Had ik maar een tijdmachine

I wish I had a time machine

NEDERHOP IN THE NETHERLANDS BETWEEN 1995 AND 2015

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Abstract

A quantitative content analysis on Nederhop records within music charts is used to discover how Nederhop has developed over time and what its current situation is. By investigating the presence of Nederhop records on chart lists based on radio airplay, record sales, downloads and streaming data it is measured whether Nederhop has gained institutional recognition and popularity over the period 1995 to 2015. The research shows it took almost ten years before Nederhop records were able to reach a wide audience on a regular base. However, this applies more to the Nederhop records that were sold physically, downloaded or streamed, rather than the Nederhop records that received airplay by the radio institutions. Although Nederhop records that used styles as Old Skool or Hardcore rap also did reach a wider audience, they mostly disappeared from the charts over time, which led to the charts representing mostly crossover Nederhop records.

Keywords: Nederhop; popularity; institutionalization; music charts; content analysis

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For the time being this will be the final product of my academic career. Within this program I was able to link two of my interests, namely the world of arts and how it operates within the economy, next to how each person and organization acts on certain values that are sometimes hard to connect to those of others.

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Lysanne Jansen

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1. INTRODUCTION

HIP HOP THAT MAKES NO SENSE AT ALL. THE REGULAR 3FM LISTENER WOULD SAY SOMETHING LIKE 'GET OUT OF HERE WITH THAT NOISE' – GIEL BEELEN'S RADIO FRAGMENT AS HEARD IN THE SONG "ZO DOE JE DAT" BY FRESKU, TEEMONG, BRAZ, & GO BACK TO THE ZOO (2015).

Within the Dutch music industry Dutch Hip Hop has often the tendency to be seen as the underdog (Schmutz, 2009). According to the hip-hop community itself this is related to the lack of recognition by institutions such as national radio stations, tv shows and newspapers, represented by the elite (Koreman, 2014). An example is the aforementioned statement by one of the main radio deejays of Dutch radio, Giel Beelen of Radio 3FM. In the beginning of 2015 Beelen stated in his show that the average 3FM listener does not want to hear Dutch hip-hop, because according to him hip-hop did not make sense and would not work on the radio. As a reaction to this statement Dutch Hip Hop artist Fresku et al. (2015) recorded the protest track "Zo doe je dat" (freely translated into "This Is How You Should Do It"). In this record he criticized how an artist should confirm to certain rules before he would receive airplay.

However, several academic scholars argue that local music, such as Dutch hip-hop, gained legitimacy from 1995 onwards. Other signals, such as hip-hop collective New Wave wining the Dutch Pop prijs (the national pop music price) and the increasing online popularity according to interviews with important players in the field of Dutch hip-hop indicate that it has become very popular during the past decade.

Thus, following the statements coming from the academic and the music industry, this thesis aims to answer the following central question: *To what extent has Nederhop gained institutional recognition and popularity between 1995 and 2015?* The objective is to discover how Nederhop has developed over time and what its current situation is. Further insight on Nederhop, as Dutch hip-hop is called, is given after discussing the development of rap within the academic world.

2.   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Hip-hop/rap is a genre originally from the United States that reached the Netherlands and adapted to this local market using the Dutch language, developing into the Dutch genre Nederhop (Koreman, 2014; Wermuth, 2001).

Most academics who discuss rap accompanied by the hip-hop lifestyle see it as a U.S. subculture or focus on it as a product within a U.S. context (Wermuth, 2001). Regarding the definition of these phenomenon, hip-hop in the terminology of rap music refers to the culture surrounding the music according to Lucas, Hough and Fisher (2011), meaning breakdancing, turntablism and using graffiti in addition to the rapping itself. However, as a style Lucas et al. (2011) state hip-hop refers to creating the music with those values in mind. As is done by most scholars, which will be discussed hereafter, the notion rap and hip-hop are used interchangeably.

When research is performed on rap as a phenomenon that is global cultural and commercial it is focused primarily on its sociological and psychological aspects (Krims, 2000). According to the knowledge of Lucas et al. (2011) there is little research performed that analyzes the key factors that impact the sales performance in this global industry.

Most U.S. academics researching rap limit themselves to the U.S., where Mitchell (2001a) argues that within academic writing the expression of local identities through rap and hip-hop in foreign contexts barely has been acknowledged. As a globally recognized popular music genre, rap still provokes attention to local specificities. Due to strong local implementations of hip-hop have taken place, it has become a necessity to look outside the U.S. to countries such as France, Germany, and England.

In the following chapter first is portrayed what is known and discussed in the academic field regarding rap and hip-hop. This wider debate regarding rap in and outside the U.S. is discussed to place rap in the Netherlands in the bigger picture. However, not every topic discussed within the context of the U.S. and other European countries will be interrogated in context of the Netherlands.

2.1.   Rap in the academic world in context of the U.S

Debates within the U.S. hip-hop scholarship are very diverse by focusing on topics such as its history, identity politics, street authenticity, activism and social movement, aesthetics, technologies of production, and hip-hop as a cultural industry. More recent debates increase further coverage on gender issues, racial diversity, but also on the global influence of hip-hop and its role in contemporary politics (Forman & Neal, 2012).

Scholars discuss old school themes, sentiments, and issues related to the cultural history of hip-hop. Castleman (1982) for example researches the rise and evolution of the use of graffiti as a cultural pastime, leading to moral panic among the authorities of New York City. Pabon (2006) writes on the subject of hip-hop dance, which he refers to as b-boying to praise its influence on the modern dance world by reconfiguring the motion of bodies all over the world.

Since the time of old school hip-hop, a few decades have passed, money has been made and much branding on its lifestyle has been carried out. According to Forman and Neal (2012) the genre is long past the verge of what anyone would call an authentic sub-culture. They even state hip-hop has never been as authentic, or real, as we have been led to believe. Within this subfield of authenticity debates Gilroy (1992) challenges the idea that black identities are fixed to particular locations and one black community is representing the most authentic community. Gilroy's research fits within the debate about which "hood" is more authentic, or "keeping it more real". Judy (1994) argues that the adaptability of hip-hop to the forces of commodification can be seen as evidence of its authenticity. He redefines authenticity as something that adapts to the pressure of capitalist consumption. Rodman (2006) interrogating authenticity seen from the point of race, examines the success that white rapper Eminem brought on hip-hop. It caused not only shifts in race relations in the U.S., but also in cultural production.

Forman and Neal (2012) state that space and place are significant factors that influence the formation of identity. The narratives of hip-hop that are connected to varied meanings and practices led to the construction of a particular image of hip-hop. Forman (2000) for example interrogates the emergence and growth of hip-hop in the context of localized labor. It is explained how various factors operating at different levels, such as industrial capital, have

influenced the development of hip-hop. Where analyses frequently emphasize on the East U.S. versus West U.S. dynamics, Miller (2004) explores the south coast. The distinctions between the North and South of the U.S. are discussed, as the perceptions of urban and rural dichotomies. Perry (2008) goes back to the beginning by combining concepts of the construction of identity by focusing on language, rhythm, style and attitude used in hip-hop. Analyzed is how these aspects apply in different contexts on a national and local level.

Regarding the issue of gender within hip-hop the questions are multifaceted. Forman and Neal (2012) state the existence of the desire exists to cultivate more room for more developed discussions about sexuality and gender. This is related to the existing concerns about the spread of misogyny, sexism, and homophobia. Where many gender issues studies have focused on the relationship between hip-hop and women in general, Keyes (2000) addresses the functioning of women as hip-hop artists. Morgan (2000) also widens the field of gender issues by describing the way young women use sexuality in hip-hop as a means to challenge normative discourses of sexuality and gender within hip-hop, but also the larger society.

Debates about the relation between hip-hop and politics often highlight the distinction between how individuals use hip-hop to their political ends and on the other hand the ways hip-hop organically creates context for political engagement (Forman and Neal, 2012). Kitwana (2002) examines the role of hip-hop in elevating political issues of its core to a national level. Lena (2008) discusses rap artists who are politically engaged and use their lyrics and imagery as an extension of their political views. She examines how artists manage to balance their political opinions with their celebrity and the audience's desire for being "real". Wright (2004) states that hip-hop is not simply an artistic form, but its power comes to full potential within a political context. She argues that in order for political activists to reach youth they must use hip-hop.

Technology plays a prominent role within the creative process of hip-hop since its emergence. New research also emphasize on its linguistic characteristics. Linguists and discourse analysts interrogate the use of language as a method of understanding the construction of meaning, and as a system of representation that is related to the spreading of ideological values (Forman and Neal, 2012). Schloss (2004) focuses on production methods and aesthetics to illustrate how the creative process is guided by which rationale, why certain

decisions are made and how particular beats are made.

Not only did hip-hop as a cultural form developed over time, so did its relation with the cultural industry. Rap artists question the transition of hip-hop from an organic art form to an international commodity. For a great majority of people who function at the production, distribution, selling or consuming hip-hop music, the genre has become little more than a job (Forman and Neal, 2012). Hip-hop was viewed as a popular music genre that would disappear as soon as the audience were tired of it, but turned out to become a billion dollar business where artists see themselves as entrepreneurs. Hess (2007) discusses the development of rap music from the underground as an urban economy to a creator of rap careers. The growth of icons of hip-hop to that of an American celebrity led to the origin of the so-called hip-hop mogul. Its status outshines that of rappers that are the most popular (Forman and Neal, 2012). Smith (2013) states that this hip-hop mogul has become one of the most visible success symbols and a symbol of diversity within corporate structures. According to him this might weaken the desire to reform the political or economic status quo.

To summarize, within the U.S. context the different scholars examine the industry of contemporary hip-hop while at the same time question the intellectual dispositions that are part of the production and reception of hip-hop (Forman and Neal, 2012).

2.2.   Rap in the academic world in context of Western Europe

One of the reasons for the academic neglect of rap outside the U.S. is related to discussions about what is authentic or inauthentic in the rap community according to Wermuth (2001). In her research she refers to rap as a similar phenomenon to what happened after World War II, when Europe imported American goods and therefore tended to show the wish to imitate U.S. styles. Wermuth (2001) states this type of imitation is always considered unnatural, unreal, and unauthentic.[1] However, as mentioned earlier Mitchell (2001a) states that other countries have implemented hip-hop locally, which leads to local specificities. Therefore rap outside the U.S. is more a derivative than simply an imitation of U.S. rap. The following scholars reveal how this

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[1] However, Wermuth (2001) further states that outside the academic world pop fans still judge their idols as real although they know their favorite artist is hyped extensively.

popular music genre is driven by the cultural industry, as well by domestic artists and their audience, as by the cultural domination by the U.S. and the demand of global capitalism.

Prévos (2001) researches the emergence of African American rap and hip-hop in France around 1984 and the origin of French rap around the mid-1980s. During Prévos' time of writing France was the second largest hip-hop market and globally the fifth largest music market. He states that during the adaption period of rap in the mid-1980s French recordings emerged which possessed stylistic features closely related to those of the U.S. due to imitating. Prévos also talks about the French rappers themselves in terms of the variety of ethnic origins. Another topic of discussion is the – then – recent clashes between French rappers and the law, which is analyzed as a more general social phenomenon in urban societies.

Hesmondhalgh & Melville (2001) research urban breakbeat culture wherein rap and hip-hop manifested itself. They state that except for a few successful British rappers, rap music and the related hip-hop culture never really rooted in Britain and are still seen as U.S. imports. Within the U.K., hip-hop became more abstract due to being delyricized and evolves into a cross-genre musical practice.

Pennay (2001) reflects on the domination of the English-speaking music market over non-English-speaking countries. These subtle but far-reaching effects even reach Germany, which is at time of writing the third-largest popular music market after the U.S. and Japan. However, due to the language barrier, the arrival of performers using the native language emerged directly. He further analyzes the output of German rap and the distinction between hardcore and commercial acts. Pennay (2001) argues that these two poles started to merge from 1993 onwards.

Mitchell (2001b) moves with its scope of research to Italy, where rappers focus on the variety of dialects in the different regions of this country. This is in contrast to other European countries who are more concerned with migrant ethnic minorities. However, the use of regional dialects makes Italian rap parallel to rap in other European countries due to giving it a folkloric dimension.

2.3. Rap and the Netherlands

Due to what little has been written on rap or hip-hop outside the U.S., Wermuth (2001) aims to explore and explain the popularity of hip-hop within the Netherlands. The goal of her paper is to show how rap, originally a U.S. cultural product, within a different context acquires meaning. She is one of the few academic scholars that paid solely attention to the development of rap in the Netherlands. A lot more work has been done by journalist Saul van Stapele on the history of Nederhop in his book 'Van Brooklyn tot Breukelen' (2001). Both paid attention to the emergence of rap within the Netherlands and its adaption which led to the origin of Nederhop. Combining this academic reception with the performance on the industry, supported by recordings on developments within the field forms the case of Nederhop as discussed hereafter.

Black dutch youth adapted rap and hip-hop culture in the 1980s, ten years after its emergence in the U.S. Wermuth (2001) argues that although Dutch music fans are in general eager to adopt popular-music trends that are Anglo-American, it took some time before rap and hip-hop took off in the Low Countries. The reason for this slow adaption has to do with the development of U.S. rap itself. Some modification and a couple of years was needed before rap became established within a wider audience in the U.S. This commodification of rap was necessary before it could be exported to other countries. Due to the export of U.S. rap artists, records and commercial movies from Hollywood, the Netherlands started to experience, know and produce rap (Wermuth, 2001).

Anglo-American music is where the multinational recording corporations focused traditionally on, however from the mid-1990s these majors started to pay more attention to local music of continental Europe. This local music was obviously not their core business, but in order to serve multiple music submarkets they widened their music range in their portfolios. Although some of these majors already promoted this domestic music, other corporations followed (Negus, 1993).

Rappers in many European countries started rapping in their own language, but Dutch rap was in the beginning mostly based on American slang. The rule was to stick to American slang, because hip-hop had its origin in America. Therefore non-U.S. rap was not an option. Also

compared to these other European countries in general the Dutch have less strong feelings of national identity, which may explain the negative association with the national language. Furthermore, due to influences in the past and present of other countries, the Dutch language adopted many German, French, and English words (Wermuth, 2001).

The Dutch rappers first imitated U.S. by rapping in English, but Def P from Osdorp Posse decided to start rapping in Dutch after talking to hip-hop fans during a visit to Los Angeles. According to Def P these fans did not understand why Dutch rappers were copying U.S. rappers when the Dutch artists did not command the language, used it with a thick accent and lived in a total different world (van Stapelen, 2002). It was the mid-1990s when things started to change in the Dutch rap community, leading to black and white rappers writing their rhymes in Dutch. According to Wermuth (2001) this change started due to the white Dutch crew Osdorp Posse (OP) generating popularity mainly outside the bigger cities in the west of the Netherlands (Randstad). This crew not only rapped in Dutch, they also discussed Dutch people and social and cultural events. Wermuth (2001) argues that the popularity of such homemade rap could only grow if the lyrics (topic and language wise) and form (videos showing Dutch sceneries) became more Dutch, which happened from 1994 onwards.

Although playing a big role within the Nederhop subculture, Osdorp Posse remained rather unknown to a mass audience they remained rather according to Wermuth (2001). This rap crew preferred to stay underground and also distrusted the national public pop-radio station 3FM (or Radio 3) and the other commercial stations. The crew was at war with radio and television, because these media institutions would boycott their music according to Osdorp Posse and therefore they saw no reason to release singles, which is why they did not appear in the Dutch charts (Van Stapelen, 2002; Wermuth, 2001). Also due to Anglo-American music dominating the global music industry, it was hard for genres - such as Nederhop - from small outside markets - as the Netherlands - to gain attention and become established (Negus, 1996, as cited in Koreman, 2014).

According to Van Stapelen (2002) Osdorp Posse became the most productive hip-hop crew in the Netherlands. In 1995 they win the Pop Prijs where the jury rewards them mostly for the use of the Dutch language. Although Osdorp Posse gains a lot of success in the 1990s within

the rap scene, it was 2000 when they had a hit on the radio for the first time. In 2000 the radio stations began to play their record 'Origineel Amsterdams' by themselves, which led to the crew releasing it as a single. Def P stated that it would be hypocrisy to still declare war to these stations after they finally received the airplay for which they pleaded so long (van Stapelen, 2002).

Where hip-hop crew Osdorp Posse is seen as the beginning of Dutch Hip Hop, rapper Extince is seen as the father of Nederhop, being the first Hip Hop artist having a record being played by radio stations in the end of 1995 (In gesprek met De Koning, 2015; Van Stapelen, 2001). Extince, a Dutch rapper, is one of the rap acts of that time that did appear in the music charts with his first hit single "Spraakwater" ("Mouthwash") (Extince, 1995) (Wermuth, 2001). Wermuth (2001) argues that this artist is an example of a rapper that has been for a long time in the hip-hop underground, but at some point managed to reach a wider audience. Wermuth (2001) further argues that there are two reasons for this change. The first one is that since the mid-1990s hip-hop in general became more popular among the Dutch audience, which paved the way for Dutch rap and hip-hop. The second reason is that typical Dutch elements were mixed into the performance and iconography of these hip-hop artists and which led to more attractiveness of the subgenre. For example, Van Stapelen (2012) mentions a video of Extince where he is rapping in front of a meadow with grazing cows. Also Achterberg, Heilbron, Houtman, and Aupers (2011) state that local music – and therefore Dutch artists – grew in popularity since the 1990s, even at the expense of foreign artists in popular music charts.

At the end of the 1990s other Dutch rap acts, such as the crew Postmen with their hit "Cocktail" (Postmen, 1998), reached the charts and became known to a wider audience (Wermuth, 2001). Although these artists used rap, their records are not included within this research. Rapping in English is automatically more directed to an international audience, referring to topics that are familiar for a wide audience. Dutch rap however is aimed towards an audience that originates from the Netherlands or other Dutch speaking countries. Therefore, the subgenre Nederhop in this research refers to rappers using the Dutch language.

The first hit by a Nederhop rapper Extince functions as a psychological breakthrough and marks a change in the Nederhop community. According to Van Stapelen (2002) finally a

long-serving rapper from the scene was able to reach the mainstream music industry. This moment marks a starting point for this subgenre to be more recognized and therefore is used as a starting point for this research which has as main goal to trace the popularity and institutionalization of Nederhop after 1995.

2.4. The case of Nederhop

According to Dutch hardcore hip-hop fans Wermuth (2001) spoke to it is the Dutch media that is to blame most, due to never having acknowledged hip-hop as real music. According to them that is why rap in the Netherlands can never be as substantial as it is in the U.S. Next to blaming the recording industry for turning rap into a sellout, these diehard fans accuse the Dutch mass media of not covering Dutch hip-hop or too little (Wermuth, 2001).

According to Wermuth (2001) Dutch hip-hoppers tend to stick to the dichotomy described as commercial versus noncommercial. However, they struggle to find a definition of 'hardcore hiphop', as it is more a matter of intuition. It is something that can be distinguished immediately according to them. The same goes for commercial sound, because you know it is commercial when you hear it. But when a so-called hardcore Nederhop records hits the charts and the accompanying rappers are signed to a major record label, this dichotomy between commercial and hardcore turns out to be a paradox. Since such a situation shows that commercial music can also be original, rebellious, and authentic (Wermuth, 2001).

Wermuth (2001) states that this relationship with authenticity that can be described as ambiguous, is also an issue within the rap community. Within dichotomies such as local versus global and artistic integrity versus sellout. Debates in the scholarly world and history of rap in the Netherlands lead to three central themes: Commercial versus noncommercial, popularity, and institutionalization. These themes are all linked to eachother, which will show hereafter when the following topics are discussed in this case study.

2.4.1. Commercial versus noncommercial

Also in the Netherlands the ongoing debate about whether rap became a sellout and which artists remained true to hip-hop culture started in the 1980s. If any rapper tried to come up with something different besides trying to stay as close as possible to the origins of rap, the Dutch rap community would accuse them of selling out. Also between the music artists within the scene accussations were made, with for example Osdorp Posse and their parody record "Braakwater" (*braak* = vomit) (Osdorp Posse, 1996) dissing the release of "Spraakwater" (Extince,1995) by Extince (Wermuth, 2001). Some rappers signed deals with commercial producers in the hope that they could start to record their own hardcore material after producing one hit record, but this mostly turned out to be nothing more than an illusion (Wermuth, 2001).

However, Wermuth (2001) argues that there exists a form of commodification that is mostly neglected by other theorists and fans. According to her there are major record companies that released hardcore rap without demanding softening of the music or other measures to reach a wider audience, which Wermuth (2001) argues is often the function of crossover music. She refers to the U.S. rap artists who are able to stay close to the subcultural values of hip-hop, but at the same sell to a wide audience a millions of records. But up to the mid-1990s only a few hardcore Dutch rappers managed to gain any (relative) success with their records (Van Stapelen, 2002; Wermuth, 2001).

What Wermuth overlooks within this debate, is the fact that the market for homegrown rap within the U.S in any case is substantially bigger than it is in the Netherlands for Nederhop. The U.S. rap can stay close to the subcultural values, because this subculture is already big. The subculture to which U.S. rap relates is of such a size that selling to the audience within this subculture alone leads to many sold records. Being this successful, which is selling millions of records, would mean that a rap artist must sell a record to almost every inhabitant of the Netherlands.

If the statement of Wermuth (2001) is true, it would mean that Nederhop records that are considered hardcore have reached a wide audience just as crossover records.

Hypothesis 1: Is it true that hardcore Nederhop records can reach the same audience as commercial Nederhop records?

2.4.2. Crossovers

The output of Dutch local musis has a small share within the Dutch recorded music market and it is constantly competing with international acts (Hitters & Van de Kamp, 2010). To make hardcore rap in commercial terms more attractive, it was modified or mixed (Wermuth, 2001). As Lucas et al. (2011) put it, the edginess of some music has to be toned down in order for rap to reach certain market segments. In other words, the harshness of lyrics needed to be reduced and to be brought more in line with the expectations of the society. The major record labels are successful media giants that have a whole different group of stakeholders to please and therefore have to conform to expectations of mainstream music and go after a more traditional reputation.

According to Wermuth (2001) the Dutch rap records that were most successful were therefore crossovers between rap and more popular genres. Therefore, the expectation is:

Hypothesis 2: The most successful Nederhop records are crossovers.

2.4.3. Major versus independent record labels

As mentioned in 2.3. Dutch music fans are eager to adopt popular-music trends that are Anglo-American (Wermuth, 2001). Also Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) state that the Netherlands' recorded music industry typically follows global trends, which are strongly represented within Anglo-American music products. However, they state that during the 1990s Dutch house and dance acts became very popular, while in the new millennium successful acts were rap and urban artists. In the mid-1990s domestic music artists became more and more popular, which caused a shift in focus from Anglo-American to Dutch repertoire sources, even leading to major

labels including partially successful Anglo-American acts in their local acts portfolios (Hitters & Van de Kamp, 2010).

The interest of major labels in successful local acts can be explained by the fact that profit margins are higher when it concerns local music. These local departments of majors receive a larger revenue share of a local product as compensation for the bigger invest in scouting and developing these acts (Hitters & Van de Kamp, 2010). In order for major record labels to reach certain aspects of the marketplace, they create semi-autonomous departments within their company or form an alliance with small record companies (Hitters & Van de Kamp, 2010).

The music business is compared to other cultural industries the most prominent, but also the most unstable. The turnover of music products is rapid and consumers have significantly more choice for records than for other cultural products such as films. Where the supply is considerable, the demand is difficult to foresee. This results in a business with a high level of uncertainty, which encourages major and independent record companies to perform what Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) call isomorphic mimetic processes. Organizations look at successful organizations within in their field to copy their behavior in order to gain approval from consumers (demand), but also legitimacy in the form of approval from suppliers and distributors. This way the behavior of these organizations can become very much alike.

According to DiMaggio and Powell (1983) these isomorphic processes occur especially in organizational environments where the paths to success are not clear. Due to being uncertain about which means to use to reach the organizational goals, organizations tend to stick to common practices. Thus, according to institutional theory, organizations create operational actions collectively in order to cope with unstable markets. These new common practices can become the institutions (principles) that steer the operation of other individual organizations and perhaps the entire field (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991).

The research of Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) is inspired by the new institutionalism within the field of organizational analysis. Academics within this field examine how some organizations or practices are dominating a field in favor of others. A key assumption within works of these academics according to Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) is that organizational

structures and actions change due to competition, the need for efficiency, and thus also by isomorphic processes.

When independent labels show that certain acts are commercially viable, the major labels are extra stimulated to include these local products. This jumping on the bandwagon as soon as local acts become succesfull, mentionened by Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010), is also substantiated by Kees de Koning, owner of the independent label TopNotch. According to De Koning (Van Stapelen, 2012) the biggest problem between Nederhop and media institutions is due to the fact that there are few people within the music industry that know what is going on in the Dutch scene. During that time De Koning stated that except for rapduo Brainpower who were signed at label PIAS Records, there was no other succesfull Nederhop act that was signed directly by a major label. Majors signing Nederhop artists always went via experts at independent labels. He mentioned Osdorp Posse who went to EMI from Djax, Postmen from TopNotch to V2 and Def Rhymz from TopNotch to Virgin records. According to De Koning it is not as if these major labels do not want to sign Nederhop acts, they simply cannot estimate their quality (van Stapelen, 2002).

Although the major labels started to develop a roster for local acts in the Netherlands, the research by Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) shows that in the mid-1990s and mid-2000s most of the local acts are developed by independent labels. These labels, who are mostly smaller than major labels, have the connections, the people with know-how and most importantly the room to invest in these Dutch artists. The majors are in this case too busy with tasks on a global level. They substantiate what Christianen (1995) found in his analysis. When there are sudden changes in the industry, the smaller independent labels can respond quickly while the major labels with their institutionalized operations have difficulty to adapt to the new situation. In an interview with independent label TopNotch the company states they had so much success with *New Wave* (Ronnie Flex et al., 2015) by being able to adjust fast to the situation. They say they can be this flexible due to being a relatively small company (Heerma van Voss, 2016).

Another reason for independent labels dealing more with domestic acts than major labels is that the domestic genre does not fit within the organization or policy of the major.

According to Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) the genre division within the domestic music industry is mainly used to emphasize that a certain music style is too distinct. The reluctance of major labels to deal with local music genres was only absent when a local act secured its commercial viability.

In summary, following the statement by Negus (1993) (see paragraph 2.3) that major record labels started to pay more attention to local music of Europe from the mid-1990s and also the findings by Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) that successful local acts are mostly promoted by independent record labels, the following hypothesis is formulated:

Hypothesis 3: Successful Nederhop records are released by major and independent labels.

2.4.4. Increased audience reach

According to Koreman (2014 the popularity and production of Dutch music has been growing since the 1990s. Also Achterberg et al. (2011) stated earlier that local music in the Netherlands grew in popularity since the 1990s, even at the expense of foreign artists in popular music charts. Local music therefore reached a bigger segment, or in other words, a bigger audience (Schmutz, 2009, as cited in Koreman, 2014).

Also major labels picked up the trend by widening their music range in their portfolios in order to serve multiple music submarkets (Negus, 1993). By signing successful acts via independent label or directly they are able to reach certain aspects of the marketplace (Wermuth, 2001), or in other words they can widen their audience

If these statements regarding the growing popularity and widening of the portfolio management by major labels are true, the expectation is that Nederhop reached a bigger audience since the mid-1990s.

Hypothesis 4: Did Nederhop records reach a bigger audience over the years?

2.4.5. Slow recognition by institutions

According to most Dutch rappers the reason for the poor success of Nederhop is Hilversum (Wermuth, 2001), the centre of the media institutions in the Netherlands. This statement is not completely unfounded, as shows in an interview of Van Stapelen (2002) with Ben Houdijk, editor at the public radio station 3FM. Houdijk confirms that they play little Nederhop. According to him the radio only plays Nederhop records that crossover with other popular genres. He argues that a record needs something – a catchy chorus, text or hookline – which would be attractive to the mass audience that is not really interested in hip-hop by definition.

Due to rap and hip-hop having established itself as a means of expression for the disenfranchised and marginalized, this genre is according to Lucas et al. (2011) often hypothesized as being rebellious and nonconforming with mainstream society. They argue that the reputations of music artists are heavily influenced by the different stakeholders and their perspectives. What some people might see as abnormal may others see as appropriate. To put it differently, the social attitude towards certain behavior depicts how reputations are viewed. For those artists that want to redefine the institutional environment again, this deviant behavior is seen differently and will do a great deal of showing this behavior in means of it being a credible contribution to the improvement of the industry.

To those stakeholders who see themselves as gatekeepers, this genre implies a bad reputation and everything that an established industry should avoid. For stakeholders that are pursuing to establish a voice in the music industry, this genre implies a good reputation. To these stakeholders it also offers a way of bringing the industry to reality, and making the (self-proclaimed) gatekeepers to acknowledge their existence in the industry and include them, even if this goes gradually and with hesitance. Thus, it depends on whether certain stakeholders approve nonconforming behavior or not that determines the value and worth of rap to those stakeholders.

The commercial value of rap and hip-hop's depends largely on nonconforming behavior that is often publicly opposed or hostile to establishmentarian practices and institutions that are established (Krims, 2000, as cited in Lucas et al., 2011). These established music organizations are considered more representative of the establishment that is conforming. Lucas et al. (2011) state that with the commercial success of rap and hip-hop that is growing, as

an art form it gained recognition slowly from the traditional music establishment.

Janssen, Kuipers, and Verboord (2008) state that the rising popularity and production of Dutch music might lead to institutions, which in their research are elite newspapers, to cover more the Dutch subgenres as Nederhop. Koreman (2014) wishes to discover whether the assumption of Dutch elite newspapers increasing the coverage of Dutch music genres, such as rap/hip-hop, holds.

With a quantitative analysis of the coverage of two Dutch elite newspapers from 1955 to 2012 (even though the results should be treated with caution because of the small sample size) she shows that Dutch music in general, as well as the genres dance and hip-hop/rap, gain legitimacy from 1995 onward. Koreman (2014) adds to this that therefore local music genres as Nederhop might establish themselves and even be more in the picture locally than their foreign colleagues. The coverage by these elite newspaper is according Koreman (2014) an indicator of acknowledgement by the mainstream, as these music genres have to compete with other culture forms for attention.

She mentions the success of Dutch artists and the increased production of local music as possible explanations for the legitimation of these two genres. Combined with the fact that an omnivorous audience values these genres increasingly might have led to Dutch newspapers responding to these new preferences in order to try to attract more readers Koreman (2014). However, Koreman (2014) finds that elite newspapers do respond rather late. The results show that it takes up to 2012 for local music to reach the same level of coverage as is did in 1975, while the developments of local rap (and dance) already started in the 1990s.

The studies of Lucas et al. (2011), Janssen, et al. (2008), and Koreman (2014) suggest that institutions recognize rap, but slowly, so therefore the following is expected:

Hypothesis 5: Nederhop has gained institutional recognition over the years.

2.4.6. Popularity precedes institutionalization

DiMaggio (1987) argues that production and distribution of cultural goods are connected to the differentiation of these goods in both the heads and habits of the consumer. Both parties constructed a social principle to classify these products. In the case of music producers and the audience genres are constructed to give significance to music products. Within this genre classification hierarchal rankings can be involved, where one genre is seen as more important than the other. Thus, not only the genre itself is an important classification tool, also the way it is organized. Within research the high versus popular culture ranking is still a topic of discussion, however according to Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) recent research also focuses on the rankings within popular culture.

Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) investigate the use of genre classifications in the music industry, especially that of the Netherlands. They question whether there are differences within the usage of genres regarding classifying local and international music products and whether there is a hierarchy within this classification. They find that although in this omnivorous era the boundaries between highbrow and lowbrow culture, and within music tastes due to electing, have diminished, the hierarchies within have not disappeared.

According to Schmutz (2009, as cited in Koreman, 2014) low-status genres as rap are still at the bottom of the ranking. Koreman (2014) argues that within popular music new orders arise, and some of these genres receive more appreciation than others. This is also to their development, as growing is a necessity for gaining recognition.

Multiple studies (Gilroy, 1992; Judy, 1994; Rodman, 2006; Wermuth, 2001) have discussed authenticity as an important criterion in (the legitimation of) popular music, however according to Koreman (2014) it is the press that plays a big role in the establishment of such a discourse of legitimation. To put if differently, the media are important cultural actors that signal the recognition and appreciation of music genres with their classification.

Koreman (2014) uses the amount of coverage of music in newspapers as an indicator for the local music genres legitimacy. The coverage of Dutch music genres in relation to international music was analyzed to see how this ratio changed over time. Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) argue that these Dutch domestic music genres gained popularity in the past 20 years, where Koreman (2014) stated these genres also obtained slowly, but more legitimacy.

Following the statement by Koreman (2014) the expectation is that music first needs to grow in popularity before it gets recognized by institutions. Therefore the following hypothesis is formulated:

Hypothesis 6: Nederhop first becomes popular before it gains recognition by the institutions.

2.4.7. The role of the internet

ON THE INTERNET YOU'RE A HYPE.. COULD BE / BUT NEVER WILL GIEL BEELEN PLAY YOUR SONG BECAUSE / THAT YO-YO-HIP HOP IS TOO BORING MAN. [...] / I SEE THOSE MILLION VIEWS ON YOUTUBE / BUT THAT RADIO MONEY BRINGS THAT DOUGH. – "ZO DOE JE DAT" BY FRESKU

NIGGER YOU HAVE TO DO EVERYTHING FOR THAT AIRPLAY / EVEN THOUGH YOUR WHOLE HOOD THINKS IT'S EXTREME / FUCK BEING RESPECTED BY THE RAP GAME / BUMA/STEMRA IS WHAT REALLY PAYS YOU. - "ZO DOE JE DAT" BY FRESKU

Regarding the aforementioned fragments from the record "Zo doe je dat" ("This Is How You Should Do It") Fresku et al. (2015) discusses that although as an artists you are viewed and listened to on YouTube millions of times, you are not played by the radio stations. According to Fresku et al. (2015) airplay is a big factor regarding the revenues, which are taken care of by the organization Buma/Stemra that represents the rights of producers and artists. This means as an artist you earn little although you are popular on YouTube.

Another example concerns *New Wave* (Ronnie Flex et al., 2015), the award winning album that was mentioned in the introduction. In an interview with the label TopNotch the company states it expected that "Zeg dat niet" ("Don't Say That") (Lil' Kleine & Ronnie Flex, 2015a), one of the records of the album, would catch on and therefore it was actively pushed. That is to say, bringing under extra attention among radio stations editors. It only did not do much on the radio. Even Giel Beelen, the radio deejay of 3FM that was also mentioned in the introduction and in the record "Zo Doe Je Dat" (Fresku et al., 2015), cancelled an agreement regarding the artists visiting the radio show, because he found the record too childish and not

convincing (Heerma van Voss, 2016).

The company further says the album *New Wave* (Ronnie Flex et al., 2015) has not been mentioned in any newspaper or magazine. Although all the records on *New Wave* together are viewed millions of times on YouTube, but no national paper discusses it. They state that with this much streamed project they are flipping the bird towards the traditional media (Heerma van Voss, 2016).

Kees de Koning (label TopNotch), owner of the biggest Nederhop label in the Netherlands that has an impressive record of national hits (Heerma van Voss, 2016), states in an interview that hip-hop is visual. Good music artists will take the audience to their world with their lyrics and that is exactly what a video should convey according to him. De Koning says they put in more effort every time a new video is created, because these videos become more important. De Koning hereby refers to their YouTube channel, which has almost half a million subscribers. He says it is this audience to whom TopNotch owes delivering good quality. This all leads to music artists without airplay that are able to generate millions views on YouTube. The most important thing is creating nice things and everything else will come. As long as you create nice things, people will find you (In gesprek met De Koning, 2015).

What stands out from the aforementioned examples is that it is obviously common within the Nederhop scene that records almost get no attention from traditional media, such as newspapers and radio stations, despite their successes on YouTube. Regarding their popularity it seems that YouTube is an important medium for Nederhop to reach its audience. The success of the *New Wave*'s (Ronnie Flex et al., 2015) top record "Drank & Drugs' ("Booze & Drugs") (Lil' Kleine & Ronnie Flex, 2015b) proves according to De Koning that there is a big audience for rap that operates outside the traditional media (Pisart, 2016). This happened without pressing physical records, because *New Wave* could only be found online in the beginning.

The ability for this underground music to reach so many listeners is according to De Koning thanks to the rise of the internet (Pisart, 2016). According to De Koning it does not only work for Nederhop this way, but it has a democratizing effect for all genres within the music industry. In an interview with Pisart (2016) he states that the traditional institutions are collapsing, which in return leads to more room and freedom. He even says his label TopNotch

would not have existed without the internet. It became easier to distribute music and people no longer had to depend on traditional media and gatekeepers regarding promotional affairs. De Koning states that every artist gets a fair chance for attention, although it does depends on how well the artist is able to promote himself next to his or her musical skills.

Following the statements of these stakeholders within the Nederhop scene, the following hypothesis is formulated to see whether Nederhop has grown in popularity on the online medium YouTube.

Hypothesis 7: Nederhop has gained popularity on YouTube.

3. METHOD

Following the expectations in this case study of Nederhop the following hypotheses and questions are formulated:

1. *Is it true that hardcore Nederhop records can reach the same audience as commercial Nederhop records?*
2. *The most successful Nederhop records are crossovers.*
3. *Successful Nederhop records are released by major and independent labels.*
4. *Did Nederhop records reach a bigger audience over the years?*
5. *Nederhop has gained institutional recognition over the years.*
6. *Nederhop first becomes popular before it gains recognition by the institutions.*
7. *Nederhop has gained popularity on YouTube.*

3.1. Choice of method

Given the fact that "Spraakwater" (Extince, 1995) was the first Nederhop record that hit the charts in 1995 and therefore marks a change in the Nederhop community, this research focuses on Nederhop from this year and onwards. As mentioned before in paragraph 2.4, Nederhop in this research refers to rappers using the Dutch language.

The method of content analysis for newspapers as done by Janssen et al. (2008) as well as by Koreman (2014) will be followed, although not exactly as it has been performed on Nederhop already. However, a similar approach will be used focusing on chart lists. Research by Lucas et al. (2011) also used chart lists, but were performed in the context of the U.S. Koreman (2014) has used chart lists, but the difference is that in this case it will we be done more extensively, meaning a longer period of time is covered.

Based on the research question this research focuses on two chart lists that are linked to the concepts of popularity and institutionalization. Regarding the study by Koreman (2014) where she argued that the coverage by elite newspaper of local music is an indicator of acknowledgement by those media instutions, the airplay of Nederhop records by radio institutions is seen as institutional recognition. Koreman (2014) explains it is the fact that these

local music genres have to compete with other culture forms for attention that makes it a suitable indicator of institutionalization. For this the Top 40 chart list is used, which will be explained later on. To measure which Nederhop records are popular, the data regarding sold, downloaded and streamed records are analyzed. that are sold, downloaded legally, streamed as indicator of popularity. For this the Single Top 100 chart list is used. By analyzing the Dutch music chart lists it is possible to measure what the public demanded and radio stations supplied and therefore what music became mainstream and when it became mainstream.

In order to analyze landscape of Nederhop records, the chart lists are analyzed according to the quantitiative content analysis. Data is therefore gathered on chart lists, focusing on Nederhop records and their characteristics. The Top 40 chart list is used as a measure of institutional recognized Nederhop, in other words when a record is being recognized, or to put it differently, played by the bigger Dutch radio stations (3FM, Radio 538, Slam FM, Sky Radio, Q-Music, and 100% NL) it is seen as being institutionalized, as is shown in table 3.1. The Top 100 is regarded as a measure of popular Nederhop, thus when a record has been among the top sold, downloaded or streamed singles it will be present in the Top 100 and therefore observed as popular.

Table 3.1   *Charts composition*

Dutch Top 40 is based on	GfK Single Top 100 is based on
+ Airplay	+ Physical sales
+ Social media trends	+ Downloads
+ Streaming data	+ Streaming data
= supply radio stations + partly demand by consumers	= demand consumers
= institutional recognized Nederhop	= popular Nederhop

Other indicators of institutional recognition can be awards (Lucas 2011), especially who awarded them is hereby interesting. However, not many awards are handed out yearly and not every award or their organization already hands out these awards for a longer time. To what extent institutions have awarded, and thus recognized, Nederhop over time is therefore hard to

measure.

Like most music (sub)genres, Nederhop nowadays is listened to mostly online, which can be through streaming services or other platforms such as YouTube. Also popular records played by deejays can be heard in clubs. However, data on the latter is hard to retrieve due physical constrictions of not being able to be present at many evenings. Also, to measure trends over time, data on what is played for example ten years ago also needs to be retrieved, which is difficult or in the case of clubs even impossible.

Streaming data of streaming services of for example Spotify is available in limited numbers, having only access to the cumulative number of plays on every record and the number of monthly users for every music artist. Because these numbers are available, they are gathered, also due to this streaming data is included in both the Top 40 and Top 100 chart lists. Also, as is the same problem with data on what is played in the clubs, data on streams in the past is not available to the general public.

Taking these alternatives and their limitations in consideration, leads to chart lists being the best alternative regarding data availability. Although data is gathered on only a few channels on the supply and demand side of the music industry in the Netherlands, data on Nederhop records and their development from present back to at least 23 years in time is available and retrievable.

Focusing on these chart lists however brings also its limitations. In the case of the Top 40 chart lists, which is over time mostly based on airplay data, the number of users is not constant. The relevance and impact of the radio as a distributor and gatekeeper of music might have changed as music consumers started using also other channels online for music consumption due to digitization.

In the case of the Top 100 the biggest limitation originated as soon as data on legal download was also included when composing the lists. When considering data on legal downloads, it is important to know the number of illegal download for the bigger picture. Especially in this case, as the Netherlands for many years has not had a strict policy regarding downloading non-official files compared to other countries.

To summarize, data is collected on Nederhop records over 21 years, which allows to say

something about its development over time. However, by only focusing on Nederhop records, it is not possible to say something regarding the development in relation to other (sub)genres. Also, by focusing on Nederhop records in the charts, which are filled with successful records based on most played and most sold (and later on most downloaded and streamed), this research is biased to more commercial Nederhop and therefore what has happened with Underground hip-hop in Netherlands stays unknown. But again, this is the best alternative considering the fact that data on Underground hip-hop is hard to retrieve, as the name itself says it all.

3.2.   Chart lists

The Dutch Top 40, composed by the Dutch Top 40 foundation (Stichting Nederlandse Top 40) releases a chart list on a weekly basis with the 40 most popular tracks of that week. This list includes airplay, streaming and trends in social media. For the airplay data is used from the bigger radio stations in the Netherlands. Every hour is multiplied with the number of listeners of that hour. For the streaming numbers data from Spotify and other streaming platforms is used. Regarding the social media trends the buzz around tracks on Twitter, YouTube, Facebook and Instagram is taken into account. All the research results are collected weekly by SoundAware and under supervision by a board member of the Dutch Top 40 foundation the final chart list is determined.[2]   The Top 40 chart list is used as indicator of the institutionalization of Nederhop.

The GfK Single Top 100 takes into account downloads, streams en physical sales. The GfK Dutch Charts (before 2008 called GfK Mega Charts) is part of GfK Retail & Technology Benelux BV. This company composes several Dutch chart lists on a weekly basis, such as the Single Top 100. Since its beginning in 1993 the charts are based on the physical sales of records in every week. Since the year of 2006 also the number of legal downloads are taken into account using the downloads on the following platforms: iTunes, Radio 538, Tiscali, Free Record Shop, Music Store, Wanadoo, Planet Internet, Chello, MSN, Download.nl, Music

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[2] http://www.top40.nl/samenstelling

Now, Countdownload.nl, Dance Tunes, TMF and MTV. Since the 6th of July 2013 this chart lists also contains music streaming data of Spotify, Deezer, Ziggo Muziek and Xbox Music.[3] The Top 100 pertains as an indicator of the popularity of Nederhop. .

The Dutch Top 40 and GfK Single Top 100 both have their own website including an archive where the user can look up week charts up to the year of 1965 and 1956. These week charts are used to register the chart run of each Nederhop record. The first list represents the institutionalized music, taking into account mainly the airplay of the biggest Dutch radio stations as is shown in table 3.1. The latter represents the popular music, taking into account mainly the sale of singles and legal downloads.

Considering the fact that both lists start include streaming data around 2013 it is expected that potential differences between the Top 40 and Top 100 regarding the presence of Nederhop records become smaller.

Hypothesis 8: the presence of Nederhop records is becoming similar in the Top 40 and Top 100 chart lists after including streaming data.

3.2.1. Data gathering

To operationalize the concepts institutionalization and popularity the chart lists are analyzed simultaneously. Collecting the presence and position of all the Nederhop records in every Top 40 and Top 100 week chart results in a chart run for every record, as is shown by figure 3.1. Nederhop records that left the chart but re-entered again, it leads to a deduction of points according to the award system used by the Top 40 stichting as mentioned before. This system is explained in table 3.2.

To make sure a record can be considered Nederhop, the music and lyrics were looked up. If a record that was sang in Dutch only covered one rap verse, the record was not included. 'Hartendief' by R&B singer Brace is an example of such a record which is not included for this reason, having Dutch rap artist Ali B being featured in this record with only one verse. The collected data represents records where the focus lays on rapping in Dutch. However, rap

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[3] http://www.top40.nl/ http://www.dutchcharts.nl/weekchart.asp?cat=s

records with sang verses or choruses are also included, as long the rapping part is dominating.

Figure 3.1   *Chart run of the record 'Voel De Vibe' in the Top 40 and Top 100.*

Using the single "Spraakwater" (Extince, 1995) as a starting point, the data covers the period of 1995 up and to 2015. The complete population of Nederhop records in the music charts of the Netherlands is therefore collected. This record hit the charts in week 47 of the year 1995, which was on the 25th of November. The last Nederhop record, that entered the charts in 2015, stayed in the charts up to week 14 of 2016 which was on the 9th of April. This total period covers 1056 chart weeks. Extracting the Nederhop records over 21 years gives 668 weeks that cover N=1125 chart hits representing 144 Nederhop records.

The indicators used to measure the concept of 'institutionalized Nederhop' and 'popular Nederhop' can be found in the code book (appendix B), and the information collected for each weekly entry in the charts in appendix D, table 1.

3.3.   Chart hits

Table 3.2 shows the explaining variables of the concepts 'institutionalization' and 'popularity'. Table 3.3 shows additional variables that represent indicators that measure popularity of Nederhop records nowadays.

Table 3.2 *Description of main variables*

Explaining variables	Indicators
Year	Year
Date	The date corresponding with the week of the record being present in the weekly charts. For this the date of each Saturday of the concerning week is used, as done by both the Top 40 and the Top 100 charts. The date is registered following the order month-day-year (mm-dd-yyyy).
Song	Record title
Artist	Name artist
Top 40 Position *Top 100 Position*	The position of the record in the charts of the concerning week. When in a certain week a record is not in the Top 100, but is in the Top 40, the chart hit of that record is registered with position 0 in the variable Pos100. Records that re-enter the list of the first 40 positions are registered as 0 in the week(s) the record is outside the chart list. Therefore, 0 indicates no position.
Presence Top 40 *Presence Top 100*	The presence of the record in the charts of the concerning week. Within this dummy variable each chart hit per record is coded as 1 to indicate that a particular record is present in the particular chart list and coded as 0 when it is absent. Coded as 0 could mean the record is not in the particular chart list yet (in the case it is already present in the other list), not anymore (in the case it is still present in the other list), or not at all (in the case it is only present in the other list).
Top 40 points *Top 100 points*	The awarded points to a record corresponding its position in the charts of the concerning week as registered in the variables *Top 40 Position* and *Top 100 Position*. The points system works as follows: a record receives 40 points when it is on position 1, 39 points on position 2, all the way up to 1 point when it is on position 40. When in a certain week a record is in the Top 100, but not in the Top 40, the record is being registered with position 0 and therefore receives 0 points. If a record exits the charts and enters again, the position of the exit week(s) has corresponding points that lead to deduction of points. The point system as explained above is used and therefore leads to 1 points for position 40, 0 point for position 41, -1 points for position 42, etcetera.
Chart run duration *Top 40 duration*	The number of weeks a record is mentioned in the top charts. If a record surpasses position 40 and later reaches the position of 40 or higher, the number of weeks it surpassed position 40 is subtracted.

Top 100 duration	
Type music artist	For each record the type of music artist having recorded the record is collected. Each type of music artist must be assigned a numerical value in order to conduct quantitative analysis i.e.: solo = 1, group = 2, and collaboration = 3. A music artist has value 1 when it has recorded the record on his own. Value 2 is awarded when the record is recorded by multiple music artist that belong to the same group. Value 3 is awarded when the record is recorded by multiple artist that do not belong to the same group, but are featured in the song.
<u>**Style of rap**</u> ***Pop rap*** ***Political rap*** ***New/Old Skool rap*** ***Gangsta rap*** ***Hardcore rap***	Each style is contained in a dummy variable, since more than one style of rap can exist in a record. Therefore this variable is not categorical. Following Lucas et al. (2011) five styles of rap were chosen out of many rap styles. See appendix C for the descriptions of these styles.
<u>**Reputation**</u> ***Conforming reputation*** ***Nonconforming reputation***	Following Lucas et al. (2011) the rap styles Pop rap, Political rap, and New/Old Skool rap are labelled as having a conforming reputation and Gangsta rap and Hardcore rap as having a nonconforming reputation. Since more than one style of rap can exist in a record, a record can be labelled as having both.
Label ***Type of label***	Name of record label Within this categorical variable each chart hit per record is coded as 1 to indicate that a particular record is released by a major record label and coded as 0 when this is done so by an independent label.
<u>**YouTube presence**</u> ***YouTube views*** ***YouTube exist***	 Number of views of official videos by label/artist or VEVO. In cases there are no official videos, the amateur video with the most views is taken into consideration. The number of years the YouTube video has been online in relation to the year of gathering data, which is in this case 2016.

3.4.   0perationalization

In order to prevent confusing regarding the common notions within this research, each notion is explained in table 3.4.

Table 3.4   *Definition of main concepts used within research*

Concept	Description
Chart list	The Top 40 or Top 100 charts
Chart week	Week where a week chart is released
Week chart	Weekly chart list
Chart hit	A record at a certain position on the week chart
Record	A song of the genre Nederhop that reached one or both chart lists

Hypothesis 1: Is it true that hardcore Nederhop records can reach the same audience as commercial Nederhop records?

In order to answer this question, the style of rap used in every successful Nederhop record will be analyzed. Following Lucas et al. (2011) hardcore rap is seen as having a nonconforming reputation, just as the style gangsta rap. Lucas et al. (2011) describe both Hardcore and Gangsta rap as styles that are related to aggression and confrontation. Using the dichotomy presented by Wermuth (2001) of commercial versus hardcore, hardcore is considered as noncommercial. By linking noncommercial to records that have a nonconforming reputation and analyzing the records using the variables *Gangsta rap*, *Hardcore rap*, and *Nonconforming reputation*, the aforementioned question can be answered.

Hypothesis 2: The most successful Nederhop records are crossovers.

Following the finding of Wermuth (2001) of the most successful Nederhop records being crossovers between rap and other popular genres, the rap style of every Nederhop record are collected. These records are considered as successful as they have reached the charts in the past 21 years. Within this research the style Pop rap contains rap mixed with popular subgenres as Party rap, Hip House and Trip hop, following Lucas et al. (2011) (see appendix C).

Analyzing the frequency of Pop rap in relation to the other styles of rap will indicate whether the most successful Nederhop records are crossovers.

Hypothesis 3: Successful Nederhop records are released by major and independent labels.

According to Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) the global music industry's majors are EMI, Sony/BMG, Universal and Warner Majors. The websites of all other labels are checked whether they act independent, or are part of a major label. Using the variable *Type of label* will tell whether successful Nederhop records are represented by major and independent labels and to what extent each type of label is involved in the Nederhop scene.

Hypothesis 4: Did Nederhop records reach a bigger audience over the years?

Following the statements by Koreman (2014), Achterberg et al. (2011) and Schmutz (2009, as cited in Koreman, 2014) the number of chart hits and Nederhop records is analyzed to test whether Nederhop reached more people along the years.

Also the chart run duration and the positions are taken into account, leading together to points awarded to each Nederhop record. Using the total points awared (*Top 40 points*; *Top 100 points*) will potentially give extra insight whether Nederhop reached a bigger audience.

Next to this, the theory of Negus (1993) and Wermuth (2001) regarding the major labels widening their portfolios by including local acts to reach a wider audience is tested (*Type of label*), being a potential explanation in case there is an increase to be found.

Hypothesis 5: Nederhop has gained institutional recognition over the years.

Analyzing the Nederhop records reaching the Top 40 chart list, which is used as a measure of institutionalized Nederhop, will give insight in the question whether Nederhop gained institutional recognition by institutions. Being represented in the Top 40 namely shows the record received airplay by the radio institutions.

Hypothesis 6: Nederhop first becomes popular before it gains recognition by the institutions.

In order to see whether Nederhop records first gained in popularity before they are recognized by institutions is done by analyzing whether the Top 100 precedes the Top 40 regarding the total points per chart week. The system of points (*Top 40 points*; *Top 100 points*) allows calculating the total points gained by Nederhop records per week, which is used to assess

whether there is a correlation and also to see the nature of this relationship. The intention is to see whether the Top 100 chart list, representing popular Nederhop records, precedes the Top 40 chart list, representing the institutional recognized Nederhop.

Hypothesis 7: Nederhop has gained popularity on YouTube.

Following the statements of music artists and label owners talking about the importance of YouTube and the increasing number of viewers of their videos, the number of views on each Nederhop within this research is analyzed whether this is the case. Taking into account the number of years a video is already on YouTube (*YouTube exist*) is done to correct for the views accumulating over the years (*YouTube views*).

Hypothesis 8: The presence of Nederhop records is becoming similar in the Top 40 and Top 100 chart lists after including streaming data.

Regarding the aforementioned inclusions of legal downloaded music in 2006 and streaming data around 2013, it is expected that potential differences between the Top 40 and Top 100 regarding the presence of Nederhop records become smaller. Analyzing the number of Nederhop records being present in both chart lists will show whether this is the case.

4.   RESULTS

The following results regarding the hypotheses are discussed in order to give answer to the main question: to what extent has Nederhop gained institutional recognition and popularity between 1995 and 2015?

Analyzing the Top 40 and Top 100 chart lists led to a total of N=1225 chart hits, of which 904 cases appeared in the Top 40 and 1044 in the Top 100. This period of 21 years represents 144 different Nederhop records of which a list can be found in appendix E. This period exists of 1056 chart weeks where the charts were released every week and of which 659 week charts contain one or more Nederhop records. As can be seen in figure 4.1 most chart hits of Nederhop records occurred in 2012 with 156 times. Disregarding the falls in 1998, 2003, and 2014 the number of chart hits of Nederhop is slightly increasing.

For the descriptives of all the main and additional variables, see table 1 in appendix D. Also the results of the additional variables are to be found in appendix D.
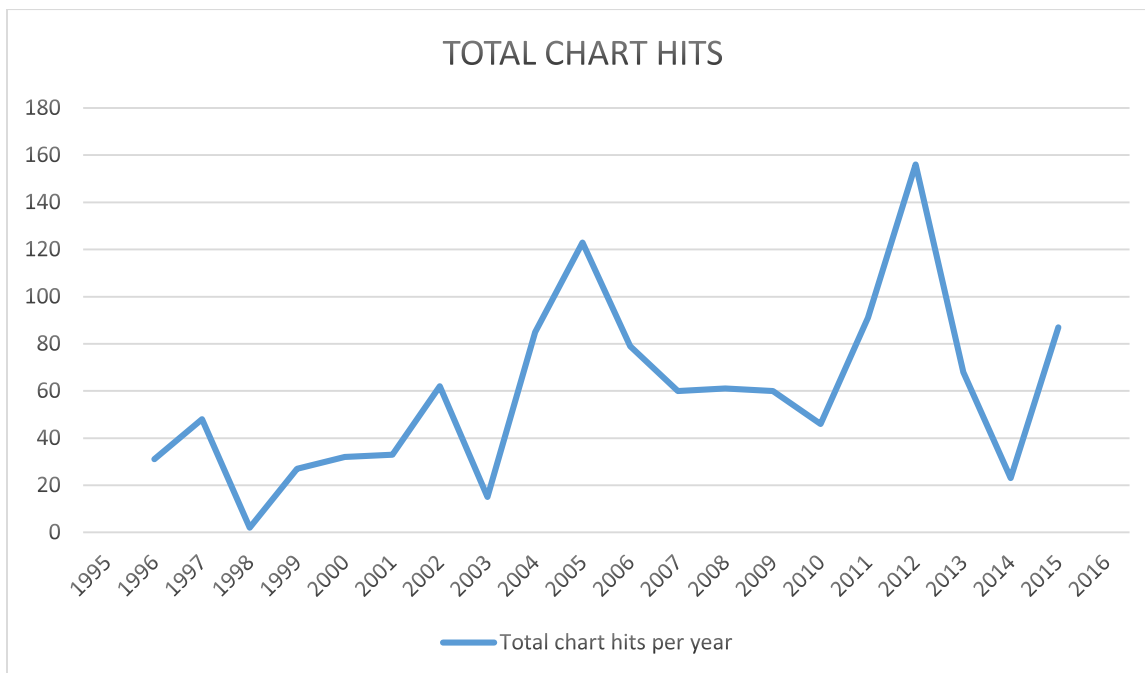
Figure 4.1   *Total Nederhop chart hits per year*

4.1. Commercial versus noncommercial

Considering all the Nederhop chart hits figure 4.1 shows the ratio of chart hits that are considered having a conforming or nonconforming reputation.
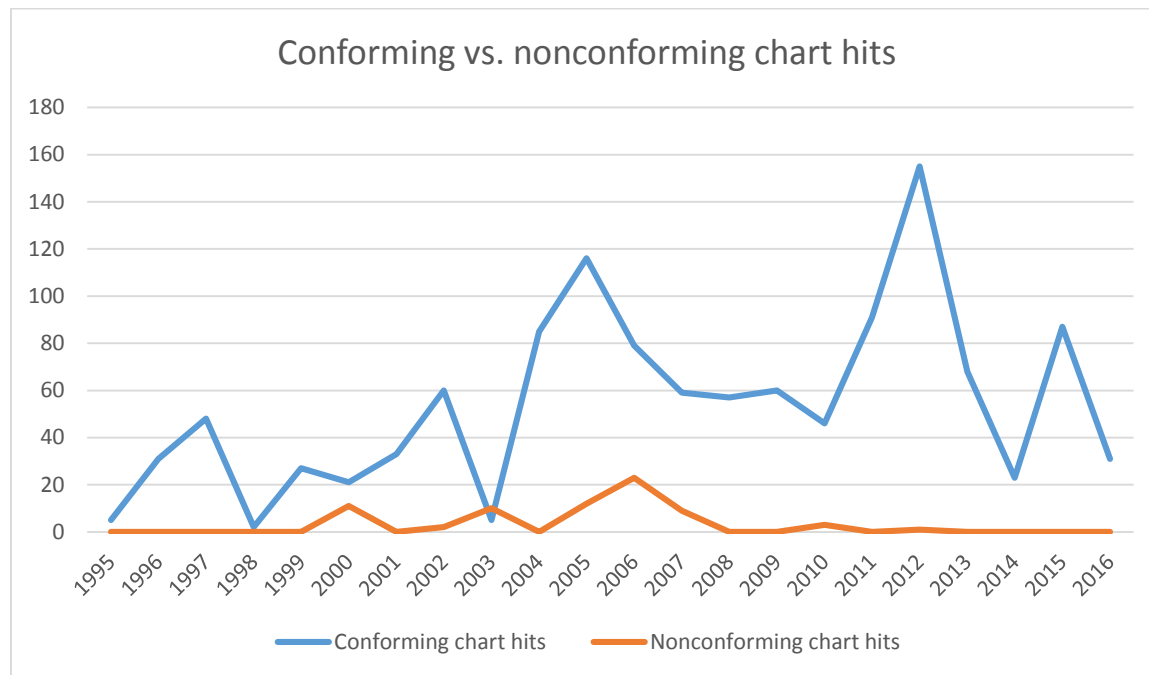
Figure 4.2   *Appearance of commercial and nonconforming Nederhop records in the chart lists*

In the past 21 years there have appeared in total 24 chart hits labelled as Gangsta rap and 51 chart hits labelled as Hardcore rap in the chart lists. Related to these styles of rap, are the corresponding kind of reputations these records have, according to Lucas et al. (2011). As figure 4.2 and table 4.1 show clearly, the Nederhop records with a conforming reputation overbalance the records with a nonconforming reputation. Only in the years 2000, 2003, and 2005 till 2007 had more than a few chart hits of records that were considered of having a nonconforming reputation.

Although compared to a total of N=1225 chart hits it is very little, they are successful Nederhop records considered as having a nonconforming reputation that have hit the charts. For both styles of rap it took some years before these non-commercial Nederhop records, according to the hip-hop scene (Wermuth, 2001), hit the charts. Although these nonconforming

records mostly only appeared between 2000 up and to 2007, the hypothesis of non-commercial Nederhop records reaching the same audience as commercial records, can be attained.

4.2.   Crossovers

Of all the Nederhop records the corresponding styles of rap were collected, resulting in figure 4.3. and table 4.1. Analyzing the styles of rap used in every record showed that from the years 1995 up and to 2003 the Nederhop chart hits were mostly of other rap styles than alone Pop rap. However, as can be seen in figure 4.3 from 2004 onwards almost all chart hits were only or at least of the style Pop rap. The year 2005 there were the most different styles used within the total period. Only in this year, all styles of rap are represented.
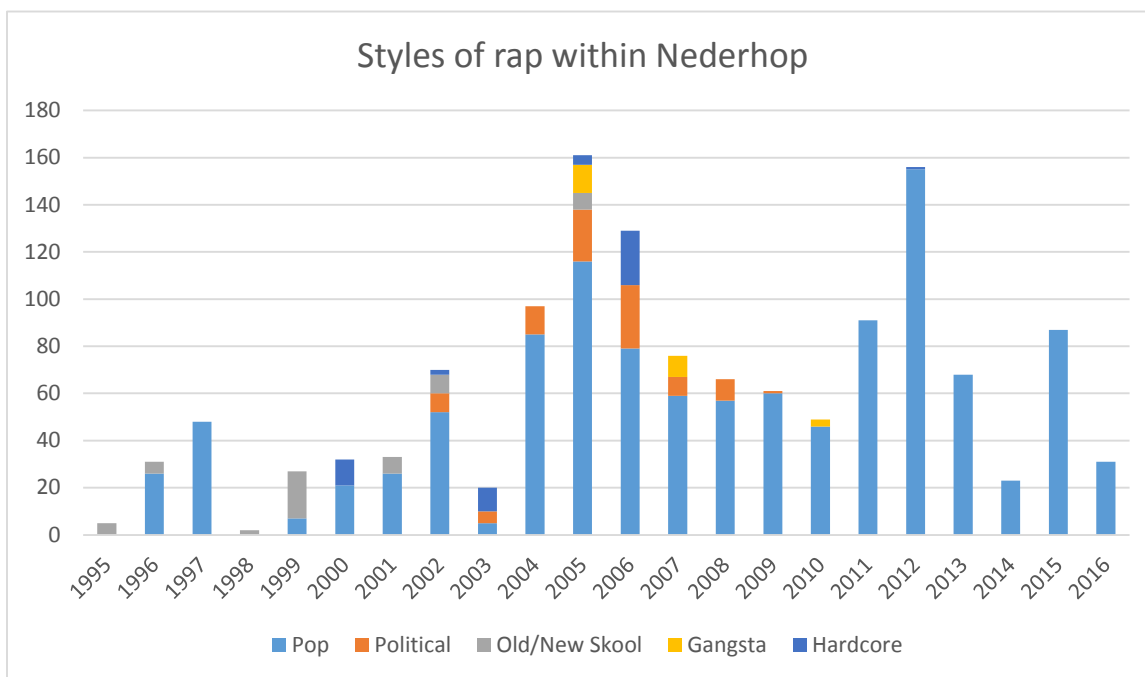
Figure 4.3   *Distribution of styles of rap of Nederhop records*

Out of the 21 years, the chart hits of 13 years were almost only of the rap style Pop with a minimal share of 93%. Regarding the Nederhop records these are 129 records of the 144 records that are at least of the style Pop rap. Thus, we can attain the hypothesis that the most successful Nederhop records are crossovers.

**Table 4.1**   *Distribution of styles of rap in both populations*

Style of rap	Chart hits N=1225		Records N=144	
Pop rap	93%	*Conforming reputation* 98%	90%	*Conforming reputation* 97%
Political rap	8%		9%	
Old/New Skool rap	4%		6%	
Gangsta rap	2%	*Nonconforming reputation* 6%	3%	*Nonconforming reputation* 8%
Hardcore rap	4%		5%	

4.3. Major versus independent record labels

Of the total 1225 chart hits, only 158 of them are represented by major labels, which leaves 1067 chart hits that are represented by independent labels. The expectation that successful Nederhop records are released by major and independent labels can therefore be attained. If we go deeper in the results as shown in figure 4.4 is that there are only a few moments in time that major labels reached the charts with Nederhop acts.

This is also represented by the Nederhop records, where only 19 records are represented by major labels, which again leaves 125 records being represented by independent labels. As can be seen in the distribution of the Nederhop chart hits among the labels (figure 2, appendix D) the best year for major labels is 2002, where it had the most chart hits of the first 8 years, leaving the chart hits by independent labels behind.

However, what stands out in figure 4.4 that in the golden year 2005 there are no Nederhop records that are represented by major labels. Whereas the year after that, major labels had a few chart hits, possibly explained by the bandwagon effect of majors signing and working with local acts as soon as they seem commercially viable (Hitters and Van de Kamp, 2010). Six years later during the second best year regarding the amount of Nederhop records, there are major labels involved in the successful Nederhop records.
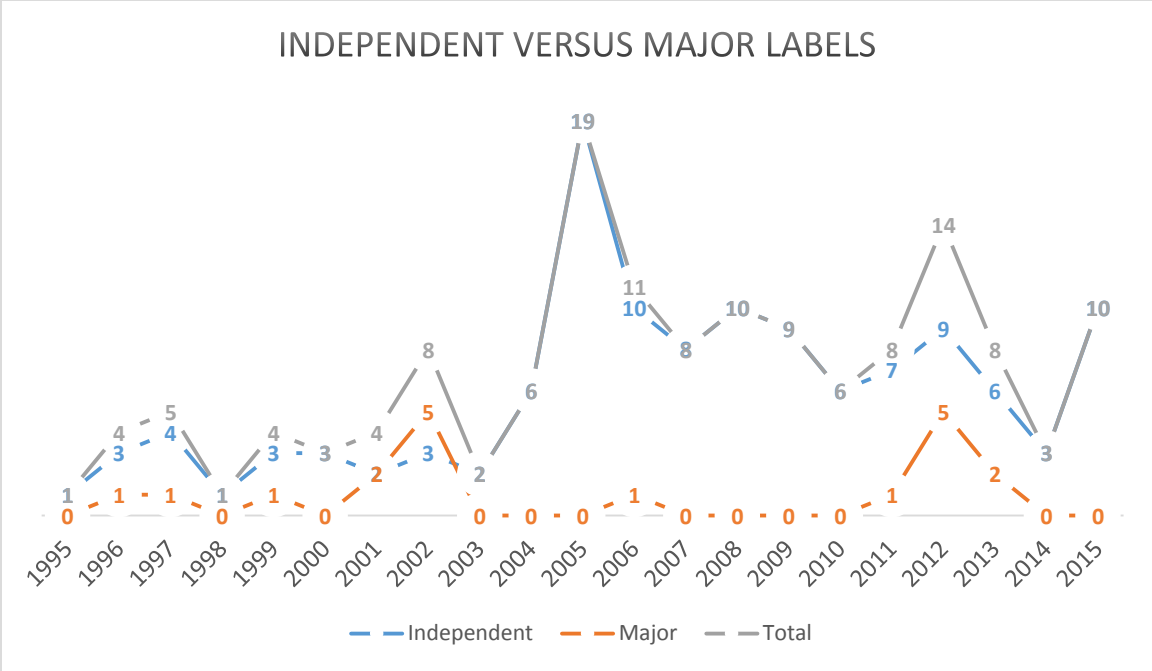
Figure 4.4 *Distribution of type of label of Nederhop records*

Of all the labels representing Nederhop records independent label TopNotch is the biggest with 42 records. Second is independent label SPEC with 19 records and third is independent label Walboomers with 18 records. In this ranking label PIAS Recordings is the biggest of the majors with only 4 Nederhop records.

Thus regarding the expectation following Negus (1993) that major labels started to pay more attention to local music cannot be attained looking at Nederhop records that have reached the charts. Of course it can be the case that major labels did sign more local acts, but data on this was not part of the research. What can be attained is the expectation following the finding by Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) that successful local acts are mostly promoted by independent record labels, as is examined in this section.

4.4. Increased audience reach

Of the total 144 Nederhop records reaching the charts 111 were present in the Top 40 and 136 in the Top 100. Except for the fall in 2014 with only 2 Nederhop records reaching the charts, figure 4.5 shows that the second decennium (2005 to 2015) holds more Nederhop records than the first decennium (1995 to 2004). Although this difference between the two decennia is bigger for the Top 100 chart list than it is for the Top 40, we can state that the amount of Nederhop records being represented in the charts has increased over time.
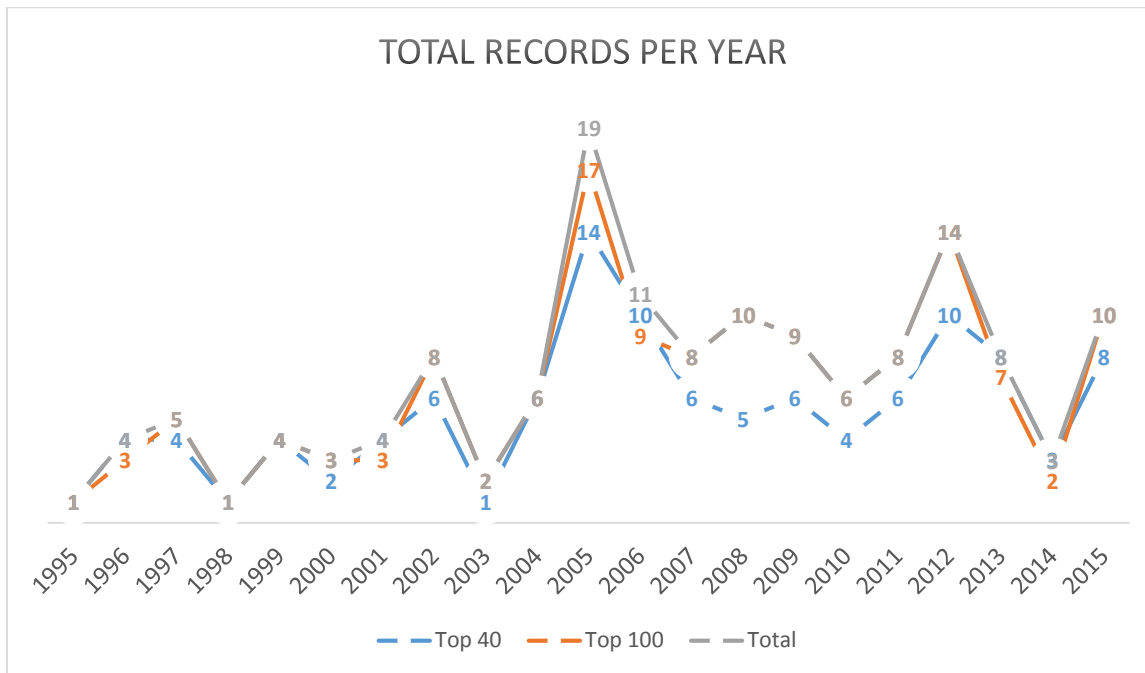
Figure 4.5 *Total records per year per chart list*

Keeping in mind the statement of Koreman (2014) that it is the function of crossovers to reach a wider audience, this increase of Nederhop records reaching the charts can be explained by the corresponding increase of crossover records.

According to the theory (Negus, 1993; Wermuth, 2001) in paragraph 2.4.3 this increase could also be explained by major labels picking up the trend, widening their portfolios by signing Nederhop acts and therefore can reach a wider audience. However, as figure 4.4 already showed there are barely successful Nederhop records represented by major labels, with only peaks in 2002 and 2012.

Looking at the average chart run duration of a Nederhop record within the Top 40 and

Top 100 in figure 3 (appendix D) it shows no clear increase over time. Regarding the Top 40 this means that radio stations on average did not play Nederhop records longer compared to the beginning years of Nederhop on the radio. Regarding the Top 100 Nederhop records also on average stayed in the charts for 4 to 10 weeks, with an exception of the years 2004 and 2011.

Considering the data on the positions the Nederhop records took within the chart lists and the duration of the chart run of each record, the awarded points are determined. Corresponding the average position of a Nederhop chart hit, on average a chart hit within the Top 40 is awarded with slightly less points (M = 20.28; SD = 11.81) than it is in the Top 100 (M = 21.44; SD = 11.89). The total points awarded to Nederhop records in the Top 40 are 18337 points and in Top 100 this is 22118 points. Based on the successful records that were present in these charts this leads to only 1 point discrepancy between the Top 40 (M = 162; SD = 170.38) and the Top 100 (M = 163; SD = 201.36).

What stands out in figure 4.6 is there is not a clear trend to be found within the average score per Nederhop record over the years.
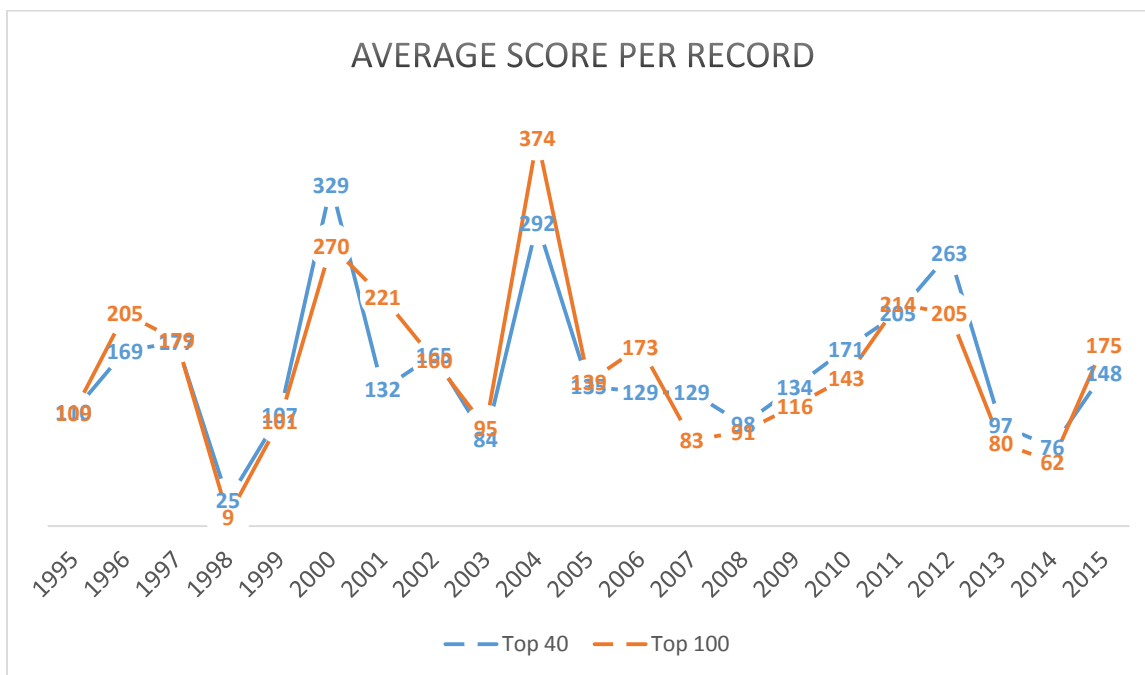

Figure 4.6   *Average score per record per year*

4.5.　Slow recognition by institutions

As was made clear in the previous section (see also figure 4.5) the number of Nederhop records that reached the charts between 2004 and 2013 is much higher than the period before 2004 (except for the year 2002). This indicates that over time more Nederhop records received airplay and therefore were recognized by radio stations.

What also became clear when analyzing the audience reach of both chart lists, is that a Nederhop record within the Top 40 does not stay longer in the charts than it did in the beginning of the whole period.

Regarding the points each record collected based on its position(s) within the charts, figure 4.6 was created (see section 4.6). During the first ten years the average score per Nederhop record in the Top 40 was fluctuating heavily between every year. However from 2005 and onwards, the awarded points are more constant, showing a steady increase between 2008 and 2012. However, in 2014, corresponding with the low number of Nederhop records reaching the charts, the awarded points are again quite low.

Considering the Nederhop records that have reached the charts as succesfull records, leads to the conclusion that the expectation of a slow recognition by institutions can be attained.

4.6.　Popularity precedes institutional recognition

In order to attain or retain the expectation that popular Nederhop precedes institutional recognized Nederhop, the relation between the Top 40 and Top 100 is analyzed on differents aspects. First, the number of Nederhop records are taken into account, where figure 4.5 (section 4.4) is taken in consideration. During the first 10 years both charts are going hand in hand, however from 2005 and onwards differences start to show. Although the differences are not big, the Top 100 constantly covers a few Nederhop records more than the Top 40 does in its charts.

On average a Nederhop recorded had a slightly long chart duration in the Top 100 list. As stated before, the Top 100 contains 136 of the total 144 Nederhop records and the Top 40

contains 113 records with is a difference of 31 Nederhop records. Combining this with the knowledge that the category with the largest amount of cases is a chart run duration of 1 week (see table 1, appendix D) might suggest that relatively many of these 31 Nederhop records were temporarily popular according to the consumer sales (Top 100 charts), but were not recognized and played by the radio stations (Top 40 charts).

What does stand out in figure 4.6 (see section 4.4) is that the scores of both lists are relatively close to each other (except for the years 2001 and 2004). However, the score for a Nederhop record within the Top 100 tends to be slightly higher in most years during the first 12 years, where during the next period until 2015 the score per record within the Top 40 is on average higher (with an exception for the year 2015).

This might suggest that according to the chart lists Nederhop was more in demand among consumers then it was among radio stations until 2006, but after that radio stations started to appreciate the (mostly crossover) Nederhop records more than consumers did. It must be made clear however that these are only changes between both chart lists, because regarding the average value in points of a Nederhop record there is no clear increase over the years.

In order to state whether there is a significant relation regarding the Top 100 preceding the Top 40, the total points per week of both lists are tested. The total points per week in the Top 40 and Top 100 are positively correlated, $r(667) = .81$, $p < .01$. Testing the expectation of whether the total points of a certain week in the Top 100 precedes the total points of the week after that in the Top 40 shows also a positive correlation, $r(667) = .78$, $p < .01$. Although there is a significant correlation, it is not stronger than the relation between the total points of both chart lists in the same week. Checking whether it is not the other way around, that is the Top 40 preceding the Top 100 leaves a positive, but slightly weaker correlation, $r(667) = .71$, $p < .01$.

Although it can be stated there is a significant positive correlation between the Top 100 preceding the Top 40, the other possible relations are also significant positively correlated and therefore cannot be excluded.

Analyzing whether this could differ per period of time, only shows the expected result of the correlation being stronger for the Top 100 preceding the Top 40 ($r(201) = .83$, $p < .01$) than

the correlation between the Top 100 and Top 40 in the same week (r(201) = 0.78, p < .01) in the years 2011 up and to 2015. But again, this correlation is only slightly stronger and the correlation between both chart lists in every week is also significant correlated. For the other periods (1995-2000; 2001-2005; 2006-2010) the same applies as to the total period, where the correlation between the chart lists in the same week is stronger than the correlation between the Top 100 preceding the Top 40.

Thus, due to every kind of correlation (one precedes the other or both in the same week) being significant correlated, the hypothesis cannot be attained.

4.7.　The role of the internet

Despite the possibly increased number of users of YouTube, there is still expected to be a strong increase of YouTube views of Nederhop record videos. Figure 4.7 shows the number of YouTube views of Nederhop records per year, being corrected for the years the several videos have been online. Disregarding the year of 2014, which has a small amount of views due to a small number of records reaching the charts that year, shows an evident increasing trend. Therefore, the hypothesis that Nederhop has gained popularity on YouTube can be attained.
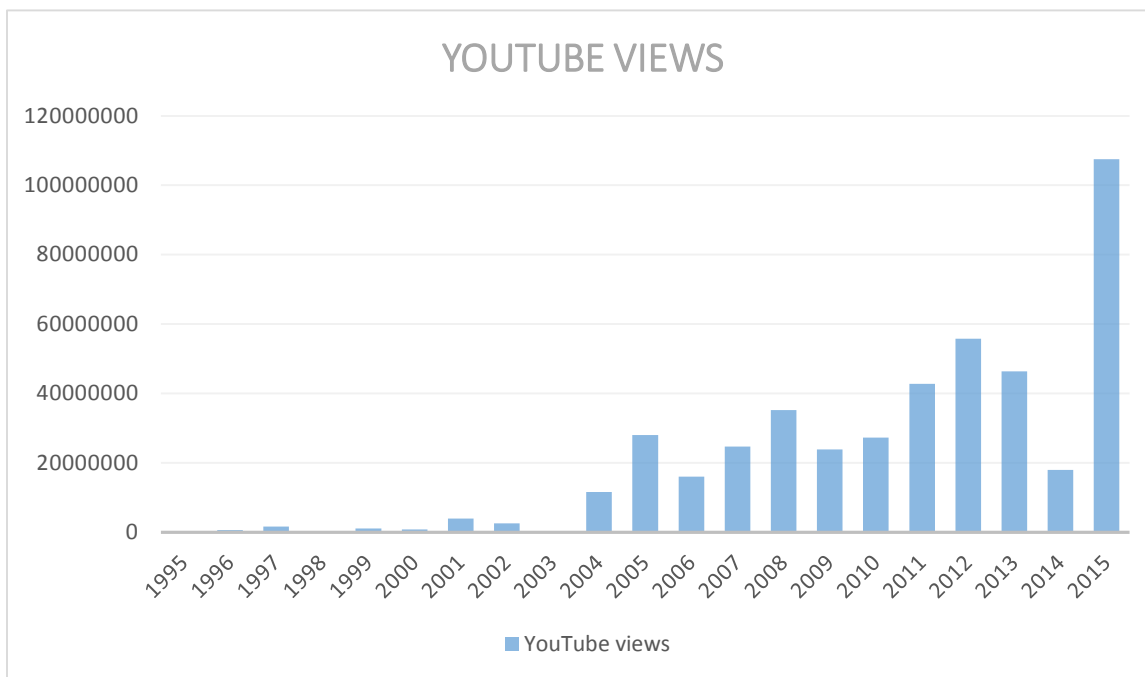
Figure 4.7　*Amount of YouTube views of Nederhop record videos per year*

Furthermore, what stands out is the number of views in 2015 which is extremely higher than its previous years, leading to the question how this trend will develop in the years hereafter. Although these numbers cannot be compared with numbers of other genres due to the scope of this research, it is clear that Nederhop is popular among YouTube users. This is good news for the music artists regarding the attention it will give them, however it will not help them regarding gaining more revenue. As can be read in the quotes from lyrics of the record "Zo doe je dat" (Fresku et al., 2015) it is nice to have that many views on YouTube, but it is the airplay

that is generating revenue for an artist.

4.8.   Equalization of lists

From section 4.6 we know that the expectation that the Top 100 precedes the Top 40 chart list cannot be attained, due to the chart lists being significant correlated whether one precedes the other or not at all. Due to these chart list already being correlated, the descriptives are consulted.

As is explained in section 3.2. the Top 100 chart starts to include data on legal downloaded music around 2006 and both lists include streaming data around 2013. When looking at the total number of Nederhop records per year in figure 4.5 (section 4.4) up and to 2004 the chart lists represent about the same number of Nederhop records. However from 2005 onwards differences between the Top 40 and Top 100 start to show, with the latter representing structurally 2 Nederhop records or more than the Top 40.

However, from 2013, the year streaming data is included in both chart lists, the differences are becoming smaller with only a discrepancy of one or two records. Although it cannot be significantly stated that the lists are becoming more similar, this tendency should be looked at again in a few years to be certain about both chart lists becoming more similar. For now, with caution, it can be stated that the presence of Nederhop records is becoming similar in the Top 40 and Top 100 after the streaming data being included.

5. CONCLUSION

Since its birth in the 1990s Nederhop has been a successful genre in the underground, however since the mid-1990s it started to reach the mainstream audience through airplay. Recent developments, such as the success of the album *New Wave*, and criticism from the Nederhop community regarding the traditional media not covering Nederhop enough raised the question what the current state of Nederhop is and how it has developed the past decades. This led to the main question: To what extent has Nederhop gained institutional recognition and popularity between 1995 and 2015?

Analyzing the Top 40 and Top 100 chart lists showed that although several scholar stated that local music in the Netherlands started becoming popular since the mid-1990s, it took for Nederhop records almost ten years before more than a few records reached the charts each year. Results show that within the second decade more Nederhop records reached a wide audience than was the case in the first decade. However, this applied more to the Nederhop records that were sold physically, downloaded or streamed, rather than the Nederhop records that received airplay by the radio institutions.

This moment of change around 2005 was also the starting point of Nederhop records being mostly crossovers. Although Nederhop records that used styles as Old Skool or Hardcore rap did reach a wider audience, they mostly disappeared from the charts over time. Radio stations tend to play mostly crossovers, as they have to attain a wide audience. Nederhop records that contain a catchy chorus or hookline and for example cross over with other popular genres as dance and house, records are more likely to receive airplay. This is also what happened after 2005 with more Nederhop crossovers being played and therefore being recognized by radio institutions. After several years Nederhop records slowly gained institutional recognition.

Using quantitative content analysis on music chart lists while being focused on Nederhop records gave insights in how the presence of Nederhop in the music charts developed over the years. It showed how Nederhop has become more mainstream over the years, which is more visible in the sales, downloads and streaming of records than it is in the

airplay by radio stations. Using the chart lists based on sales and airplay offers big data, but it does leave the researcher constricted to only the Nederhop records that made the crossover and therefore reached the charts. It would go beyond the scope of this research, but it would be interesting to see how the relationship between Nederhop that is considered more underground and mainstream Nederhop developed over the years.

Also, by being only focused on Nederhop records the presence of Nederhop within the music industry (of the Netherlands) stays unknown. For futher research including other genres or rap from other countries might lead to interesting findings.

However, when performing this research with regard to the relationship between Nederhop and the internet, several interviews and data indicate that Nederhop is quite popular among the Dutch audience. Although the extensive use of platforms such as YouTube.com still is quite recently, Nederhop showed to have become quite popular the past years. For future research it would be interesting to measure the popularity of Nederhop online after another five or ten years in order to see whether its share in the music industry of the Netherlands has grown.

Thus, where Nederhop artists finally have received airplay for which they have been fighting for, they found another way to reach a wider audience. Also the traditional media landscape is changing, with newspapers and radio stations having to fight to retain their audience. These signals suggest that the role of traditional media is changing and some say these establishments are even collapsing.

Therefore, another entry for future research would be to interrogate this role of traditional media, with especially the importance of institutional recognition regarding the development and growth of music genres. Will it be the case that the internet will determine the hierarchy of music genres in the near future and therefore that YouTube and other online platforms are becoming the institutions? If only I would have had a time machine.

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APPENDIX A   Lyrics

Fresku feat. Braz, Teemong & Go Back To The Zoo – Zo Doe Je Dat

[Intro: Radio fragment of Giel Beelen] Hip Hop dat slaat helemaal nergens op De 3FM standaard luisteraar had zoiets van 'flikker op met die herrie'	[Intro: Radio fragment of Giel Beelen] Hip Hop that makes no sense at all The regular 3FM listener would say something like 'get out of here with that noise'
[Verse 1: Fresku] Nigger je moet alles doen voor die airplay Ook al vind je hele hood het extreem Fuck respect hebben in de rapgame Buma/Stemra dat is wat je echt paid Al wiep je honderd bitches backstage Dodge je bullets net als kaolo Max Payne Never dat die onzin jou stacks geeft Voor Hilversum ben je geen talent nee Al klink je net als SBMG Of doe je alles zoals Ronnie Flex deed Al bouncen blanke pubers met jou tracks mee Hilversum wil blanke rappers per se Geen blackface, nigger	[Verse 1: Fresku] Nigger you have to do everything for that airplay Even though your whole hood thinks it's extreme Fuck being respected by the rap game Buma/Stemra is what really pays you Even if you fuck a hundred bitches backstage Dodge your bullets just like *kaolo* Max Payne Never that this bullshit gives you stacks For Hilversum you're not a talent no Even if you sound like SBMG Or doing everything as Ronnie Flex did Even if white teenagers are bouncing on your tracks Hilversum wants white rap artist per se No blackface, nigger
[Hook 1: Braz] Oh shit, jullie zijn done Dit is hoe de fuck je op de radio komt Nigger zo doe je dat x 4	[Hook 1: Braz] Oh shit, you are done This is how you fucking get on the radio Nigger this is how you should do it x 4
[Verse 2: Fresku] Die lyrics klinken tight man Maar helaas ben je niet een white man Je bent op internet een hype… kan Maar never dat Giel Beelen jou draait want Die yo-yo-hiphop is te saai man Doe iets met een band net als Kyteman Gers en Kraantje Pappie, dat is tight man Deze sound is ook veel te Jamaican Geen trommels en ratelen, dat is negerherrie Nicki Minaj is te donker, geef me Kate Perry	[Verse 2: Fresku] Those lyrics sound tight man But unfortunately you're not a white man On the internet you're a hype.. could be But never will Giel Beelen play your song because That yo-yo-hip hop is too boring man Do something with a band just like Kyteman Gers and Kraantje Pappie, that is tight man This sound is also way too Jamaican No drums and rattles, that is nigger noise Nicki Minaj is too dark, give me Kate Perry

Geef me Iggy Azalea, die prachtige snol Dan blaf ik haar vol met sap in haar hol Spring uit die kaolo slachtofferrol	Give me Iggy Azalea, that beautiful slut I will cram her up with juice in her hole Stop being that *kaolo* victim
[Hook 2: Braz] Gooi een beetje dance en wat rock voor een hit man Nigger bleek je huid, je moet lookoe als een witmang Nigger zo doe je dat x 4	[Hook 2: Braz] Throw a bit of dance and some rock for a hit record man Nigger bleach your skin, you have to look like a white man Nigger zo doe je dat x 4
[Verse 3: Teemong] Aangenaam, ik ben een man van de radio En voor die yo-yo-muziek is te weinig animo Kom uit die slachtofferrol als Quincy Gario White privilege, ga lekker terug naar Paramaribo Want het heeft niks te maken met huidskleur We weten wat ons publiek het liefst luistert Doe je rapjes met een melodietje Gebruik geen slang, dat klinkt te negroïde En we draaien best regelmatig rapjes hoor Eminem, Iggy Azalea en Macklemore Ja, toevallig zijn ze allemaal blank Wat een gejank, het is nu eenmaal net een andere klank Kanye West klinkt veel beter met Paul McCartney We horen liever een gitaar bij een zwarte artiest Dus rappertje neem dit advies tactisch Het wordt eens tijd dat je een ander pad kiest Want we willen alleen rock of dance Stop die rap, tenzij je een blanke jongen bent Hier in Hilversum bepalen wij hoe tof je bent Fuck je fans, de blakkaman blijft onbekend	[Verse 3: Teemong] Nice to meet you, I'm a guy from the radio And for that yo-yo-music is too little enthusiasm Stop playing a victim like Quincy Gario White privilege, why don't you go back to Paramaribo Because it has nothing to do with skin color We know what our listeners like most Do your rapping with a melody Don't use slang, it sounds too negroid And we do play rap songs regularly Eminem, Iggy Azalea and Macklemore Yes, they are all white by chance All the whining, it's just a different sound Kanye West sounds much better with Paul McCartney We rather hear a guitar along a black music artist So little rapper take this tactical advice It is time to take a different road Because we only want rock or dance Stop rapping, unless you're a white boy Here in Hilversum we decide how awesome you are Fuck your fans, the black man stays unknown
[Hook 2: Braz]	[Hook 2: Braz]
[Hook 3: Braz] Ik zie die million views op die Youtube Maar die radio money is die doekoe Nigger zo doe je dat x 4	[Hook 3: Braz] I see those million views on YouTube But that radio money brings that dough Nigger this is how you should do it x 4

PART 2	PART 2
[Fresku & (Go Back To The Zoo)] Seems like only yesterday, when I had to face Dancing in a masquerade Why am I sad today, ain't nobody pass away But I can't put the past away, half asleep and half awake I'm in a scary place, dwelling on the past again It's so embarrassing, to have to say, I am a slave and I am ashamed	[Fresku & (Go Back To The Zoo)] Seems like only yesterday, when I had to face Dancing in a masquerade Why am I sad today, ain't nobody pass away But I can't put the past away, half asleep and half awake I'm in a scary place, dwelling on the past again It's so embarrassing, to have to say, I am a slave and I am ashamed
[Refrein:] I'm so embarrassed, can someone tell me why (Baby I don't know how to look you in the eye) I feel so naked, baby I can't lie (Baby I don't know how to look you in the eye)	[Chorus:] I'm so embarrassed, can someone tell me why (Baby I don't know how to look you in the eye) I feel so naked, baby I can't lie (Baby I don't know how to look you in the eye)
[Break: Braz] Kijk, kijk, kijk, zo doe je dat Shout-outs naar Giel Beelen Omdat hij alleen maar dit soort prachtige songs de kans geeft Broertje, luister. Je moet je aanpassen Niemand will die lappen tekst horen, blablablabla Geen refreintjes, geen featurings met BN'ers Yu dom boerkie, yu, de radio is van de witmang Dus als je op de radio wil, moet je zijn als een witmang Zeg het met me, ik ben een witmang Shout-outs naar all m'n witmangs trouwens: Kraantje, Gers, Diggy Dex, Dio Chef' Special, Jett Rebel, Racoon Nielson, De Jeugd Van Tegenwoordig Job de Witmang, schrijf een goede recensie voor me, toch	[Break: Braz] Look, look, look, this is how you should do it Shout-outs to Giel Beelen Because he only gives these kind of beautiful ballad songs a chance Brother, listen. You have to adjust Nobody wants to hear those chunks of text, bla bla bla bla No choruses, no featurings with famous Dutch people *Yu dom boerkie, yu*, the radio is owned by the white man So if you want to be on the radio, you have to be like a white man Say it with me, I am a white man Shout-outs to all my white men by the way: Kraantje, Gers, Diggy Dex, Dio Chef' Special, Jett Rebel, Racoon Nielson, De Jeugd Van Tegenwoordig Job de *Witmang*, write a good review for me aight
[Chorus:] Source: http://genius.com/Fresku-zo-doe-je-dat-lyrics	

APPENDIX B   Code book

The following code book is used to gather data on institutionalized Nederhop (Top 40 charts) and popular Nederhop (Top 100 charts).

Week
The week number matching the date on which the week chart is released.

Year
The year in which the week chart is released.

Song ID
Individual numerical value per record title.

Song title
The title of each record with using a capital for each word.

Name Artist
The name(s) of the music artist(s) having recorded the record.

Position Top 40
The position of the record in the charts of the concerning week. When a record is not in the Top 40, the record is registered with position 0.

Position Top 100
"   "

Presence Top 40
The presence of the record in the Top 40 charts of the concerning week. Code 1 when present; code 0 when absent.

Presence Top 100
"   "

Top 40 points
The awarded points to a record corresponding its position of the concerning week as registered in the variable 'Pos40'. It receives 40 points when it is on position 1, 39 points on position 2, all the way up to 1 point when it is on position 40. It receives 0 points when it is absent. The position of the exit week(s) has corresponding points that lead to deduction of points, which is 0 points for position 41, -1 point for position 42, -2 points for position 43, and etcetera.

Top 100 points
The same point awarding system is applied in this variable, corresponding with the position of the record as registered in variable 'Pos100'.

Top 40 duration
The total chart run duration of a record in the Top 40 measured in number of weeks. The number of weeks it is absent is subtracted from the total.

Top 100 duration
"   "

Type of music artist
1 = solo
2 = group
3 = collaboration

Pop rap
Code 1 when this style applies; 0 when not.

Political rap
Code 1 when this style applies; 0 when not.

Old/New Skool rap
Code 1 when this style applies; 0 when not.

Gangsta rap
Code 1 when this style applies; 0 when not.

Hardcore rap
Code 1 when this style applies; 0 when not.

Conforming reputation
Code 1 when styles Pop, Political and/or Old/New Skool rap applies; 0 when not.

Nonconforming reputation
Code 1 when styles Gangsta and/or Hardcore rap applies; 0 when not.

Label ID
Individual numerical value per label.

Label name
The label under which the record is produced.

Type of label
Code 0 when it concerns an independent label; 1 when a major label.

YouTube views
The number of YouTube views of the video with the most views.

YouTube year
The year in which the particular YouTube video was uploaded.

YouTube existing years
The number of years the YouTube video has been online in relation to the year of gathering data.

APPENDIX C   Styles of rap

The following descriptions of rap styles are retrieved from The All Music Guide[4] following Lucas et al. (2011, 196-198), except the description of Dutch Old Skool rap. Data to retailers, websites and companies within the entertainment industry is licensed by this firm. For the genre rap, All Music provides different subgenres (referred to as styles) ranging from Alternative rap to Party rap. Several rap styles were not observed in this data set of hits (eg, Underground and Comedy Rap) while other styles were observed infrequently (eg, Hardcore, Old Skool and Political Rap). Most records are represented by the styles Pop Rap (covering other subgenres as Hip House and Trip Hop), and Gangsta Rap.

Gangsta Rap

Gangsta rap developed in the late 1980s. Evolving out of hardcore rap, gangsta rap had an edgy, noisy sound. Lyrically, it was just as abrasive, as the rappers spun profane, gritty tales about urban crime. Sometimes the lyrics were an accurate reflection of reality; other times, they were exaggerated comic book stories. Gangsta rap is the style most commonly associated with hardcore rap, but not all hardcore rap revolves around gangsta themes, even though there is a great deal of overlap. Its subject matter is now a mix of party anthems, gangsta's money/sex/violence obsessions and occasional social commentary.

Hardcore Rap

While the term can refer to several different musical sensibilities, Hardcore Rap is marked by confrontation and aggression, whether in the lyrical subject matter, the hard, driving beats, the noisy sampling and production, or any combination thereof. Hardcore rap is tough, streetwise, intense, and often menacing (although the latter is not always the case; there is room for humor and exuberance as well).

Dutch Old/New Skool Rap

The base of Dutch Old/New Skool Rap lies in the Pop Rap with having hip hop beats, a strong melodic hook in a chorus section. Although Old/New Skool Rap is less aggressive than styles as Hardcore rap, it is associated with a more hardcore attitude and lyrical cleverness than is usual in Pop Rap.

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[4] www.allmusic.com

Political Rap

Looking to move on from the block party atmosphere of old school rap and eager to vent their frustrations with the 1980s version of the inner-city blues, a select few hip-hop groups merged deft rhymes with Political philosophy to create a new style of rap. The style was characterized by twisted rhymes while taking to task the government, the culture of white America and all sorts of specific sociopolitical issues. What looked to be a fertile new ground for exploration, however, proved remarkably short-lived. The commercial explosion of a new hip-hop sound – Gangsta Rap or G-funk – made record labels less adventurous about non-establishment messages.

Pop Rap

Pop Rap is a marriage of hip-hop beats and raps with strong melodic hooks, which are usually featured as part of the chorus section in a standard pop-song structure. Pop-rap tends to be less aggressive and lyrically complex than most street-level hip-hop, although during the mid-to-late 1990s, some artists infused the style with a more hardcore attitude in an attempt to defuse backlash over their accessibility (see Old/New Skool Rap).

[Not following Lucas et al. (2011) in this research other styles as Party Rap, Hip House and Trip Hop are grouped under the subgenre Pop Rap.] Although there are some differences between these subgenres, it is the emphasis on rhythm and the beat that is seen as all-important is what ties them together. Most songs are keeping the groove going and the lyrics can be characterized as inconsequential. These lyrics only have a fraction of the Old Skool Raps cleverness and no political overtones as Political Rap and Hardcore Rap have. It seems to be all about the music, which is characterized by the obvious bass, drums and vocal hook which makes the song memorable.

APPENDIX D   Results

Table 1   *Descriptives of all used variables*

Variable	Mean*	Median	Mode	SD	Minimum	Maximum
MAIN VARIABLES						
Position Top 40*	20.72	21	13	11.81	1	40
Position Top 100*	19.56	19	2	11.89	1	40
Presence Top 40**	74%				0	1
Presence Top 100**	85%				0	1
Points Top 40*	20.28	20	28	11.81	1	40
Points Top 100*	21.44	22	39	11.89	1	40
Duration Top 40*	11.48	10	7	6.32	1	33
Duration Top 100*	13.91	11	11	10.08	1	48
Pop rap**	93%	1	1		0	1
Political rap**	8%	0	0		0	1
Old/New Skool rap**	4%	0	0		0	1
Gangsta rap**	2%	0	0		0	1
Hardcore rap**	4%	0	0		0	1
Conforming reputation**	98%	1	1		0	1
Nonconforming reputation**	6%	0	0		0	1
*Label**						
0. Independent	87%					
1. Major	13%					
YouTube views (mln)***	4.956.912	2.996.483	20.014.704	5.746.246	7.306	22.614.388
YouTube exist***	6.06	6	9	2.794	1	11

* Of the 1225 chart weeks, the Top 40 has N=904 weeks were Nederhop records are present and the Top 100 has N=1044 weeks
** In the case of binary variables, the percentage of value 1 = yes is mentioned. In the case of categorical variables, the share of each value is mentioned
*** Cases of 0-value are excluded

Variable	Mean*	Median	Mode	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Total points Top 40*	162	116	197	170.38	0	975
Total points Top 100*	163	67	6	201.36	-10	1295
Presence Top 40**	77%					
Presence Top 100**	94%					
Duration Top 40*	7.57	7	3	4.48	0	20
Duration Top 100*	7.74	6	1	6.98	0	48
Pop rap**	90%	1	1		0	1
Political rap**	9%	0	0		0	1
Old/New Skool rap**	6%	0	0		0	1
Gangsta rap**	3%	0	0		0	1
Hardcore rap**	5%	0	0		0	1
Conforming reputation**	97%	1	1		0	1
Nonconforming reputation**	8%	0	0		0	1
Label**						
0. Independent	87%					
1. Major	13%					
YouTube views (mln)***	3.114.674	1.225.824	7.306	4.445.199	7.306	22.614.388
YouTube exist***	6.22	7	9	2.746	1	11

Of the 144 Nederhop records in total, the Top 40 includes N=113 records and the Top 100 N=136 records

*** In the case of binary variables, the percentage of value 1 = yes is mentioned. In the case of categorical variables, the share of each value is mentioned*

**** Cases of 0-value are excluded*

Variable	Mean*	Median	Mode	SD	Minimum	Maximum
ADDITIONAL VARIABLES						
Type music artist**		3.00	3		1	3
1. Solo	18%					
2. Group	26%					
3. Collaboration	55%					
Spotify listeners total***	2.724.484	923.631	6.294.644	3.871.075	23	20.272.741
Spotify users per month***	314.677	192.011	148.190	769.769	20	5.279.307

|						
Type music artist**		3.00	3		1	3
1. Solo	17%					
2. Group	27%					
3. Collaboration	56%					
Spotify listeners total***	1.680.593	321.768	1000	3.024.141	23	20.272.741
Spotify users per month***	276.605	135.931	531773	752.693	20	5.279.307

Table 2   *Distributions of styles of rap per year*

Distributions of styles of rap per year			Pop rap	Political rap	Old/New Skool rap	Gangsta rap	Hardcore rap	*Total*
Year	1995	Count	-	-	5	-	-	5
		% within Year	-	-	100%	-	-	100%
	1996	Count	26	-	5	-	-	31
		% within Year	84%	-	16%	-	-	100%
	1997	Count	48	-	-	-	-	48
		% within Year	100%	-	- %	-	-	100%
	1998	Count	-	-	2	-	-	2
		% within Year	-	-	100%	-	-	100%
	1999	Count	7	-	20	-	-	27
		% within Year	26%	-	74%	-	-	100%
	2000	Count	21	-	-	-	11	32
		% within Year	66%	-	-	-	34%	100%
	2001	Count	26	-	7	-	-	33
		% within Year	79%	-	21%	-	-	100%
	2002	Count	52	8	8	-	2	62
		% within Year	84%	13%	13%	-	3%	100%
	2003	Count	5	5	-	-	10	15
		% within Year	33%	33%	-	-	67%	100%
	2004	Count	85	12	-	-	-	85
		% within Year	100%	14%	-	-	-	100%
	2005	Count	116	22	7	12	4	123
		% within Year	94%	18%	6%	10%	3%	100%
	2006	Count	79	27	-	-	23	79
		% within Year	100%	34%	-	-	29%	100%
	2007	Count	59	8	-	9	-	60
		% within Year	98%	13%	-	15%	-	100%
	2008	Count	57	9	-	-	-	61
		% within Year	93%	15%	-	-	-	100%
	2009	Count	60	1	-	-	-	60
		% within Year	100%	2%	-	-	-	100%
	2010	Count	46	-	-	3	-	46
		% within Year	100%	-	-	7%	-	100%
	2011	Count	91	-	-	-	-	91
		% within Year	100%	-	-	-	-	100%

	Year							Total
	2012	Count	155	-	-	-	1	156
		% within Year	99%	-	-	-	1%	100%
	2013	Count	68	-	-	-	-	68
		% within Year	100%	-	-	-	-	100%
	2014	Count	23	-	-	-	-	23
		% within Year	100%	-	-	-	-	100%
	2015	Count	87	-	-	-	-	87
		% within Year	100%	-	-	-	-	100%
	2016	Count	31	-	-	-	-	31
		% within Year	100%	-	-	-	-	100%
Total		Count	1142	92	54	24	51	1225
		% within total	93%	8%	4%	2%	4%	100%

Table 3   *Number of weeks and records covering Nederhop*

Year	Nederhop chart hits	Nederhop weeks % within chart weeks	Chart weeks	Year	Nederhop chart hits	Nederhop weeks % within chart weeks	Chart weeks
1995	5	5 100.0%	5 100.0%	2006	79	41 78.8%	52 100.0%
1996	31	29 55.8%	52 100.0%	2007	60	32 61.5%	52 100.0%
1997	48	30 58.8%	51 100.0%	2008	61	42 80.8%	52 100.0%
1998	2	2 3.9%	51 100.0%	2009	60	44 83.0%	53 100.0%
1999	27	26 56.9%	51 100.0%	2010	46	35 67.3%	52 100.0%
2000	32	25 49.0%	51 100.0%	2011	91	45 86.5%	52 100.0%
2001	33	22 43.1%	51 100.0%	2012	156	52 100.0%	52 100.0%
2002	62	41 80.4%	51 100.0%	2013	68	32 61.5%	52 100.0%
2003	15	13 25.0%	52 100.0%	2014	23	23 44.2%	52 100.0%
2004	85	32 60.4%	53 100.0%	2015	87	36 67.9%	53 100.0%
2005	123	47 90.4%	52 100.0%	2016	31	14 100.0%	14 100.0%
Total					**1225**	**668 63.3%**	**1056 100.0%**
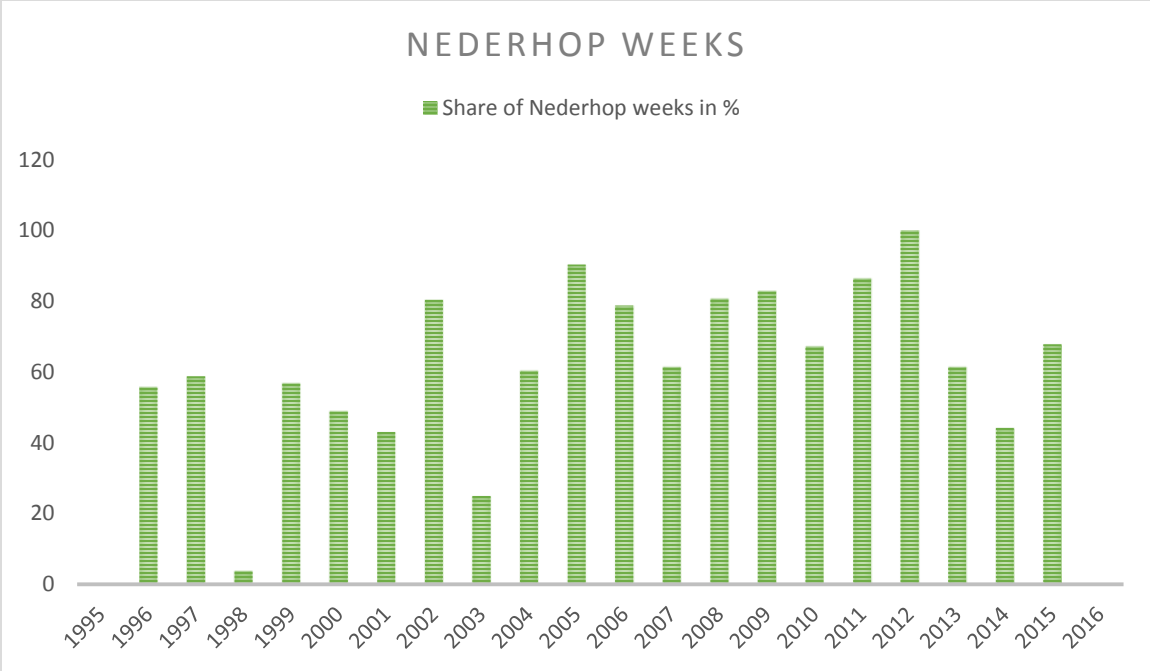
Figure 1   *Share of Nederhop weeks in relation to chart weeks*
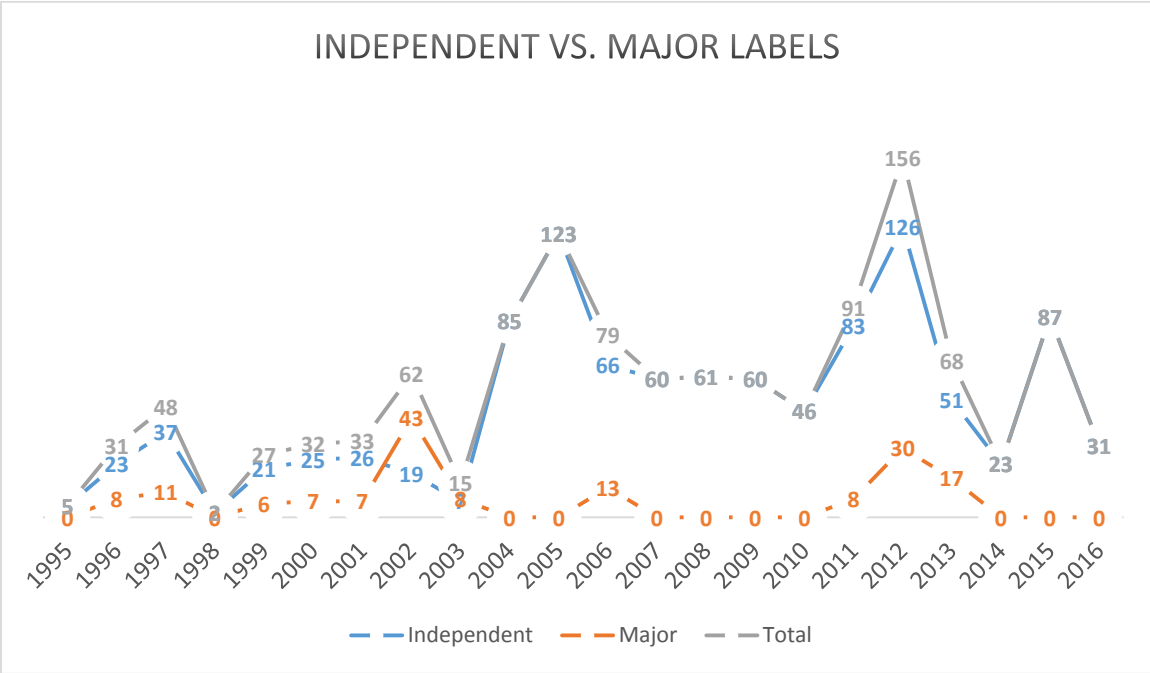
Figure 2   *Distribution of type of label of Nederhop chart hits*
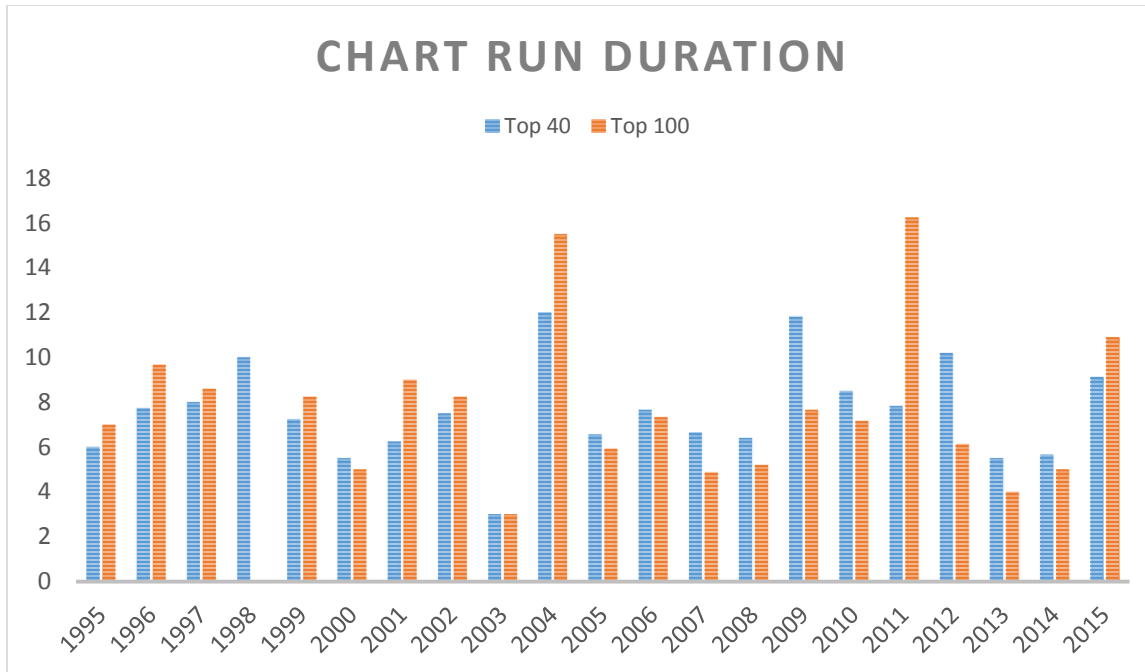
Figure 3   *Average chart run duration per record*

Additional results

Type of music artist

Of the 144 Nederhop records that reached the charts most were performed by collaborations between music artists (56%). The other half of the records were performed by music artists that were part of a group (27%) or performed solo (17%). This distribution however is not generalizable to the total period of 21 years, as is shown in figure 4.
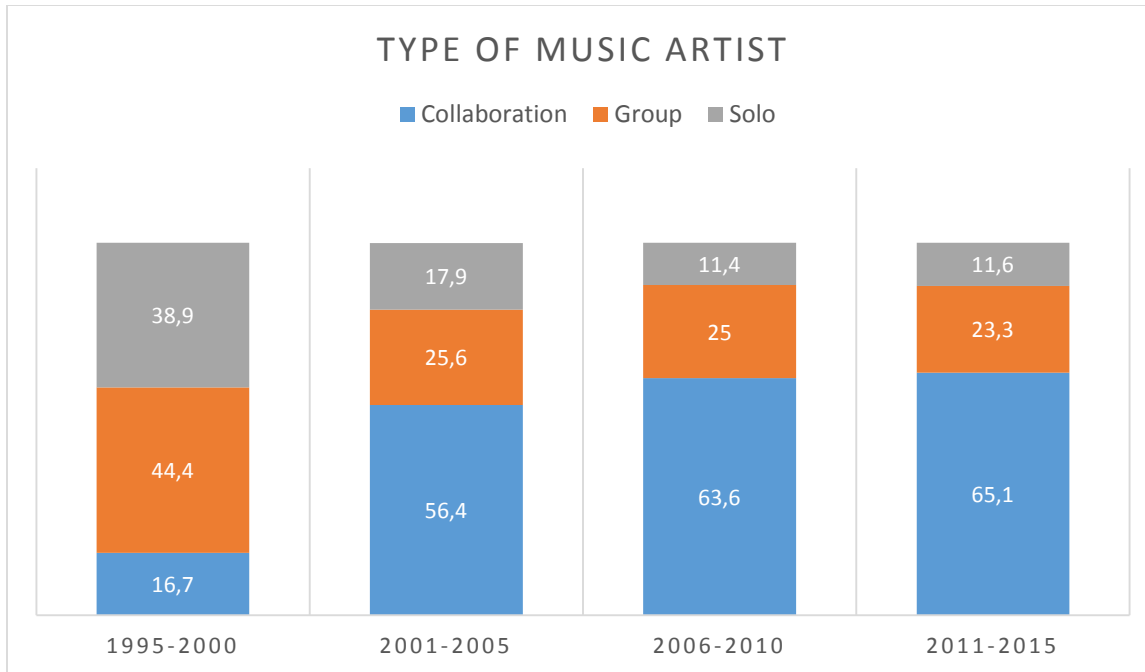
Figure 4   *Type of music artist per period*

During the first six years of Nederhop records reaching the charts most records were performed by music artists in groups. This is only slightly more than the number of records performed by one music artist (8 against 7 records). During the following period this distribution turns around completely with music artists performing records in collaborations being present the most instead of the least (22 collaborations records against 10 group and 7 solo records). The third period, covering the years 2006 to 2010, this share of collaboration records grows further. This growth continues in the last period, despite having less Nederhop records being performed in the fourth period as is shown in table 4 in appendix D.

APPENDIX E   List of Nederhop records

1	**Spraakwater**	Extince	*1995*
2	**Kaal of Kammen**	Extince	*1996*
3	**Wassenaar**	Ross & Iba	*1996*
4	**Je Hebt Me Gebruikt**	Arnhemsgewijs	*1996*
5	**Ik Mis Jou**	Arnhemsgewijs	*1997*
6	**Trouw Met Mij (Wil Je Ruzie Met Je Familie?)**		
		Dj Madman	*1997*
7	**Een Moment Zonder Jou**	Nasty	*1996*
8	**Hou Me Vast**	Nasty	*1997*
9	**Meisje (Zo Lelijk Als De Nacht)**		
		Dj Madman	*1997*
10	**Jongens**	O Die 3	*1997*
11	**Viervoeters**	Extince	*1998*
12	**Zoete Inval**	Extince feat. Murth The Man-O-Script, Krewsial, Skate The Great, Yukkie B., Brainpower, Goldy & Scuz	*1999*
13	**Doekoe**	Def Rhymz	*1999*
14	**Klokkenluiders**	Spookrijders	*1999*
15	**De Bom**	Postmen feat. Def Rhymz	*1999*
16	**Als Niet Als**	Doe Maar feat. Brainpower & Def P	*2000*
17	**Ziek**	Def Rhymz	*2000*
18	**Origineel Amsterdams**	Osdorp Posse	*2000*
19	**De Vierde Kaart**	Brainpower feat. Lloyd	*2001*
20	**Schudden**	Def Rhymz	*2001*
21	**Ze Zitten Me Achterna**	Def Rhymz feat. Lloyd	*2001*
22	**Wat Een Jinx Is**	Brainpower	*2001*
23	**Geef Me Dat Ding!**	Keeyel	*2002*
24	**Bubbelbad**	Def P & Beatbusters	*2002*
25	**Weekend**	Def Rhymz	*2002*
26	**Dansplaat**	Brainpower	*2002*
27	**Voel De Vibe**	Brainpower	*2002*
28	**Ik Ben Niet Te Stoppe**	Def Rhymz	*2002*
29	**Kut Marokkanen??!**	Raymzter	*2002*
30	**One Mic (Remix)**	Nas Feat. Brainpower	*2002*
31	**Down Met Jou**	Raymzter	*2003*
32	**Je Moet Je Bek Houden**	Gotcha! Feat. De Moordgasten, Def P & Krimson (Deams)	*2003*
33	**Habibti (Mijn schatje)**	Def Rhymz feat. Lil' Cute, Ragga P, Sat-R-Day & Lapache	*2004*
34	**Moppie**	Lange Frans & Baas B feat. Brace	*2004*
35	**Ik Ben Je Zat**	Ali B feat. Brace	*2004*

36	**Viben**	K-Liber	*2004*
37	**Zinloos**	Lange Frans & Baas B feat. Ninthe	*2004*
38	**Loungen**	K-liber feat. Michael Bryan	*2004*
39	**Stel Je Voor**	Yes-R feat. Baas B	*2005*
40	**Mijn Feestje**	D-Men feat. Negativ & Brutus	*2005*
41	**Watskeburt?!**	De Jeugd Van Tegenwoordig	*2005*
42	**Voorjekijkendoorlopen**	De Jeugd Van Tegenwoordig	*2005*
43	**Ho Ho Ho**	Katja & De Jeugd Van Tegenwoordig	*2005*
44	**Je Doet!**	KVR, DJ Chuckie & DJ Naffie Present RMXCRW Ft. Mega D, I.V.A. & QF	*2005*
45	**Leipe Mocro Flavour**	Ali B feat. Brace & Yes-R	*2005*
46	**Alles**	Brainpower feat. Edsillia Rombley	*2005*
47	**Supervisie**	Lange Frans & Baas B	*2005*
48	**En Nu Ga Je Dansen Klootzak**	DJ Chuckie feat. Lloyd, QF, Big Mic & Immoralis	*2005*
49	**Doe Het**	K-Liber feat. Def Rhymz	*2005*
50	**Fissa**	Yes-R feat. Derenzo	*2005*
51	**Spacekees & Terilekst**	Ik Wil Een Meisje	*2005*
52	**Even Stil**	Brainpower	*2005*
53	**Wat Wil Je Doen**	The Partyquad feat. Willie Wartaal, Spacekees, Darryl, Heist-Rockah, The Opposites &Art Officials	*2005*
54	**Het Land Van**	Lange Frans & Baas B	*2005*
55	**Het Kind**	Brace, Ali B & J-Rock	*2005*
56	**Mijn Pad**	Yes-R	*2005*
57	**Mee Naar Diemen-Zuid**	Lange Frans & Baas B	*2005*
58	**Vlinders**	DiceCream feat. Brainpower	*2006*
59	**Ghetto Remix**	Akon feat. Ali B & Yes-R	*2006*
60	**Mammie**	Yes-R feat. Brace	*2006*
61	**Ik Wacht Al Zo Lang**	Lange Frans & Baas B Feat. Brutus & Tim	*2006*
62	**Rampeneren**	Ali B feat. Yes-R & The Partysquad	*2006*
63	**Zomervibe**	Ali B	*2006*
64	**Till Morning**	Ali B feat. Ziggi	*2006*
65	**Ben Je Down**	The Partyquad feat. Extince, Jacqueline Govaert & Caprice	*2006*
66	**1 Ding**	Fouradi	*2007*
67	**De Leipe Bauer Flavour**	Frans Bauer feat. Ali B & Lange Frans	*2006*
68	**Slaap**	The Opposites	*2006*
69	**N Beetje Verliefd**	Yes-R	*2006*
70	**Net Als Jij**	Brutus	*2007*
71	**Non Stop**	The Partysquad feat. Brainpower	*2007*
72	**Dit Gaat Fout**	Ali B feat. Gio	*2007*
73	**Flipmuziek**	Fouradi	*2007*

74	**Zwaard Van Damocles**	Sef Thissen feat. Lange Frans	*2007*
75	**Dom, Lomp en Famous**	The Opposites feat. Dio & Willie Wartaal	*2007*
76	**Groupie Love**	Ali B feat. Yes-R, Gio & Darryl	*2007*
77	**Slippers**	Def Rhymz feat. Dj Kicken	*2008*
78	**Stuk**	The Partysquad feat. Dio, Sef, Sjaak & Reverse	*2008*
79	**Kamervragen**	Lange Frans & Baas B	*2008*
80	**Uit Elkaar**	Yes-R	*2008*
81	**Eeyeeyo**	Darryl feat. Ali B, Soumia & Rio	*2008*
82	**Een Nacht Met Jou**	Fouradi	*2008*
83	**Hollereer**	De Jeugd Van Tegenwoordig	*2008*
84	**Baas**	Ali B feat. Sjaak	*2008*
85	**Whoop Whoop**	DiceCream feat. The Partysquad, Reverse, Darryll & Sjaak	*2008*
86	**Vecht Mee**	Yes-R feat. Chantal Janzen	*2008*
87	**Licht Van De Laser**	The Partysquad feat. Sef, Dio & Sjaak	*2009*
88	**Aye**	Dio feat. Sef	*2009*
89	**Tijdmachine**	Dio feat. Sef	*2009*
90	**Slaap Lekker (Fantastig Toch)**	Diggy Dex feat. Eva de Roovere	*2009*
91	**Breek De Tent**	Farid	*2009*
92	**Dit Was Het Land Van**	Lange Frans & Baas B	*2009*
93	**Als Zij Langs Loopt**	Flinke Namen	*2009*
94	**Gemengde Gevoelens**	Fouradi feat. Kim-Lian	*2009*
95	**Broodje Bakpao**	The Opposites feat. Dio, Sef, Sjaak & Reverse	*2009*
96	**Gangsterboys**	Yes-R, Darryl, Sjaak & Soesie B	*2010*
97	**Zing Voor Me**	Lange Frans & The Lau	*2010*
98	**Licht Uit**	The Opposites	*2010*
99	**Brief Aan Jou**	The Opposites feat. Trijntje Oosterhuis	*2010*
100	**Sterrenstof**	De Jeugd Van Tegenwoordig	*2010*
101	**Vandaag**	Diggy Dex	*2010*
102	**Get Spanish**	De Jeugd Van Tegenwoordig	*2011*
103	**Ik Ga Hard**	The Partysquad feat. Adje, Gers, Jayh & Reverse	*2011*
104	**Ik Neem Je Mee**	Gers Pardoel	*2011*
105	**Rosamunde**	Ali B, Yes-R & Brownie Dutch	*2011*
106	**Summertime**	Ali B feat. Brace & The Sleepless	*2011*
107	**Nergens Zonder Jou**	Guus Meeuwis feat. Gers Pardoel	*2011*
108	**Bagagedrager**	Gers Pardoel feat. Sef	*2011*
109	**T Maakt Niet Uit**	Darryl feat. Jayh	*2011*
110	**Waar Is Kraan?**	Kraantje Pappie	*2012*
111	**Waar Is De Meisje?**	De Hoop	*2012*

112	**Ik Vind Je Lekker**	De Kraaien	*2012*
113	**Heimwee**	Yes-R feat. Angela	*2012*
114	**Nieuwe Dag**	Lange Frans & Jeroen Van Der Boom	*2012*
115	**Lekker Bezig**	Fouradi	*2012*
116	**Hey DJ**	The Opposites	*2012*
117	**Slapeloze Nachten**	The Opposites	*2012*
118	**Zijn**	Gers Pardoel	*2012*
119	**Liever Dan Lief**	Gers Pardoel & Doe Maar	*2012*
120	**Het Legion**	U-niq feat. Winne	*2012*
121	**Nooit Meer Slapen**	Yellow Claw feat. Ronnie Flex, MocroManiac & JeBroer	*2012*
122	**Krokobil**	Yellow Claw feat. Sjaak & Mr. Polska	*2012*
123	**Alles Gaat Voorbij**	Doe Maar & Postmen & Kraantje Pappie	*2012*
124	**Helemaal Naar De Klote**	The Partysquad feat. Jayh, Sjaak, & Reverse	*2013*
125	**Sukkel Voor De Liefde**	The Opposites feat. Mr. Probz	*2013*
126	**Een Barkie**	De Jeugd Van Tegenwoordig	*2013*
127	**Thunder**	Yellow Claw & The Opposites	*2013*
128	**De Formule**	De Jeugd Van Tegenwoordig	*2013*
129	**Vlammen**	Mr. Polska	*2013*
130	**Pechvogel**	De Kraaien	*2013*
131	**Dat Gepijpzeik**	De Kraaien	*2013*
132	**Louise**	Gers Pardoel	*2014*
133	**Handen Omhoog (remix)**	Jan Smit & Kraantje Pappie	*2014*
134	**Zusje**	Ronnie Flex feat. Mr. Polska	*2014*
135	**Terwijl Jullie Nog Bij Me Zijn**	Ali B feat. Ruben Annink	*2015*
136	**Treur Niet (Ode Aan Het Leven)**	Diggy Dex feat. JW Roy	*2015*
137	**Investeren In De Liefde**	SFB & Ronnie Flex & Lil' Kleine & Bokoesam	*2015*
138	**No Go Zone**	Bokoesam, Def Major, Lil Kleine, Jandro, Idaly & Ronnie Flex	*2015*
139	**Drank & Drugs**	Lil Kleine & Ronnie Flex	*2015*
140	**Zeg Dat Niet**	Lil Kleine & Ronnie Flex	*2015*
141	**Niemand**	Mr. Polska & Ronnie Flex	*2015*
142	**Nu Sta Je Hier**	SFB feat. Broederliefde & Ronnie Flex	*2015*
143	**Round & Round**	Dyna & Firstman & Lil Kleine & Bollebof	*2015*
144	**Strangers**	SFB	*2015*