amsterdam, 2013).

A few examples are the Dutch television commercials, in which Surinamese women are often portrayed in a stereotypical way. Often, their appearance comes along with a heavy accent, shouting and being very loud. Besides this, most of the women are portrayed as the 'big mamma' or the single mother (Redmond Amsterdam, 2013). With the big mamma, the stereotype of the overweight black woman is meant, who always has a big attitude and often looks cheap. Examples of these stereotypes can be seen in the movie *Alleen maar nette mensen* from which movie stills are shown below.



Figure 1 1 Movie still from *Alleen Maar Nette mensen*. (Crijns, 2012).



Figure 1 2 Movie still from *Alleen Maar Nette mensen*. (Crijns, 2012).

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This image of the black female is often perceived as 'funny' by the Dutch public. On the other hand, in the black community this causes a lot of frustration. The late Surinamese author Clark Accord stated that people of colour are only seen as useful when there are problems or scandals. According to him, the black Dutch citizen is invisible (Dekker, 2009).

This negative stereotyping could be based upon the expectancy value theory in combination with the uses and gratification theory. The value expectancy theory by Fishbein explains that behaviour is related to the expectancies a person has. The behaviour that an individual performs is a response to their beliefs and values. In addition to this, there are also other factors that influence the behaviour. For instance, the social and psychological circumstances are the motives for a specific behaviour (Eccles and Wingfield, 2002). In addition to this, the uses and gratification theory purports that members of the audience are active in seeking out the mass media to satisfy their individual needs (Blumler, Katz and Gurevitch, 1974). The uses and gratification theory can be used for the following things: to find out what people do with the media, the hidden motives for an individual's use of media and the positive or negative consequences of an individual's media use (Blumler, Katz and Gurevitch, 1974). The combination of these theory is often used to explain the power that negative expectations may influence social reality (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995).

For example, the expectancy value theory in combination with the uses and gratification theory states that the media may have a broad social influence by reinforcing and building stereotypes or constantly promoting distortions of social groups (Milkie, 1995). Due to this, images in the media may contribute to social problems, such as prejudice, lack of educational opportunities, and racism. The negative images portrayed in the media may also have an impact on the group or the individual to whom the expectations are directed. When people from a certain minority group are often shown in a stereotypical way or are made invisible in the media, the group may feel a lack of understanding or social acceptance from the majority. Besides this, if the negative stereotypes are constantly associated with a particular minority group, these minority group members are in some way expected to fulfil the stereotype (Taylor, Lee & Stern, 1995).

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Taylor, Lee & Stern (1995) compared the way African Americans, Hispanics and Asian Americans were portrayed in magazine ads. They found that when Asians were featured in ads, they often wore business suits or they were used for ads related to technology. In addition to this, they also found that Asians appeared more in background roles and that Asian women were not depicted in major roles. (Taylor, Lee & Stern, 1995). When a closer look is taken at the Hispanics, it can be stated that Hispanics are the most underrepresented minority group in advertising. According to Taylor, Lee & Stern (1995), Hispanics were shown in only 4.7 percent of the general interest magazines. When the Hispanics were depicted in ads, they were often shown in family-oriented situations (Taylor, Lee & Stern, 1995). When African Americans are depicted in advertisements, they mostly conform to traditional Eurocentric ideals. In most cases, these models have light-skinned complexions and Caucasian features (Taylor, Lee & Stern, 1995). It can be concluded from this that the stereotypes in which these ethnic minorities are represented in ads, is likely to influence the way people see them.

When analysing the negative stereotypes, the expectancy theory and the uses and gratification theory seems to be true. A good example of the negative stereotyping is the discussion surrounding the novel/movie '*Alleen maar nette mensen*'. Negative comments were made about the portrayal of black females from the Bijlmer which was perceived by the black community as racist and sexist. In this case, it can be said that the media has a big influence in portraying the females of colour in a (negative) stereotypical way. According to the response of the black community in the Netherlands, it can also be stated that these stereotypes makes them feel excluded.

People of colour were upset about the fact that the black family in the movie was portrayed as a group of wild animals. This in contrary to the Jewish family who seems to get the opportunity to change in a positive way in the movie (Gario, 2012). The movie was perceived as an attack against the Bijlmer, the Surinamese and Dutch-Caribbean people and their culture. The black female was portrayed as a sex object and an unintelligent person (*Het Parool*, 2009). The fact that the story of the novel/movie would be about the search of a young man looking for an intelligent black woman is also seen as degrading. According to the former district mayor of Amsterdam South East, Elvira Sweet, it was very upsetting to see that black females in the Bijlmer were shown as easy (*Het Parool*, 2009).

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According to Clark Accord, this is an example of how the Dutch media uses black citizens (Dekker, 2009). The author further adds that there are many successful black people in the Netherlands, but they are not shown that often in the media. Also this, causes a lot of frustration in the black community. Dutch black people seem to lag behind in the representation on television. This while the black youth in the Netherlands, the females in particular, want to have role models to look up to (Dekker, 2009).

When black people are shown on television, it mostly has to do with entertainment and urban life, but no attention has been paid to black scientists and black economists, for example. People often refer to successful black people as athletes, good dancers, artists or comedians. However, the problem is that the black community would like to show that it is not the only thing that would describe a successful black person. They want more black people with intellect on the television, something that could stimulate the black youth in the Netherlands. In the article of Dekker in the *Volkskrant*, the problem has been discussed about how the Dutch media treats people of colour. According to Accord in the article, black Dutch citizens are well integrated, mostly speak Dutch and have good jobs. However, this is not translated into the media. Many of the TV presenters with an ethnic background are of Moroccan descent. This is good, because it changes the stereotype of this group. On the other hand, it also means that black Dutch citizens are made invisible due to the fact that they may be integrated too well. It gives black people in the Netherlands the feeling that, after they worked so hard to integrate, the media still does not want to represent them. People are not content with this. The black youth wants to participate, but they see not many examples or role models. (Dekker, 2009).

Nevertheless, plans were actually made to broadcast a television program focused on successful women of colour. The television program would have been about Shirley, a successful business woman living in Amsterdam. Production company Endemol showed interest in the format. However, after almost nine years, it still remains a format (Dekker 2009). Still, in the fall of 2013, the NTR started to broadcast 6 episodes of the Television program *Bonte Vrouwen*. In these episodes, six young, highly educated women with an ethnic background are followed while they are trying to make career. These women could be considered as a representation of ambitious, intelligent and driven females with an ethnic background.

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*Bonte Vrouwen* is an example of integrating women of colour on the Dutch television. However, it is also important to look at the racial makeup of the most popular Dutch television series. Unfortunately, it still seems to be a hard task to show an equal and realistic representation of women of colour on daily television.

*Goede tijden, slechte tijden*, a Dutch soap opera and one of the best watched television series, only counts three characters with an ethnic background (a Surinamese male and two Turkish women). This draws a strong contrast to the old soap opera *Onder weg naar morgen* (ONM). This soap, especially in its final years, represented the multicultural society in Amsterdam. In 2005, when BNN took over *Onder weg naar morgen* and started to broadcast the soap opera, a different approach was taken. The soap became more realistic and started to include social problems, often related to different cultures, in their storylines (Thies, 2011). Especially this appealed to young people with an ethnic background, not just due to the representation of social problems, but even more the representation of a multicultural society. Since the television series was taken over by BNN and another approach was taken, the ratings of the show increased to a rating of 800,000 (Thies, 2011). This representation of different cultures was encouraged and partly funded by the Dutch Muslim Broadcasting (Nederlandse Moslim Omroep). Their goal was to create a better representation of reality when it comes to Muslims in television series. In this way, young Muslims could identify themselves better with the Muslim characters in ONM. Notable females with an ethnic background in ONM were (Thies, 2011):

- Shirina Delic (Bosnia)
- Elif Ozal (Turkey)
- Julia Branca (Brazil)
- Malú Branca (Brazil)
- Kyra Isarin (Curaçao)
- Imani Ido Asad (Somalia)
- Rabia El-Bassity (Morocco)

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Another example with of a television series with a clear representation of a multicultural society is the youth series *SpangaS*. The series is about the life of a culturally diverse group of high school students. Just like ONM, *SpangaS* focuses a lot on multicultural storylines. Due to the creation of an active online community, the series has a potential impact on young people of colour (Sterk, 2010). This could be related to the fact that in 2012, *Spangas* was the most viewed TV series via *Uitzending gemist* with ratings of 10 million streams (Media Courant, 2013). The daily ratings of *Spangas* are 350,000 (Broadcast Magazine, 2013).

Since England is considered as one of the most multicultural countries in Europe, it is interesting to compare the ethnic representation on Dutch television to the situation in the United Kingdom. *EastEnders*, the highest rated soap opera in the United Kingdom, always had a culturally diverse cast from the beginning. John York, the current controller of BBC Drama Production, stated the following about cultural diversity in the soap opera:

*'I strongly believe that diversity is a gift to drama and we champion it endlessly. Every new group allows you the possibility of telling old stories in a new way, and viewers do seem to actually love characters irrespective of their background (Giddens, 2011).'*

According to a research by the Open University and the University of Manchester, it could be stated that ethnic communities in the United Kingdom prefer *EastEnders* and have little interest in the other British soap opera, *Coronation Street*. According to the research results, ethnic communities had a lack of interest in *Coronation Street* due to the strongly white, middle class England associations (Sweeney, 2006).

In addition to this, another discussion raised in the United States, namely, a discussion about the representation of black females on reality television. In comparison to the Netherlands, the United States has a wide range of reality television series. A great part of these reality television series involves a lot about the African-American lifestyle, for example *'Love and Hip-Hop'* or *'The Real Housewives of Atlanta'*. Even though, it is widely known that reality series often portray fiction as the truth, the African American community is highly concerned. They are mostly concerned about the fact that the

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black woman gets a negative image. Most females of colour would rather see the black woman being portrayed as empowering. The reality TV series are not their only concern. Black females in music videos are still portrayed in a negative way and are highly sexualized (NewsOne, 2011). Just as what happens in the Netherlands, the African American community asks for a better representation of black women. Nowadays, it is difficult to see TV programs with black women represented in a positive and accurate way (NewsOne, 2011).

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### Representation of ethnic minorities in magazines

There have been several discussions about magazines and the question of whether or not they satisfy the needs of readers with an ethnic background. The conclusion of these discussions was that the ethnic readers wanted more females of colour on the magazine covers (Dotulang, 2004).

Most Dutch magazine covers feature only white models, something that also applies for the marketing advertisements. A striking example was a L'oréal ad in 2008 in which Beyoncé Knowles was photo shopped with a lighter skin and enhanced facial features (Bos, 2008).



Figure 1.3 Advertisement of Beyoncé for L'oréal. (Robinson, 2012).

When females of colour are seen in magazines, they are often represented in a stereotypical way. It often seems that black women shown in magazines do fit the *white beauty ideal*: long, straight hair and a light skin. Features that are viewed as characteristics of black people, for example afro-textured hair, wider noses and fuller lips are often adjusted in order to conform to a white standard of beauty. It is a fact that lighter-skinned black women are more often represented in magazines than black women with a darker complexion (Alvarez, 2008). The result is, that this does not only influence the perception of white females about females of colour, but also the self-perception of females of colour (Covert and Nixon, 2008).

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Figure 1 4 Beyoncé on the cover of Glamour Netherlands. (Krupnick, 2012).



Figure 1 5 Zoe Kravitz on the cover of Veronica Magazine. (Veronica Magazine, 2014).



Figure 1 6 Glennis Grace on the cover of Talkies. (Grace, 2013).

According to Cécile Narinx, editor-in-chief of the Dutch *Elle*, black does not sell. Narinx did several experiments by putting women of colour on their cover, in this case, Beyoncé and a model who was also black. According to Narinx, both issues did not sell good enough (Bos, 2008).

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On the other hand, in the same year, the *Italian Vogue* released its first 'black issue'. In this issue, only black models were featured. In most countries it was sold out within 72 hours. It is hard to explain why this issue was such a huge success in contrast to the other magazines with a woman of colour on the cover. There is not enough research about the amount of magazine covers with women of colour and their selling numbers (Bos, 2008).

A great part of the problem has to do with the advertisers. Most of the advertisers are striving to appeal as many people as possible. In this case, factors such as income, age, and race play an important role (Atre, 2009). Since the white community is a majority, they are also the biggest audience. Advertisers basically buy their audiences, but not every audience will be bought. They narrow their audience to the few who seem to be valuable. Especially when there are limitations on the budget, it is important for advertisers to consider their right target market. An important reason for this is the "social circumscription". This means that there is a need to create a distinct identity for brands that are advertised in magazines. It is important for advertisers to associate their products with a particular group of people, but they also want to keep out certain groups who seem to be undesirable. When advertisers want to establish brands and maintain them, they are constantly trying to define the image of the product around the customers. The most powerful branding tool used by advertisers to create long-term brand identification and loyalty is the affiliation to a group that consumer belongs to or want to belong to. If the brand identity gets weaker, because of "unintended consumers" using the brand, then there will always be a risk that the intended audience might choose to stay away from the brand. An example is the clothing brand "*Tommy Hilfiger*" that associates itself with the white upper class. When hip hop artists started to wear their clothes in the late nineties, many consumers from the white upper class decided to stay away from the brand.

An increase in white readers results in an increasing amount of money an advertiser is willing to invest (Atre, 2009). The remarkable thing is that an increase in black readers makes the amount of investment decrease. It can be concluded that it is economically better if the readers public consists of mainly white people. Ethnic minorities seem to be unwanted for advertisers.

Also Carlein Kieboom, then editor-in-chief at Flair and Yes, agrees with this. "Blonde just sells better. It appeals to a bigger group" adds Kieboom. Magazines such as Flair

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and Yes are more often read by females from small towns and villages who are mostly Dutch, blonde and white (Bos, 2009).

In addition to this, Giovanni Massaro from Mira Media responds to the problem. Mira Media is a knowledge centre for diversity in the media and stimulating this diversity. According to Massaro, there is an anxiety for so-called 'black covers'. Many magazines are afraid that they will push away their current public and that they will not appeal a new public. This is the main reason why most magazines and advertisers hold on to their trusted network. As a result, it is hard to find suitable models of colour (Bos, 2009). This situation applies well for the theory of Atre: a white reader's public is more favourable than a black reader's public. Due to this, advertisers and magazines are less likely to include black people in their magazines and advertisements. Just like Massaro states: the magazines are afraid that they will push the current public away. This is similar to what Atre states: advertisers want to retain their loyal customers and are less likely to include black people.

Despite this, Dutch modelling agency Max Models thinks the situation will eventually change. Max Models acknowledges the fact that only 10% of their ethnic models has worked for fashion editorials and 30% for commercials. According to the owner, Inger Vendelmans, the equality between white models and ethnic models is still not fifty-fifty. Vendelmans notices that there is a slightly increasing demand for Latino models from a Moroccan or Turkish background. However, it is still hard for black models to be treated equally (Bos, 2008).

In the nineties, research has been done about females with an ethnic background and their perception of white dominated magazines. Magazines targeted at the white public does not automatically result in a decreasing number of black readers. In this case, the context in which the magazine is read, decides for its greatest part how the magazines are interpreted (Hermes, 1995).

A research in 2000 by Lisa Duke, assistant professor in the Advertising Department at the College of Journalism and Communications, University of Florida, states that white young females and young females of colour read magazines in a different way. It can be concluded that the ethnic background of the reader has a big influence on the way each group read a magazine or interpret the magazine. During this research, the interpretation of magazines by black and white teenage girls was analysed. It was

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found that white girls, when reading the magazines, found the models, fashion, and cosmetics the most interesting. Black girls on the other hand, mentioned that they had no interest in the models and they found the information related to appearance irrelevant due to the fact that they cannot identify themselves with them. The black girls found the lack of dark models in the magazines prejudged and irrelevant with their ideas about beauty. However, they still found the magazines interesting for other reasons (Duke, 2000).

It is important to question how women of colour are depicted in magazines and what type of women of colour is represented. Historically, the idea of skin colour suggests that black women with a lighter skin tone are more intelligent and attractive than their dark-skin counterparts. Also in this case, advertisement plays an important role (Hall, 1996). In 1996, a study has been conducted which researched the concept of colourism among black people in advertisements and editorial photographs. This accounted for advertisements and editorial photographs between 1989 and 1994. The conclusion of this research was that black people in advertisements had a lighter skin tone and more Eurocentric features compared to the editorial photographs (Keenan, 1996). Even in magazines targeted at the black community, such as *Ebony*, images of black women with a lighter skin and Eurocentric features were shown (Leslie, 1995). In contrast, models as Naomi Campbell, Tyra Banks and Alek Wek showed that there is a great diversity of black women. However, there are still biases against black females on their physical appearance (Hall, 1996). A good example is *People's Most Beautiful List of 2013*. Three black women made it to the top 10. Except for Kelly Rowland, the other two females, Kerry Washington and Halle Berry are considered as light skin females. Furthermore, all three of them showed in some way white facial features on the pictures. Also the hairstyle was a reference to the more Eurocentric look: all the three females had straight hair on the pictures. In this sense, it can be stated that a popular magazine like *People's Magazine* suggests that even in today's society a lighter skin tone and a more Eurocentric look is perceived as more attractive than a darker skin tone (Hall, 1996). Black women are constantly compared to the white definition of beauty. However, this is virtually unrealistic. Then again, the media, such as magazines and television tends to perpetuate this definition of beauty. This does not only creates a major divide within the black community, especially among the black

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females, but it also affects how other people evaluate black women regarding their abilities, likeability, and attractiveness. Dr. Kumea Shorter-Gooden, head of the office of Diversity at the University in Maryland, has a clear opinion about this:

*“If movies tend to depict less desirable women as darker skinned or fuller figured, those are the images that the public internalizes and believes (Shorter-Gooden, 2014).”*

Moreover, especially white individuals may view light skin women as more likeable and more positive than women with a darker skin tone.

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### **The representation of ethnic minorities on the internet and in social media**

There is a lack of research about the use of internet and social media among women of colour in Europe or the Netherlands. However, there has been done several studies about the usage of social media in the United States. According to a study done by Pew Research Centre's Internet & American Life Project, 80% of the African Americans are frequent internet users. Of the internet users, 96% is aged 18-29 years old and this age group uses some form of social networking site. When it comes to social media, Twitter is highly popular among young African Americans. Of the Twitter users, 22% is black compared to 16% of the white users (Smith, 2014). In addition to this, the usage of Instagram among African Americans (23%) also outnumbered the Instagram usage of Hispanics (18%) and whites (11%). Finally it is to conclude, that African Americans and Hispanics are leading the way in terms of buying smart phones and tablets. According to a March 2012 Nielson study, 54.5% of the black owners owns a smart phone and 57.3% of the Hispanics also owns a smartphone (Smith, 2014).

Another research done by the Pew Research Centre's Internet & American Life Project about technology use by people of colour shows more in-depth information about the internet and social media usage. African-Americans and Hispanics are leading the way in number of cell phone activities. Among these activities based on internet and social media usage, instant messaging (44%), using a social networking site (33%) and watching videos (27%) are the most popular. For Hispanics, this is the same; however they seem to outnumber the African Americans (Smith, 2014).

Except for several studies based on the usage of internet and social media among people of colour, there are barely numbers or studies about the numbers of well-represented bloggers of colour. After some desk research, it can be concluded that according to Dutch blogger Macblogster, there is lack of well represented bloggers of colour. She created the group "*United Bloggers of Colour*", a group that brings bloggers of colour in contact with each other. The most important goal of this community is to prove that females of colour are a serious consumer group and that bloggers of colour could be represented in a better way.

Mia Moody, assistant professor of journalism, public relations, and new media at Baylor's College of Arts and Sciences, analysed more than 20 Facebook groups and pages. During this research, she used the keywords 'hate', Barack Obama, and

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Michelle Obama. The growth of Facebook groups is becoming a significant communication source which illustrates the recent evolution of hate speech. In the beginning these hate groups were isolated, but nowadays the number of members increases instantly. Social networking sites such as Facebook have experienced an increase in the number of extremists (SWC, 2009). The hate groups are heavily targeting at people of colour, a historically oppressed group. In addition to this, degrading and hateful terms were used (Moody, 2012).

Historical stereotypes focusing on diet and blackface have resurfaced in new media according to Moody (Moody, 2012). The most common portrayals can be divided into three categories: blackface, animalistic and evil/angry. This, while the historical stereotypes seem to be disappeared from the mainstream media. The stereotyping of black people, especially black females is not only in conflict with civil rights, but it also helps to determine how people treat these groups (Moody, 2012). New media or the social media in particular, can be considered as an important new medium when it comes to the negative or unequal representation of ethnic minorities. This is due to the fact that newspapers and television shows in general do not spread racist images anymore, which causes people to go online (Moody, 2012). Moreover, the depictions are of concern because these negative representations will flow over into news media portrayals of ethnic minorities. In general, people of colour mostly get roles as the underclass, corrupt politicians, or criminals on the news (Moody, 2012). According to the National media watch group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), it can be stated that there is an overrepresentation of people of colour in the media as criminals and drug users and that there is an underrepresentation of experts and analysts (Biagi, 2007). The perceptions and stereotypes portrayed on social media, often become the dominant point of view. In this, case it does not matter if it is accurate or not.

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Figure 1 7 Comparison between Michelle Obama and Ann Romney. (Noble, 2012).



Figure 1 8 Michelle Obama compared to a Baboon. (Hill, 2012).

*Two examples of how First Lady Michelle Obama is portrayed via social media. In the first images the portrayal refers to the angry black woman and the second portrayal refers to the "animalistic comparison".*

The new media is often subject of several debates when it comes to the representation of people of colour. According to the Guardian, the new media start-ups, backed by serious investment, are similar to old media establishments in terms of demographics (Bell, 2014). However, there is also an example of new media that tries to fulfil the needs of people of colour. Where general new media forums only pay attention to celebrities and athletes of colour, the Huffington Post has a news section called "*Black Voices*". This news section is especially dedicated to the voices and stories of people of colour. According to Adriana Huffington, it is their goal to cover more stories of importance to the black community (Bell, 2014). In addition to this, the Huffington Post is also planning to add a Latino section.

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People of colour are more active via the internet and social media than its white counterparts. Due to this Sheila Johnson, co-founder of BET, adds that in all of this digital space, the voices of people of colour are drastically falling of the radar screen (The Daily Caller, 2011). According to Johnson, there is a need to bring to real news via new media; the voice of the black community on relevant news and views (The Daily Caller, 2011). Before its launch, Black Voices was named GlobalBlack. This happened when the Huffington Post merged with AOL. Rebecca Carroll who ran GlobalBlack, hoped for "a more nuanced narrative about race". According to Carroll it is really hard to accomplish this, especially when she asked the opinion of a (white) supervisor. When the supervisor was asked about how to respond to inquiries about black voices, she stated those inquiries should be ignored, because nobody would care. According to Carroll, it became in some way clear that representing the voices of people of colour was bad for business. Ideas regarding the representation of people of colour in the new media were referred to as not buzzy enough, gross and unacceptable. However, Carroll eventually agreed with the supervisor in some way by stating that "it was not racist, but a business needs to stay a business". In this statement, one of the answers may be found why people (or in this case) women of colour are highly underrepresented in the new media. According to the late African American author Erica Kennedy, "a corporation exists to make money, but not to solve societal ill". In this sense, it could be concluded that the voices of people of colour do not matter, because they do not sell. Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR), states that the way sponsors and owners narrow the number of people of colour represented in the new media, can be racist (Jackson, 2012).

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### **What are the most common representations of women of colour in Dutch media?**

The media is often accused of the fact that women of colour are represented in a hypersexual way. Kim Dankoor, journalist and researcher, did research about the effect of hip hop videos on young females of colour in Atlanta. According to Dankoor's research, it was found that many young females desired to be lighter-skinned. Besides this, the young females took skin bleaching into consideration (Dankoor, 2009). When a closer look is taken at the hip hop videos, it is often seen that the females of colour are mostly naked (Seffinga, 2005). In addition the highly sexualized appearance and behaviour of the females of colour, there is also the *'hip hop beauty ideal'*. This type of beauty standard means that the ideal hip hop female should have a medium to light skin tone with long wavy hair (Stephens & Few, 2007).

According to Dates and Barlow (1990) the stereotypes about people with a black identity were created during slavery. These stereotypes had during the slavery period an ideological function. An example is that these stereotypes were used during the colonial era in order to justify slavery. After the slavery, the stereotypes were used to justify segregation between black and white people. Nowadays, there are different stereotypes about black people in contemporary media to justify their suppressed status (Dates & Barlow, 1990). Even though the modern depictions of black people became more positive through the years, there are still negative representations of black people in the media. The most common stereotypes for women of colour are the Jezebel (hyper sexualized and cheap), the angry black woman and the typical loud female from the South (West, 1995). In addition to this, there is also a certain way in which the female of colour is represented in hip hop music videos. Dr. Dionne Stephens (2003) identified eight different portraits which describes the behaviour of females of colour in hip hop music videos.

The stereotypes are identified in the following groups:

- Gangster Bitch
- Earth Mother
- Dykes
- Gold Diggers
- Divas

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- Freaks
- Sister Saviour
- Baby Mama

From the eight portraits, four portraits will be discussed. This is due to the relevance for this research. The portraits that will be discussed are: Diva, Gold Digger, Freak, and Gangster Bitch.

The Diva is an independent woman who knows what she wants. Her expectations are high and sometimes she can be perceived as spoiled. Due to her preference for a luxurious lifestyle, she often choose her partner on his social status. The Diva is perceived by men as beautiful and attractive, because it fits into the Western beauty ideal. The Diva has a slim figure, a light skin colour, and smooth hair (Stephens and Philips, 2003). The Diva as a stereotype could have negative implications for the black community. The image of the Diva is strongly related to the slavery period. During the slavery period and the years after slavery, black people with a lighter skin tone were perceived as more attractive than black people with a darker skin tone. It can be concluded from this, that the women shown in hip hop music videos need to look as Western as possible. The Diva is a clear example of this: it is based on the Western beauty ideal.



Figure 1 9 *Stacey Dash in Kanye West's music video 'All falls down'.* (Totem, 2013).

The Gold Digger could be related to the ethnic stereotype 'The Jezebel' (the hyper sexualized black female). In hip hop music videos, the Gold Digger is represented as a

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female who uses sex in order to buy luxury goods. The Gold Digger has no problem with the fact that she uses her sexuality to get what she wants (Stephens & Philips, 2003).



Figure 1 10 Stills from the music video 'Whatever you like' by rapper T.I. with hip hop model Reagan Gomez-Preston. (YouTube, 2008).



Figure 1 11 (YouTube, 2008).

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The Freak uses sex to satisfy her own needs. She has no limits when it comes to sex, which makes this image also related to the ethnic stereotype of the *'Jezebel'*. Sexually, the freak is always available, but in contrast to the gold digger, she does not want luxury goods in return for the sex.



Figure 1 12 Stills from the hip hop music video 'Candy Shop' by rapper 50 cent.(YouTube, 2009).



Figure 1 13 (YouTube, 2009)

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In conclusion, there is the gangster bitch. The gangster bitch is the type of female who grew up in a poor and violent neighbourhood. In hip hop music videos, she is always represented as the female who helps her boyfriend with his gangster activities. She sees men as business partners and she will do anything criminal in order to survive. She will not show her emotions and does not expect to receive love from men (Stephens, 2007).



Figure 1 14 Still from the R&B music video 'The way that you love me' featuring R&B artists Keri Hilson (Right), Faith Evans (Center), and Jojo (Left). (YouTube, 2010).

Several aspects of the gangster bitch can be related to the ethnic stereotype of the angry black woman. Both are tough and hard women who will push men away instead of attracting them.

The fact that most of the video models in hip hop videos have a light skin colour could be related to Hooks' colour cast system (1997). The colour cast system explains that certain skin tones are more preferred. In addition to this, it is stated that video models need to have long and straight hair (Stephens, 2007). From this, it can be concluded that the perfect female of colour is a combination of the Western beauty ideal (light skin tone and straight hair) and African characteristics, such as big breasts and bigger buttocks (Dankoor, 2009). This applies well to the theory and research of Taylor, Lee and Stern, that most people of colour who represented in the media, apply more to the White or Western beauty ideal (1995).

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The Netherlands has been known for a long time as a tolerant country towards other cultures. However, this forms a contrast with plenty of images in Dutch culture that preserve racist stereotypes of people of colour. One of these examples is *Zwarte Piet*, something that is often referred to as the use of blackface (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2007). These illustrations of people of colour have little to do with realistic images based on real experiences with black Dutch citizens (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2007).

The illustrations can be seen in current Dutch media. For instance, the Dutch TV host and actress Wendy van Dijk who used the alter ego *Lucretia Martina* to prank Dutch celebrities. Representing herself as a full figured black woman from Curaçao, Van Dijk received a lot of negative responses from the Dutch black community and the black community from the Netherlands Antilles and Suriname. Watchers from Telecuracao perceived Van Dijk's imitation as an insult. In addition to this, a former minister from Curaçao described the performance as misplaced and a great fail (Haakman, 2013). Besides this, the Dutch black community made negative comments about the fact that Van Dijk did not seem to know the difference between people from the Netherlands Antilles and people from Suriname, in reference to the Surinamese accent of the character *Lucretia*. The late author Clark Accord was also negative about the act of van Van Dijk. He referred to Van Dijk's imitation as an ordinary use of the blackface. According to Accord, Van Dijk has portrayed the black woman in the wrong way (Waterkant, 2009).



Figure 1 15 *Wendy van Dijk with her alter ego Lucretia Martina*. (Mediacourant, 2009).

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The use of blackface seems to be a popular method for the Dutch media in order to portray the female of colour. The May 2013 edition of the *Dutch Vogue* used a white model with a black painted face as a tribute to designer Marc Jacobs and his work for Louis Vuitton. The blackface make up caused a lot of controversy. The theme of the fashion editorial was *Heritage Heroes*, including Marc Jacobs' tribal influences used in his designs. In addition to this, the styles of African American cultural icons, such as Grace Jones and Josephine Baker were used. The face of model Querelle Jansen was not only painted black, she also wore a dark afro wig.



Figure 1 16 *The Vogue Netherlands spread featuring model Querelle Jansen in blackface makeup.*(Nelson, 2013).

One of the largest fashion news sites, Fashionista, reacted negative towards the fashion editorial of the Dutch Vogue (Nelson, 2013). As quoted from their article as a reaction to the fashion editorial:

*“Somehow, in 2013, yet another magazine has decided it would be a good idea to put a Caucasian model in literal blackface for a fashion editorial. This time, the culprit is Vogue Netherlands.”* (Mau, 2013).

The author of the article, Dhani Mau, continues with the following:

*“A couple of alternative ideas: use a model who already looks something like Grace Jones or Josephine Baker without face paint. Or just, you know, don’t paint a white person’s face black ever? Why is this even something we have to keep pointing out? European editors and stylists especially, it seems, are really not getting it.”* (Mau, 2013).

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According to Allison Blakely, professor of African and American Studies and European and Comparative History at Boston University, the racial ideology in the Netherlands is closely linked to its colonial past and its prominent role in the colonial slave trade (Blakely, 1994). As reported by Blakely, values such as humanism and liberalism are no guarantee against the development of racial bias in the Netherlands (Blakely, 1994).

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### **Could the representation of women of colour be traced back to Dutch history?**

The representation of people of colour in the Netherlands is ambiguous, multi-faceted, and occasionally even paradoxical. This image of people of colour created a stereotype for Dutch people when there was almost no black population in the Netherlands. Nowadays, images of black people can still be seen in folklore, the visual arts, literature and religious traditions which vary from slaves, uncivilized people, devils, bogey men or clowns (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2007). Images of black people in Dutch culture, such as *zwarte piet*, have little to do with realistic experiences of Dutch black citizens. However, these illustrations express how the general public and the artists viewed people of colour. Like is mentioned earlier, racial ideology in the Netherlands is closely related to its colonial past and prominent role in the colonial slave trade (Blake, 1994).

For the research on the possible relation between the representation of women of colour and the Dutch history, the documentary *Zwart Belicht* was analysed (Boerman, 2008). This documentary takes a closer look at the black figures on Dutch paintings from the golden age, in particular paintings of Peter Paul Rubens. Black figures often played a minor role in Dutch paintings. In reference to this, Allison Blakely said about this lack of representation:

*“The greatest insult is to be ignored. To be in the room, but treated as if you do simply not exist. This is part of what surprised me in my research about Dutch art history and finding so many black figures that were not just named, but apparently unseen.”* (Boerman, 2008).

According to Blakely in his book *Black in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society*, this could be related to the fact that the Netherlands as a modern society formally began in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century. This is a period of intense religious and political strife. The Netherlands was a global leader due to economic prosperity and leadership in global trading (Blakely, 1993).

Besides this, Blakely also mentioned that the Netherlands became highly active in the slave trade and were a leader in this, as a result (Boerman, 2008).

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A clear way to see the representation of females of colour in Dutch history is by reviewing several painting in which these females are represented. In this analysis, paintings of Christaen van Couwenbergh, Peter Paul Rubens, Jan Boeckhorst and Jacob Jordaens are analyzed and discussed.

One of the most striking and controversial depictions of the female of colour in Dutch art history is the painting *Verkrachting van een negerin* by the Delft painter Christiaen van Couwenbergh (Boerman, 2008).



Figure 1 17 (Web Gallery of Art, 1632)

The painting shows three men assaulting a nude black woman who has a frightened look in her eyes and seems to make an attempt to escape. One of the men, who is also nude, holds the woman down while she is forced to sit on his lap. The second man is only dressed in something like a loin cloth. He points at the woman while he is also smiling at the viewer and seems to be amused. The third man is fully dressed and looks surprised at the whole event. One of the most cruel aspects of this painting is that it shows to an extent arrogance and superiority of the white men in contrast to the fear of the black woman (Bleyerveld, 2001).

On the other hand, there were also more positive images of females of colour. Someone who played an important role in this representation was Peter Paul Rubens. According to Paul Huvenne, director of the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Antwerp, Rubens was a remarkable painter and artist in the Western art history. Rubens is often referred to as an image innovator which means Rubens learned other people to look

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different at things (Boerman, 2008). Images of black people created by Rubens, in particular black females, had symbolic resonance (Boerman, 2008). Rubens had a wide variety of types of black people, which was almost as big as the variety of types of white people. In accordance to art historic Elizabeth McGrath, Rubens did not have a black stereotype.



Figure 1 18 (Vandewalle,2011)

In Ruben's painting *The 4 continents*, four females and four men are shown which symbolizes the river gods and their nymphs. They refer to the four continents of the Renaissance and their rivers: Europe (Danube), Africa (Nile), Asia (Ganges), and America (Rio de la Plata). The black female who represents Africa and the Nile along with her river god is the centre of the painting. In addition to this, the black female is shown with the most precious jewellery, golden items and pearls. The other nymphs do not have this. According to art historic Elizabeth McGrath, this picture is an imaginative construct of series of personified figures which is partly symbolic and partly mythological. With being symbolic and mythological, McGrath means that the four rivers and the four river gods were created after the four rivers of paradise from the book of Genesis. It can be concluded from this that symbolism was important to the way that black people were represented during the Renaissance in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The black nymph does not only represent the Nile, she represents the oldest river and the origin of the world. In the painting, the nymph is actually personified as the origin of life and fertility (Boerman, 2008). Rubens also had a big influence on his students, Jan Boeckhorst and Jacob Jordaens.

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Jan Boeckhorst is the painter of *Salomon and the queen of Sheba*. In this painting, the queen of Sheba is portrayed as a dark skinned female. This is influenced by Rubens, since he came up with this idea. Besides this, Boeckhorst tried to show in his paintings that Salomon was highly attracted to the queen of Sheba, as he leans forward to her (Boerman, 2008).



Figure 1 19 Jan Boeckhorst's *Salomon and the queen of Sheba*. (Unique Canvas, N.D.)

Jacob Jordaens on the other hand made a painting of Moses and his Ethiopian wife. However, not many attention had been paid to this painting. In addition to this, during the period Jordaens made this painting it was often perceived as controversial.

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Figure 1 20 *Jordaens' painting Moses and his Ethiopian wife.* (Rajaoberison, N.D.).

On the painting, it seems if Mozes wants to invite the viewer to take a look behind him. Behind him, his Ethiopian wife can be seen who seems to be protected by Moses. It is known that Moses had a wife with the name Zippora, a Kenite from Midian. The fact that Moses had a second wife according to the Bible was something that theologians could not stand. This was not only due to the reason that Moses was a bigamist in this case, but also due to the fact that he had married an Ethiopian woman. With his painting Jordaens wanted to dignify her. Jordaens often had a hidden message in his painting. With this painting he wanted to state blacks were equal to whites.

Another example of the history of the woman of colour and her representation in current media is not necessarily related to the Dutch history. However, this person played an important role in creating the negative image of the woman of colour as how she is perceived today by a group of people. This person was Sarah "Saartjie" Baartman, who performed as the "*Hottentot Venus*" at several places in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As the Hottentot Venus, Sarah Baartman would be dressed up in animal skins, a tight body stocking and suitable face paint. This display of Baartman would fuel the myths about black females even more: they were primitive, the closest to nature, exotic and hypersexual (Frith, n.d.). According to Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully in *Sarah Baartman and the Hottentot Venus*, the Hottentot Venus was a "supposedly paradoxical freak of race and sexuality, both alluring and primitive, the very embodiment of desire and the importance of conquering the instincts" (Crais & Scully,

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2009). Sarah Baartman was mainly seen as the primitive woman with extraordinarily large buttocks and breasts. Many important figures, for instance Darwin, Freud and H.G. Wells, wrote about the Hottentot Venus as the so-called inferiority of the darker races (Crais & Scully, 2009). Arthur de Gobineau referred to Baartman as the Hottentot Venus in his famous *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1855). With this essay, Gobineau formed the foundation of modern racism throughout Europe and America (Crais & Scully, 2009). Furthermore, the Edinburgh Review wrote in 1863:

*“There is no vast difference between the intelligence of a Bosjesman and that of an orang-utan, and the difference is far greater between the stupid Hottentot and the ape”* (Crais & Scully, 2009).

The Hottentot Venus was the confirmation to Europeans that people with dark skins were inferior. In addition to this, it also confirmed the inequality and unfitness of all women, especially black women who would be the closest to nature (Crais & Scully, 2009). Related to this, it is true that many people believed the Hottentot Venus was more ape than human and they would identify her as a fifth category of the human being: *the Homo Sapiens monstrous*. The Homo Sapiens monstrous was the embodiment of a monster who was scarcely capable of emotion and intelligence. Besides this, it was also a reminder of the primitive living deep within the self (Crais & Scully, 2009).

In conclusion, it can be said that the Hottentot Venus shaped people’s perception of the black woman’s sexuality (Crais & Scully, 2009). This is especially due to the reason that Baartman’s body was always the centre of attention during her performances due to the size of her buttocks and other body parts. As a result, Sarah Baartman was often used to illustrate the hyper sexualisation of black women and the fascination about a black woman’s body (Bowen, 2013).

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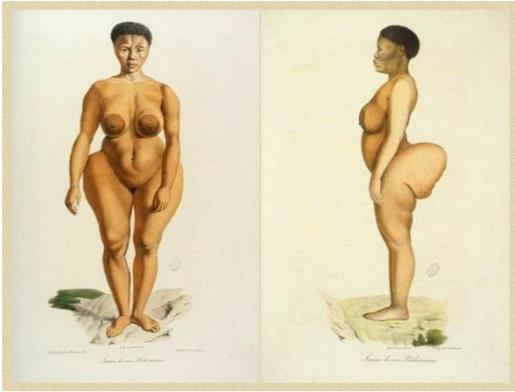


Figure 1 21 *Illustration of Sarah Baartman*. (Echo Point Books & Media, 2014).

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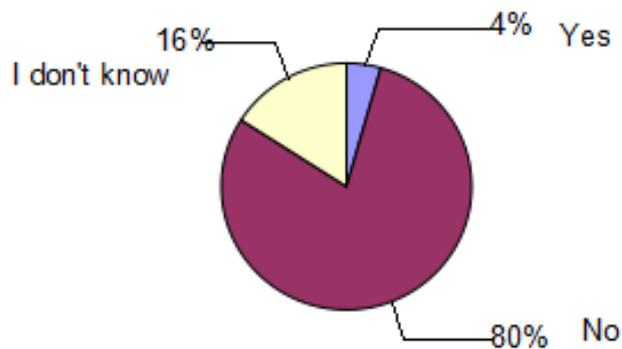
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### **How do women of colour feel about the current representation of ethnic minorities in the media?**

In order to find out how women of colour do feel about the current representation of ethnic minorities in the media a survey has been done. During this survey, 113 females of colour living in the Netherlands were surveyed. In the survey, questions regarding their opinion on representing females of colour in the Dutch media, the importance of representing females of colour and the stereotypes about females of colour were asked.

On the question if the representation of the female of colour in the Dutch media is a good reflection of the women of colour in real life, 80% of the respondents answered with “no”. From the surveyed respondents, 4% agreed that the representation in the media was a good reflection of females of colour in real life.

**Is the representation of the female of colour in the Dutch media a good reflection of women of colour in real life?**



On the question if women of colour were adequately represented in the Dutch media (in terms of air time, ad space and television shows) 88% of the respondents answered with “no”. In comparison to this, 8% answered with “yes”.

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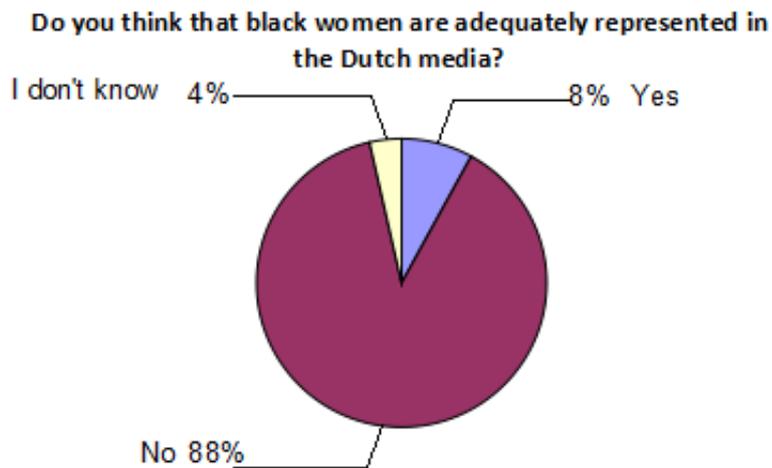


Figure 1 22

The respondents were also asked if they would like to see more women of colour on Dutch television shows and in Dutch movies. From the surveyed respondents, 95% answered with "yes". Only 2% of the respondents answered with "no".

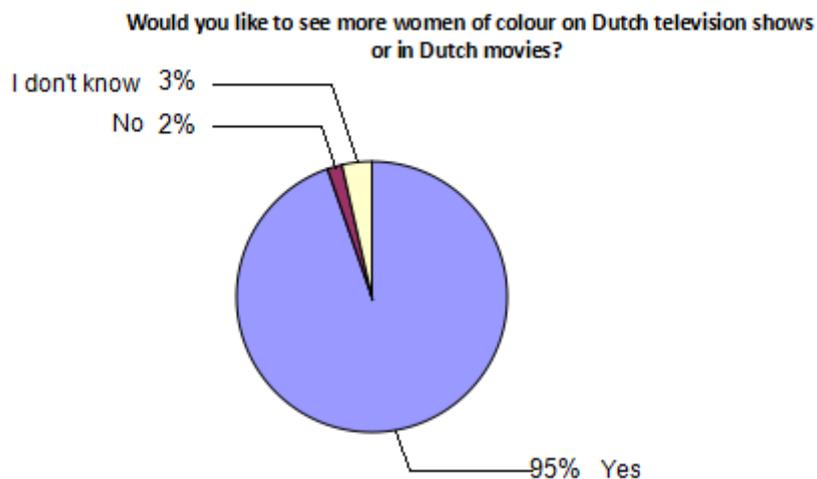


Figure 1 23

On the question if they would like to see more women of colour used for advertisements and magazines, 95% answered with "yes". From the surveyed respondents only 3% answered with "no".

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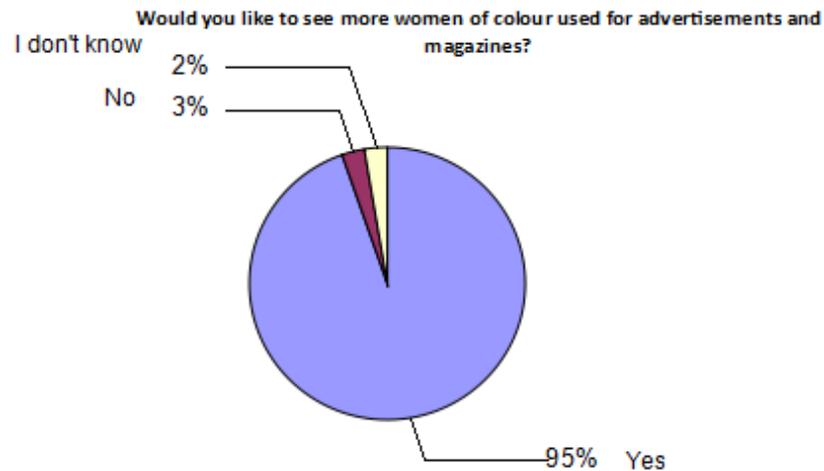


Figure 1 24

In addition to this, the respondents were also asked if the current representation of women of colour in the media affects them in some way. Of the respondents, 52% answered with "yes" and 42% answered with "no".

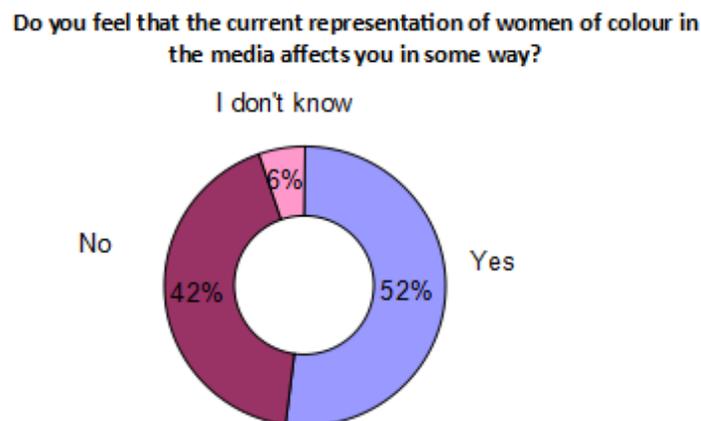


Figure 1 25

The people who felt affected by the current media representation were also asked if they ever felt the pressure to fit into the Western beauty ideal. From the surveyed respondents, 45% did not know if they ever felt the pressure. On the other hand, 36% responded with "yes". The respondents that answered with "no" accounted for 13%.

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This pressure was felt in wanting to have straight hair, a lighter skin, light eyes and more European features.

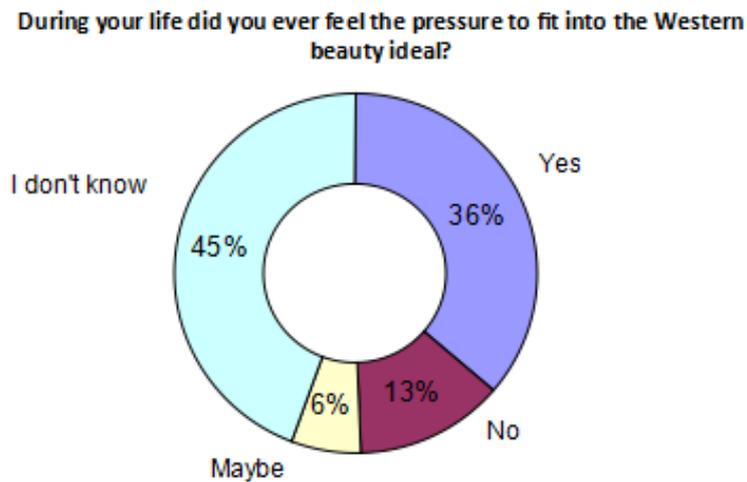


Figure 1 26

Furthermore, four pictures were shown in the survey. Based on these four pictures, the respondents were asked which type of female they would like to see more often in the Dutch media. From the surveyed respondents, 81% would like to see more dark skin models with natural hair, as was featured on the picture. In addition to this, 10% preferred to see light skin females with light eyes and naturally curly hair, 5% would like to see more dark skin females with Eurocentric features and in conclusion, 4% preferred to see more light skin females with Eurocentric features. In relation to this, the respondents were also asked if they thought that the female celebrities of colour did fit the white beauty ideal more. From the surveyed respondents, 65% answered "yes" and 15% answered "no".

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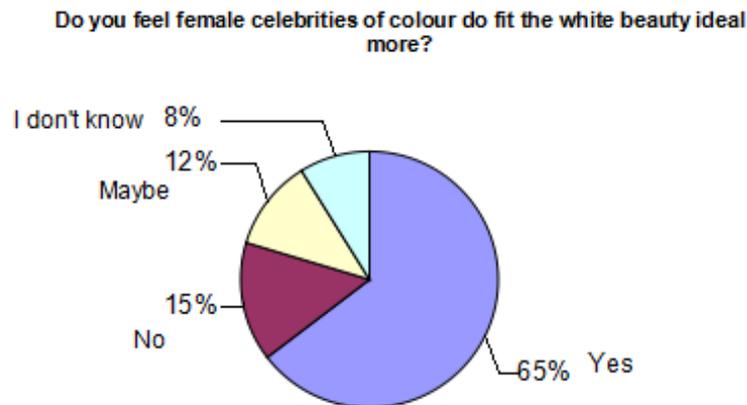


Figure 1 27

Moreover, the respondents were also asked if they could give a small explanation of the type of females of colour that were mostly represented in the media. This was done in the form of an open question in order to see if a certain pattern in the answers could be found. A clear pattern could be found, in the sense that most of the respondents thought that most females of colour clearly fitted into the Western beauty ideal. A great part of the respondents referred to the pop artists Beyoncé and Rihanna as the most viewed females of colour in the media. In addition to this, a lot of the respondents had remarks concerning the fact that most females of colour represented in the media have a light skin, straight hair, light eyes and that they look almost white.

In contrary, the positive examples of females of colour in the Dutch media were those of Sylvana Simons, Zarayda Groenhart and the singer Giovanca. However according to the respondents, they were not equally represented in comparison to their white counterparts. This can be related to the fact the biggest concern is not necessarily based on the stereotypes of females of colour. It is more based on the fact that the diversity of women of colour should be better represented.

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One of the respondents mentioned:

*“I don’t think that the representation of black women in the media is wrong. I just think that it should be more diverse. The current representation includes women with straight hair in order to fit in the Western definition of beauty. I think they also should include women with darker skin tones and natural black hair.”*

In addition to this, another survey has been send out to the “general public”: people of Dutch western descent. By sending out a survey to this group it was possible to measure how they think about the representation of women of colour in the Dutch media. Their answers could have an important meaning in order to explain the problems regarding the representation of women of colour in the media. The results of this survey are shown below.

Firstly, we asked the respondents if they thought the females of colour were adequately represented in the Dutch media in terms of air time, ad space and television shows. From the surveyed respondents 44% did not think that the females of colour are adequately represented in the Dutch media. In contrast, 31% thinks the females of colour are adequately represented.

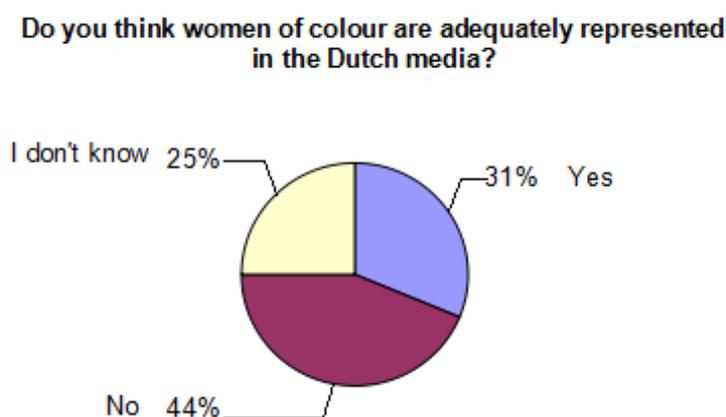


Figure 1 28

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Secondly, we asked the respondents to agree or disagree with the following statement: "I think most representations of women of colour are stereotypical". From the surveyed respondents, 47% disagreed with this statement in comparison to 41% who agreed with the statement.

**I think most media representations of women of colour are stereotypical.**

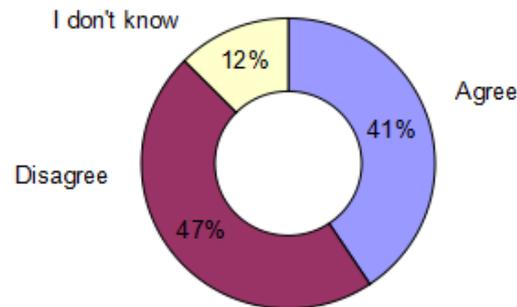


Figure 1 29

In relation to this, the respondents were also asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: "I think the Dutch media does good job of reflecting women of colour". From the surveyed respondents, 38% disagreed with this statement. On the other hand, 31% agreed with the statement.

**I think the Dutch media does a good job of reflecting women of colour.**

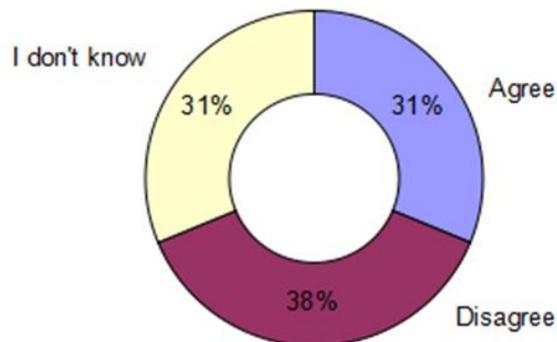


Figure 1 30

Besides this, the respondents were shown the same pictures of different females of colour as has been done with the survey for women of colour. The difference is that the question regarding the picture has been changed for this survey. In reference to

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pictures we asked the respondents which type of female was the most beautiful according to them. From the surveyed respondents, 32% found the light skin female with natural curls the most beautiful among the women of colour. In addition to this, 30% of the respondents found the light skin female with Eurocentric features the most beautiful. They were followed by the dark skin female with natural black hair (19%) and the dark skin female with Eurocentric features (19%).

The respondents also had to answer the open question regarding the most common types of females of colour they saw in the media. Analysing these answers could show a clear pattern of what was mostly viewed in the media. A similarity could be seen based on the fact that a majority of the respondents mentioned that the females of colour shown in the media clearly fitted in the so-called white beauty ideal. However while the females of colour showed a lot of concern about this, a similar sentiment could not be found in the answers of the general respondents. On the other hand, when the respondents were referring to notable women of colour represented in the media, Sylvana Simons is mostly given as an example. This is a clear similarity between the surveyed women of colour and the surveyed general respondents.

In relation to this, the respondents were also asked if most of the female celebrities of colour did fit more into the white beauty ideal. From the surveyed respondents, 38% answered with "yes". This answer was similar to the percentage of people who answered with "maybe", namely 38%. In contrast, 19% answered with "no".

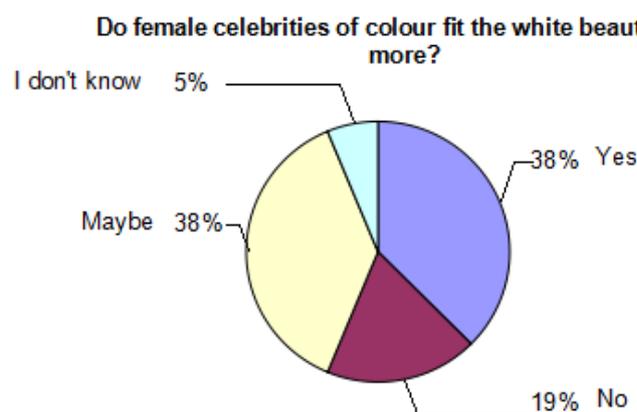


Figure 1 31

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## Discussion

Is there a whitewashing of the Dutch media and what effects, if any, does it have on young females of colour? According to the research that has been done, it can be stated that there is indeed a white washing of the Dutch media which happens in the following ways:

- The lack of representing people of colour in the media
- Portraying people of colour often in a stereotypical way
- The regular use of "*black face*"

In accordance to the survey for Dutch women of colour, the respondents states the women of colour are not adequately represented in the media, referring to the fact that they would like to see more females of colour on Dutch television shows, in Dutch movies, magazines and advertisements. On the other hand, they also mention that some women of colour may be included in the media representation, however they are mostly adjusted to fit into the white beauty ideal. Especially this seems to affect the females of colour in which a slight majority answered that they felt affected by the current media representation. The fact that these women of colour feel affected by the current media representation has not only to do with the white beauty ideal, but in some extent also with the created stereotypes of females of colour. Nevertheless, the stereotypes do not seem to form the biggest problem for the females of colour, the biggest problem is still related to the current beauty ideal and the way some females of colour try to fit into this beauty ideal. When the females of colour, who felt affected by the current media representation, were asked if they ever felt the pressure to fit into the Western beauty ideal, 36% answered with "yes". Following this, they were asked in which they felt this pressure: the majority stated that they felt this pressure in wanting to have straight hair, a lighter skin, light eyes and more Eurocentric features. This applies to the theory that has been analysed and discussed in this research. In the chapter, "The representation of ethnic minorities in magazines", the white beauty ideal has been referred to several things. Firstly, the L'oréal advertisement featuring Beyoncé in which she was adjusted with a lighter skin and more Eurocentric features is a striking example of what might affect these females of colour. Secondly, in the same chapter it is also mentioned that it is a fact that lighter skinned black females are more featured in magazines than black females with a dark complexion. It can be discussed that females of colour may relate or identify themselves with these females shown in the media,

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however it could also make them insecure about wanting to fit more into the white beauty ideal. It is remarkable that also the general public seem to acknowledge that most of the females of colour represented in the Dutch media, seem to fit into the white beauty ideal. However, when asked which type of females the general public found the most beautiful, the majority of the respondents referred to the light skin females with more Eurocentric features.

In the introduction, issues were mentioned concerning the negative stereotypes of females of colour in the media, for example in the American television shows. It can be stated that television shows like these are not necessarily broadcast in the Netherlands. Due to this it does not form a big influence on creating the perception of females of colour. However, the movie "*Alleen maar nette mensen*" seems to create this negative stereotype of the female of colour. According to most of the respondents, the stereotypes seem not be the biggest issue. In addition to that, they often refer to the fact that females such as Sylvana Simons, Zarayda Groenhart and Giovanca are frequently represented in the media. According to some of the respondents, they form a better representation of the females of colour. However, it should be questioned if this small group of females forms an equal representation of the females of colour in Dutch media in comparison to their white counterparts. Furthermore, the research also revealed some unexpected findings. In the chapter, "Could the representation of the black women be traced to Dutch history", it could be found that besides the negative portrayals of women of colour in Dutch paintings, there were still plenty of examples of positive portrayals. The paintings of Peter Paul Rubens and his students showed a remarkable contrast in what was normally thought of the females of colour. In Ruben's painting *The 4 continents*, the black Nymph was represented as the centre of attention and the most important figure. Besides this, the painting *Salomon and the queen of Sheba* by Jan Boeckhorst also shows an unexpected representation of the female of colour. Representing a black female as a queen who is also highly desired was very uncommon to show on a painting in the Golden Age.

## Conclusions

The purpose of this thesis was to find out if there is a whitewashing of the Dutch media and what effects, if any, it has on young women of colour. In relation to this, this thesis should contribute in a way that it describes what the situation is of females of colour and how they are represented in the Dutch media. In addition to this, it is also necessary to find out if there are stereotypes of the female of colour and, if so, in which way they are portrayed in the Dutch media. In order to research this, the following subjects needed to be explored:

- The representation of ethnic minorities on television
- The representation of ethnic minorities in magazines
- The representation of ethnic minorities on the internet and social media
- The most common representations of women of colour in Dutch media
- If the representation of black women could be traced back in Dutch history
- How women of colour feel about the current representation of ethnic minorities in the media

The research has shown that there is an underrepresentation of females of colour in the media. In addition to this, there are also examples of females of colour who were shown in a stereotypical way. A clear example of this is the movie *Alleen maar nette mensen*, in which a black Surinamese female was stereotyped as a 'big momma', who looked cheap and had a big attitude. This negative stereotyping can be based upon the expectancy value theory by Fishbein and the uses and gratification theory by Blumler and Katz. According to both theories, the media may have a broad social influence by reinforcing or building stereotypes or constantly promoting distortions of social groups (Milkie, 1995). This may contribute to social problems, lack of educational opportunities and racism. In accordance to the negative response of the Dutch black community, it can be said that the consequences of the expectancy value theory and the uses and gratification theory applies well for them. In their negative responses, the black community showed their concerns about feeling excluded (portraying black females as wild and cheap) and misunderstood.

On the contrary, there are also examples of television series that represent a clear diversity of different cultures. These examples include the former soap opera *Onderweg naar morgen* and the youth television series *Spangas*.

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The investigation of the representation of ethnic minorities in magazines has shown that most magazine covers only feature white models. This also applies for the marketing advertisements (Bos, 2008). When black women are shown in magazines it often seems like they fit into the white beauty ideal: long, straight hair and a light skin. The features of black women are often adjusted in order to conform to a white standard of beauty. Furthermore, it is a fact that lighter-skinned black women are more often represented in magazines than black women with a darker complexion (Alvarez, 2008). According to Covert and Nixon, this does not only influence the perception of white females about females of colour, but also the self-perception of females of colour (Covert and Nixon, 2008). These theories can be confirmed by the research of Taylor, Lee and Stern (1995) who revealed with their research that most African Americans shown in advertisements look more Eurocentric (Taylor, Lee and Stern, 1995). These theories seem to be confirmed by the survey answers of the women of colour. From the surveyed females of colour, 52% felt that the current media representation affects them in some way and that 36% of this group felt the pressure to fit into the Western beauty ideal. Moreover, it was also found that black women on magazine covers did not sell good enough according to Cécile Narinx, editor-in-chief of the Dutch *Elle*. Furthermore, one of the findings was that a great part of the representation problem has to do with the advertisers. An increase in white readers results in an increasing amount of investment by the advertiser. However, an increase in black readers makes the amount of investment decrease (Atre, 2009). Both statements of Narinx and Atre lead to the conclusion that there is a fear for putting black people in magazines, since it may push the current customers away.

In addition to this, the investigation of ethnic minorities on the internet and the social media suggests two important things. Firstly, according to the research of Moody's paper *New Media – Same Stereotypes: An Analysis of Social Media Depictions of President Barack Obama and Michelle Obama*, the new media and the social media could be considered as an important new medium when it comes to negative or unequal representation of ethnic minorities. Since newspapers and television shows do not spread racist images anymore people went online in order to spread negative representations of people of colour (Moody, 2012). As a consequence, the perceptions and stereotypes portrayed on social media often become the dominant point of view.

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Secondly, the study also found that people of colour are more active via the internet and the social media than its white counterparts. Due to this, there is a need to bring news related to the black community via new media according to Sheila Johnson, co-founder of BET (The Daily Caller, 2011).

Besides this, the results of the investigation of the most common representations of females of colour in Dutch media shows that the stereotypes about people with a black identity were created during slavery (Dates and Barlow, 1990). The modern depictions of black people became more positive through the years, however there are still negative representations of black people in the media. These negative representations or stereotypes applies well for the models in hip hop music videos. As a result, a so-called *hip hop beauty ideal* became the norm, which is similar to the Western beauty ideal: medium to light skin tone and long wavy hair. Furthermore, the research also found that the Dutch media has used the blackface several times. These portrayals could be found in Wendy van Dijk's character *Lucretia Martina* and the May 2013 edition of the *Dutch Vogue*. Also this could be related to the negative portrayal of women of colour. Due to this, it was also researched if the way black women were represented could be traced back to Dutch history. After analysing the documentary *Zwart Belicht* by Tessa Boerman, it can be concluded that there are negative portrayals of black women in Dutch paintings as well as positive portrayals. Especially the painter Peter Paul Rubens played an important role in portraying black females more often on his paintings and how to portray the black females in a positive way. On the other hand, the history also shows negative examples of females of colour in a stereotypical way. A clear example of this is Sarah Baartman who performed as the Hottentot Venus in which she shaped people's perception of the black woman's sexuality (Crais and Scully, 2009). Baartman's performance as the Hottentot Venus was often used to illustrate the hyper sexualisation of black women and the fascination about a black woman's body (Bowen, 2013). This fascination about the black woman's body can be in some way also seen in the hip hop music videos. The model portrayed in these videos seem to fulfil a so-called *Hip Hop beauty ideal*: a Western look, but still with the body of a black woman.

The survey about how women of colour feel about the current representation of ethnic minorities in the media revealed that most of the females (88%) do not think women of colour are adequately represented in the Dutch media. In addition to this, the

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representation of females of colour in the Dutch media was not a good reflection of the women of colour in real life, namely 80%. The majority of the surveyed women of colour also would like to see more women of colour on Dutch television shows and in Dutch movies (95%) as well as more women of colour in magazines and advertisements (95%). Besides this, 52% of the respondents felt that the current media representation affects them in some way. From this group, 36% answered that they felt the pressure to fit into the Western beauty ideal. They felt the pressure especially on the following things: wanting to have straight hair, a lighter skin, lighter eyes and more Eurocentric features. In reference to the open question regarding the females of colour that were mostly represented in the media, the majority of the respondents referred to females of colour who clearly fitted into the white beauty ideal. This confirms the fact of the dominant white beauty ideal women of colour try to fit in. Moreover, also the fact that 36% of the affected respondents stated that they felt the pressure to fit into the Western beauty ideal could be related to this. These findings are also confirmed by the surveyed general public in which a majority stated that most women represented in the Dutch media seem to fit into the Western beauty ideal. These findings suggest that in general, there is a whitewashing of the Dutch media. This in reference to the fact that on television just a view examples of notable women of colour could be given in the survey. Furthermore, when a female of colour is represented it is often in a negative and stereotyped way. When the portrayal is positive, the features of the females of colour are adjusted to fit into the Western beauty ideal. The effects of this on young females of colour is that it does affect the majority in some way, resulting in feeling the pressure to fit into the Western beauty ideal. In order to fit into this beauty ideal, females of colour would like to have straight hair, a lighter skin and more Eurocentric features.

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## **Recommendations**

Regarding the current representation of females of colour in the Dutch media and the effects it has on young females of colour it is important to change the current representation of females of colour in the Dutch media. In order to do this, institutions who are specialized in cultural diversity should do more research on the stereotypes of ethnic minorities in the media, excluding ethnic minorities in the media and what effects these issues might have on individuals with an ethnic background. In addition to this, magazines are recommended to include more females of colour with a natural appearance. This means that they should not be extremely adjusted to the Western beauty ideal and that it may be a good idea to include women of colour with different skin tones and their natural black hair. By doing so a new representation of the female of colour can be created that is not necessarily related to the Western standards of beauty.

There are also recommendations for future research, especially since there is still enough room for further research on this topic. During the writing process of this thesis, many other subjects came up, however caution needs to be taken into account in order not to create an overlap. There are different subjects that could form the base for further research, for example what the effects of the whitewashing of the Dutch media could have on coloured males. In the United States there has been done research about this, but in Europe and the Netherlands there seems to be a lack of research about this subject.

In addition to this, it might be interesting to apply the same research in other European countries such as the United Kingdom, France and Germany. The results of these countries may be useful in order to compare it to the results of the Netherlands. Furthermore, it would be interesting to do more in-depth research on the way white people perceive people of colour. This is based on the survey that I applied on the general public.

In conclusion, it will also be beneficial to do more specific research on the way females of colour are represented in new media. Nowadays there are more discussions about the question if bloggers of colour are just as well represented as their white counterparts.

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## Appendices

### *Appendix 1*

**The 'whitewashing' of the Dutch media and its effects on young females of colour.**  
[G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035530](https://www.gesis.org/overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035530)  
[G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035530](https://www.gesis.org/overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035530)

#### 1. What is your ethnicity?

Indo-European

Surinamese

Dutch Caribbean (Netherlands Antilles)

Turkish

Moroccan

African

Mixed race, namely

Other

#### 2. What age are you?

18-21 years old

22-25 years old

26-30 years old

31-35 years old

Older than 35

#### 3. Which type of media do you spend time most with? Multiple answers are possible.

Television

Internet

Social media

Magazines

Newspapers

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<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035641>  
<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035641>

**4. At an average rate, how many hours per week do you watch television?**

I don't watch television

1-2 hours per week

2-4 hours per week

4-6 hours per week

More than 6 hours per week

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035656>  
<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035656>

**5. At an average rate, how many hours do you spend on social media and internet per week?**

1-2 hours per week

2-4 hours per week

4-6 hours per week

More than 6 hours per week

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035694>

**6. At an average rate, how many hours per week do you read magazines and/or newspapers?**

I don't read magazines/newspapers

1-2 hours per week

2-4 hours per week

4-6 hours per week

More than 6 hours per week

**7. Is your race/ethnicity important to you?**

Yes

No

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Maybe

I don't know

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035753>

**8. Is the representation of the female of colour in the Dutch media a good reflection of women of colour in real life?**

Yes

No

I don't know

**9. Do you think that black women are adequately represented in the Dutch media (for example air time, ad space, TV/news/reality shows)?**

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035771> Yes

No

I don't know

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035771>

**10. Do you think it is important that women of colour are positively represented in the Dutch media?**

Yes

No

I don't know

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035797>  
[G:\overview.p  
hp?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035797](G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035797)

**11. Would you like to see more women of colour on Dutch television shows or in Dutch movies?**

Yes

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No

I don't know <G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035807>

**12. Would you like to see more women of colour used for advertisements and magazines?**

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035853> Yes

No

I don't know <G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5035853>

**13. Which type of female would you like to see more often in the Dutch media?**



<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036182>

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**14. Please, choose if you agree or disagree the statement.**

'I think there are enough females of colour shown in the Dutch media.'

Agree

Disagree

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No

opinion <G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036188>  
<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036188>

**15. Please, choose if you agree or disagree with the following statement.**

'I think Dutch media does a good job of reflecting women of colour.'

Agree

Disagree

No

opinion <G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036202>  
<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036202>

**16. Do you feel that the current representation of women of colour in the media affects you in some way?**

Yes

No

Maybe

I don't know

**17. If yes, in which way does it affect you?**

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036474> It makes me  
feel insecure

It makes me angry

It makes me feel determined to show the opposite and change the current  
representation

It makes me feel confused

I don't know

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<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036474>

**18. During your life, did you ever feel pressure to fit into the Western beauty ideal?**

Yes

No

Maybe

I don't know <G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036511>

**19. In which way did you feel that pressure? Multiple answers are possible.**

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036537> Wanting to have straight hair

Wanting to have a lighter skin

Wanting to have light eyes

Wanting to have more Eurocentric features <G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036537>

**20. In the beginning of March, actress Lupita Nyong'o won the oscar for best supporting role. Do you perceive this event as important for women of colour?**

Yes

No

Maybe

I don't know

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036562> <G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036562>

**21. Do you think this event will change the current representation of women of colour in the media?**

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036585> Yes

Is there a whitewashing of the Dutch media and what effects, if any, does it have on young females of colour?

Valérie Kopijn

No

Maybe

I don't know

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5036585>

**22. Do you think the female celebrities of colour who are currently represented in the media do fit the white beauty ideal more than, what has been seen in real life?**

<G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5058126>Yes

No

Maybe

I don't know <G:\overview.php?ln=en&userID=200029&formID=409872&questionID=5058126>

**23. Could you give a small explanation of which type of females of colour are, according to you, mostly represented in the media?**

## ***Appendix 2***

**The representation of females of colour in Dutch media.**

**1. Are you a Dutch born citizen?**

Yes

No

**2. What is your gender?**

Female

Male

Is there a whitewashing of the Dutch media and what effects, if any, does it have on young females of colour?

Valérie Kopijn

**3. What age are you?**

18-21 years old

22-25 years old

26-30 years old

31-36 years old

Older than 35

**4. Which type of media do you spend most time with? Multiple answers are possible.**

Television

Internet

Social media

Magazines

Newspapers

**5. At an average rate, how many hours per week do you watch television?**

I don't watch television

1-2 hours per week

2-4 hours per week

4-6 hours per week

More than 6 hours per week

**6. At an average rate, how many hours per week do you read magazines and/or newspapers?**

I don't read magazines/newspapers

1-2 hours per week

2-4 hours per week

Is there a whitewashing of the Dutch media and what effects, if any, does it have on young females of colour?

Valérie Kopijn

4-6 hours per week

More than 6 hours per week

**7. How do you view the representation of females of colour in Dutch media? Is it a representation that is a good reflection of the female of colour in real life?**

Yes

No

I don't know

**8. Do you think women of colour are adequately represented in the Dutch media (for example airtime, ad space, tv/news/reality shows)?**

Yes

No

I don't know

**9. Do you think it is important that women of colour are positively represented in the Dutch media?**

Yes

No

I don't know

**10. Which type of female shown in these pictures would you consider as most beautiful?**

Is there a whitewashing of the Dutch media and what effects, if any, does it have on young females of colour?

Valérie Kopijn



Is there a whitewashing of the Dutch media and what effects, if any, does it have on young females of colour?

Valérie Kopijn



**11. Please, choose for the following statement if you agree or disagree with the statement.**

"I think most media representations of women of colour are stereotypical."

Agree

Disagree

No opinion

**12. Please, choose if you agree or disagree with the following statement.**

"I think enough females of colour are shown in Dutch media."

Agree

Disagree

No opinion

**13. Please, choose if you agree or disagree with the following statement.**

"I think the Dutch media does a good job of reflecting women of colour."

Agree

Disagree

Is there a whitewashing of the Dutch media and what effects, if any, does it have on young females of colour?

Valérie Kopijn

No opinion

**14. Do you think that female celebrities of colour, who are currently represented in the media, do fit the white beauty ideal more than what has been seen in real life?**

Yes

No

Maybe

I don't know

**15. Could you give a small explanation of which type of female of colour is, according to you, mostly represented in the media?**