Master's Thesis

Cultural Anthropology: Sustainable Citizenship

Utrecht University

TUNES, TRADITIONS & TRANSCENDENCE

Perceptions of authenticity in creating a multicultural musical performance

Boris van Olffen

5772761

August 2019

Contents

Strange Sounds: An Introduction

It's a Monday evening in early February and I'm on my way to a large hall hidden on the third floor of an old industrial building in the west of Utrecht. Walking upstairs past the bare brickwork interspersed with modern additions, I start to hear faint sounds. As I head up the second set of stairs the sound gets louder and I start to make out the individual instruments. Some sound familiar, but some far less so. Though I know what they must be, after not having heard them for quite some time they once again sound exotic to my ears. I arrive upstairs and open the heavy, muffling door. There I find what I must have been hearing.

Beyond a large variety of people, too many to oversee immediately, I see the ney, darbuka and oud to my right. Their players talk Arabic as they sit in a semi-circular line behind a row of microphones. Empty cases and backpacks are strewn across the floor and in various corners of this theatrical hall. Meanwhile a cacophony of sounds fills my ears. Some musicians appear to be tuning, some appear to memorize a melody. In another corner I see someone exemplifying a rhythm on a djembe. The semi-circle of seated musicians is continued by a long line of music stands with sheet music on them. There's about a dozen and as many people, mostly silver- or grey-haired, playing wind instruments standing behind them. They look towards the center of the circle, as do the other instrumentalists. There I see a single person staring up and humming a melody. She looks around; the group seems ready. She taps her feet a few times and starts to count down as the cacophony quiets down: "1…, 2…, 1, 2, 3, 4!" Suddenly the cacophony turns harmonious. The oud-player moves towards the microphone and starts to sing[1]:

I love you Netherlands	*I love you Nederland (4x)*
I love you Netherlands	*Ik hou van Nederland (3x)*
I love, I love, I love you Netherlands	*Ik hou, ik hou, ik hou van Nederland*
I love the Netherlands	.هولندا أحبك أنا
The Netherlands is justice, love and freedom	هولندا حرية وحب عدل
The Netherlands is an oasis of humanity	هولندا لإنسانية واحة
The pigeons sing songs of peace	الحمام يغنيها السلام ومواويل
And fly in the air, land in Amsterdam	بأمستردام يا نزل بالسما يعلي
And paint flowers, tulips and rose gardens on the floor	ورد وحدايق وتولي يب زهور عالأرض بير سم

I quickly plug in my bass and join in on this tri-lingual mix of familiar and less familiar sounds. Sung in Dutch, Arabic and English, this song about the beauty of The Netherlands was written by

[1] Audio track: 01-Ik-Hou-Van-Nederland – note that this version was recorded by someone else, before I joined

a Palestinian flute player formerly living in Syria, as he waited in a refugee center in the village of Gilze, Noord-Brabant. The solos he plays on the Middle-Eastern ney during performances of the song can at times drown out the Sudanese bongos, Kurdish saz or Malinese ngoni[2]. At other times his own playing is overwhelmed by a more than 10-person strong horn section. As I start to play along though, not knowing the exact chords or structure, the sounds seem to slowly fall into their rightful place.

1. CCO in the rehearsal room © Jan van Hassel

How did this eclectic mix of sounds, languages and people get here? Who are they even? This is Catching Cultures Orchestra. Formed in Utrecht in 2015, the orchestra has strived to give 'newcomers' (those who have only lived in The Netherlands for a few years at the most) a place in The Netherlands by means of the music they brought with them, with both native Dutch and the newcomers learning from each other along the way. With their music, however, people also bring a wide variety of other ideas, feelings and assumptions about music (Downey 2002: 487).

With the many traditions involved, all those different musicians can have widely differing opinions of every aspect of music, resulting in different listening experiences (ibid) and playing attitudes (Bowen 1993). Even among people of the same background though, opinions can be complete opposites of each other. Still, at some point, this diverse group wants to get upon a stage and perform music together. When they do, there has to be some coherence in terms of melody, harmony, rhythm, song structure and volume. Otherwise the music would turn into a cacophony that's unrecognizable and unusable to not only the performer, but the audience too.

When that cacophony is avoided and the different sounds form a harmonious union, a huge variety of standards by which the music is to be assessed come into play. These are what I label

[2] These instruments are unfortunately absent in the audio track

perceptions of authenticity. For a musician, song or performance to be considered right, good or even legitimate would mean to sufficiently adhere to these perceptions (Merriam 1964). But how to get on stage and collectively make music when everyone's vision of what makes a song, a performance or a musician authentic and thereby legitimate is as varied as the people? By studying this orchestra I hope to answer this question and examine the process of getting that diverse group ready to get upon that stage and create something they can all stand behind. Ultimately, I thereby hope to provide an answer to the question "how do perceptions of authenticity interact in Catching Cultures Orchestra's construction of a multicultural musical performance?"

Being real, doing good: authenticity & music

Before I head on, I shall firstly elaborate a bit more on the anthropological meaning and relevance of authenticity in general and in music specifically. As most people will understand, authenticity is a highly subjective term and views of what is authentic can vary greatly between people, places and time. To still try and give a definition, in its broadest sense I would define it, based on various authors as "conforming to an idealized (Lozanski 2010) imaginary (Hughes 1995) of what something or someone is expected or supposed to be like (Ebster & Guist 2005: 46)". Authentication, or the act of ascribing authenticity to whatever is under consideration (Moore 2002, Theodossopoulos 2013), thereby involves a reflection upon it according to certain standards or values.

As a starting point for a further definition, Moore (2002) lists a variety of other related terms that mean more or less the same as 'authentic'. These include: "'Real'. 'Honest'. 'Truthful'. 'With integrity'. 'Actual'. 'Genuine'. 'Essential'. 'Sincere'." (ibid: 209) That which is not authentic could then be labeled as 'fake', 'dishonest' or 'trivial'. It is also often juxtaposed with 'commodified' (Cole 2007: 1-3) or 'commercial' (Shannon 2003a, Redhead and Street 1989). In other cases authentic can even come to signify an almost primitive view of the pristine, unmediated and unspoiled Other (O'Connell & Castelo-Branco 2010: 125). This view has been labeled, among other things, primitivist (Cole 2007: 944), romanticist (Feld 2000: 166) and Orientalist (Lozanski 2010: 758-760).

Such grand and essentializing claims about what something or someone ought to be are highly influential in people's actual decisions and dealings. The 'fantasies' of what the 'real' is supposedly like are fundamental to people's understanding of reality, to the point that they determine whether something is even 'real' to begin with (Van de Port 2005: 153-155). These views are also, however, still largely imaginary. As such, several scholars view these imaginaries of authenticity as being problematically incongruent with that which is 'real' (Erlmann 1999: 3-4, Shannon 2003b). If something

is not authentic, to many it isn't 'right' or 'correct', thereby losing its value or significance. It's then not necessarily something deemed out of place or something that shouldn't exist at all, but rather something to be avoided or rejected (Lozanski 2010, Cole 2007). In other words, something that doesn't fit one's label of authenticity has no legitimacy to that person (Redhead & Street 1989: 178-179, Cavanaugh & Shankar 2014: 53). This idea of the inauthentic being illegitimate can be extended even further, to the point that the authentic becomes synonymous with the sacred (Lindholm 2002, Shannon 2003b). The sacred in this case means something held so valuable and in such high regard that it becomes untouchable, not to be altered. To try and change the image of what anything ought to be would then be very controversial (Lindholm 2002).

Lozanski writes, for example, about how backpackers try to avoid middle class Indians as they don't conform to their ideal picture of authentic India or 'real' Indians, (Lozanksi 2010: 746). Fine (2003) furthermore exemplifies how certain works of art become worthless should an artist's background prove to not conform to the ideal imaginary of 'outside art'. Both examples show the very real consequences when the idealized imaginary is incongruent with reality.

In music, the "purposeful intent to create something aesthetic" (Merriam 1964: 268), such perceptions of authenticity matter greatly as "it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them" (Stokes 1994: 4-5). As the artist creates and performs music, it is judged by others not only for its musicality, but also for its adherence to imaginaries of what music from that artist ought to look, feel, sound etc. like. Merriam describes how music has "an effect upon the listener, who judges both the competence of the performer and the correctness of his performance in terms of conceptual values" (Merriam 1964: 33). Similar to Lozanski's case, such judgments can get up to the point where the performer is, more than a competent musician, "exotic, different, fresh […] and (they are) categorized by their ethnicity rather than music" (Taylor 1979: 17, quoted in Kavoori 2009: 81).

These things also have their consequences for the performer. An artist would often want to adhere to the standards and conceptual values otherwise what he or she does would not be considered legitimate, or 'right' (Frith 1996). By extension, his or her competences appear less worthy and that person is not considered what he or she considers him- or herself: an artist. It could also come to mean that the performer is not recognized as belonging to the group he or she desires to be part of. By this I don't mean a group of respected musicians, but rather a social group, class, society or nation and the likes. Clearly, perceptions of authenticity have a thorough effect on the way music is perceived and created by that person.

With Catching Cultures Orchestra, such imaginaries of what something is supposedly like come to vary greatly by virtue its inadvertent diversity. There is no single set of conceptual values by which to judge the performance and some of the values present could very well be exact opposites of each other. In the end, however, a shape has to be found where everyone is able to get up on a stage and perform a single piece of music that the audience (as it is imagined) would sufficiently appreciate. Reality and imaginary therefore somehow have to converge. How this apparent paradox is overcome will be explored in the rest of this thesis.

In this sense I will continue in the direction set out by Cohen in 1993, which I believe is still relevant and necessary:

> "An ethnographic approach to the study of popular music, involving direct observation of people, their social networks, interactions and discourses, and participation in their day-to-day activities, rituals, rehearsals and performances, would encourage researchers to experience different relationships, views, values and aesthetics, or to view familiar contexts from an alternative perspective. This exercise could increase self-awareness and challenge preconceived notions or 'ungrounded' assumptions." (Cohen 1993: 135)

In order to increase that self-awareness and challenge those notions and assumptions, I start by exploring the way the orchestra is shaped and how it got to this state. In continuation of this I explore what to call that diverse group and the music it makes. Here we first see the complexity of attempting to transcend cultural boundaries while respecting traditions, and what message either or both of them in turn propagate. In the second chapter, I explore how this influences perceptions of authenticity with regards to the actual music being made. By showing how and why people listen to and play the music a certain way, we get to see how musical authenticity works in practice. This chapter ends on a particular incident where those differing perceptions of authenticity clashed, showing the very real effects of these specific musical standards and ideals. By studying the aftermath of that incident, the third and final chapter elaborates on how the orchestra ultimately gets to the point where those differences no longer matter. Here, I propose a specific addition to the anthropological study of musical authenticity that I have found to be quite essential to it.

To Catch A Culture

> Back to the rehearsal room I introduced earlier. After playing some familiar songs, Hermine decided it was time for something special. A while earlier an Ethiopian song had been introduced, known to the group as *Delelegne*, for which conductor Hermine had made a rough outline of some of the parts but no definitive order in which they would be played. Instead, the piece would start of bit by bit and musicians would only play on her cue. Now that I had joined the group, she figured the bass could lay the groundwork upon which the song could evolve. I started playing and soon the horns kicked in with a repetitive but jazzy line[3]. So far, the sounds themselves were rather familiar, though the 12/8 groove already felt somewhat exotic to the unaccustomed listener. In the background, an African *djembe* played a simple groove to support the bass line, while one can faintly make out the moments where the Middle-Eastern *oud* attempts to play along. Every now and then they are accompanied by handclaps in a variety of pulses. On top of it all, various voices can be heard improvising Arabic-influenced melodies. After a couple of minutes, such lines are recreated in a solo from the Middle-Eastern *ney*. The whole session goes on for over ten minutes, with a variety of sounds being offered the chance to improvise as the bass and djembe go on and the horns play on the conductor's cue. All along, the various flavors alternate and mix.

So who are the people producing these widely differing sounds and how did they get together? In this chapter I explore this question and subsequently what the diversity of CCO furthermore signifies. What to call it? What ideals lay behind the diversity and whatever one wants to name it?

How the group is shaped

Catching Cultures Orchestra started off around 2015 with *Tegenwind*, a long-running local orchestra, famous for their impromptu street performances. How these Dutch musicians, most of them in their 60s, got in touch with the newcomers (recent inhabitants of The Netherlands), sousaphone player and founding member Roelof explained as follows:

> "Well we were always interested in that sort of music and it showed in our repertoire. We played everything from Balkan to Latin to African and Western. And on our trips abroad we

[3] Audio track: 02-Delelegne-Improvisation

always tried to learn something. So yeah, we could go abroad again, but maybe there's also beautiful music just around the corner that we don't know at all. So that turned out to be the case. So we went there [refugee center] and […] they played some music for us and we played some for them and joined in on them. They loved it and so did we. So we invited them [refugees] to the rehearsal and they came to us. And as soon as we started playing, they actively joined in and well… Something started to develop right away."[4]

Stemming from their mutual enthusiasm, it was quickly decided this project should start expanding into playing live performances. They soon found an opportunity in TivoliVredenburg, at almost the exact same spot where I was talking to Roelof that day. That this turned out to be so easily arranged had to do with Tegenwind's contacts with the municipality and several local organizations. As Roelof stated:

"Our first show was here [TivoliVredenburg], when a lot of people were still in the emergency refugee centre in the Beatrix Theatre. Together with the municipality and Welkom in Utrecht [local integration organization] they brought about 100 people here, who were just fresh in the Netherlands. We were standing there for the sound check and they came in and it was a party right away. Then TivoliVredenburg said: 'this is amazing, we should do this more often, why don't we make it an all-day thing?' That's the origins of our festival. […] Then we turned it into a project and requested subsidies and wanted to go to bigger stages, show the orchestra to more people, expand the membership and see if there were refugee centres in other cities where we could start a collaboration with something local. […]. Ibrahim and Mohamad are from here and Hamed is a connection of Mohamad. But then afterwards […] we got to know others. Then some people said: 'this is costing us a lot of energy and we don't want to go on like this' and Hermine and I went on together."[5]

Membership of the newly founded orchestra quickly expanded through various networks and previous contacts, ultimately leading to the group I have come to know over the past few months. Nowadays, they rehearse every other Monday, with occasional extra rehearsals. Here, they prepare for the about 20 shows they play yearly. At those rehearsals, the size of this group can vary greatly, the core of the group consists of approximately 20 people. Live performances featuring anywhere between 12 and 25

[4] 21-03-2019
[5] 21-03-2019

musicians at a time. Generally considered the defining feature of the orchestra, members from outside the Netherlands, generally called 'newcomers' are numerous and varied. As Roelof said, Ibrahim (*darbuka*, a high-pitched hand drum[6]) and Mohamad (vocals and oud, a short-necked lute) have been with the orchestra since day one. Both are from Syria, though Ibrahim belongs to a Christian minority and Mohamad has Palestinian origins. Furthermore from Syria are fellow Palestinian Hamed, who plays the ney (a type of flute), Wissam, a singer of Christian faith, and Dilshad, a recently joined Kurdish *saz* (long-necked lute) player. Sound technician Mahmoud is also from Syria. In informal conversation they are often referred to by other members, including Roelof, simply as 'the Syrians'. All of them speak Arabic, as does singer and occasional percussionist Mo, who is from Sudan though he identifies quite strongly with Africa rather than the Arab world.

Outside of this large group of Arab speakers, the only 'newcomer' is singer Saron, from Eritrea. She used to be part of the group in the past and after a long absence joined again from February onward. Though neither came here as a refugee, the other non-Dutch members are Pelin, who came here from Turkey to study the flute, and Victor, who has lived here for quite a while and though he is originally from the Dutch Caribbean plays the Malinese *ngoni* (a harp-like string instrument). Apart from them, all the members of the orchestra were born and raised in The Netherlands.

In terms of age the orchestra is also rather varied, with an almost 50-year age-gap between the youngest member (Saron, 21) and the oldest (Roelof and Bibiana, both 70). A notable part of the horn section furthermore consists people between their mid-50s and early 70s. These are: Frans, Hans, Herman, Jan, Marian, Mariëlle and Monica. There are also quite a few members in their 20s to late 30s. Apart from many of the non-Dutch-born members mentioned earlier (Mo, Dilshad, Ibrahim, Saron, Pelin, Wissam, Hamed) these are Suzanne, Toon and Marlou. Lately two other people in this age group have been at rehearsals and they seem willing to join for the long term, namely Rasho and Minke.

Though they aren't musicians themselves, two other people in this age group could be considered part of the group: Max and Rosa. As the people heading the marketing/PR and production/planning sides of the orchestra, they are closely involved with the orchestra and can quite frequently be found coming along with the group. Through their responsibility they also have some say in artistic and organizational matters, making them integral parts of the group.

With regards to the roles people take, one of the most prominent members is Hermine. She creates the arrangements, conducts during performances and rehearsals and generally takes care of the orchestra's artistic direction. A couple of times per performance, she picks up her trumpet and

[6] Audio Track: 03-Nassam

improvises along. Because of her prominent position in the centre of the orchestra she is also often the spokesperson, both on and off stage. I've even seen and heard some announcements for concerts where the group is listed as Catching Cultures Orchestra and/featuring/under the leadership of Hermine Schneider.

Almost as prominent is another founding member: Roelof. With his sousaphone he is not only present at virtually every single concert, but he also has an important role in the organizational structure and financial matters. Whenever I talk to him, he seems to be involved with various negotiations or procedures to obtain more subsidies. Because of this, he takes part in a lot of group discussions. He too often features as a spokesperson to outsiders, especially organizers, bookers, promoters, sponsors and such. Roelof will nearly always take some time during rehearsals to announce all sorts of financial, organizational or logistical matters.

Roelof, Hermine, Max and Rosa often get together to discuss virtually everything there is to discuss about the orchestra. I got the chance to join this group when Rosa unfortunately had to deal with some health issues. In a recently received e-mail, the matters they had discussed earlier or would discuss at the next meeting, were listed as follows (without any further explanation): "orchestra, rehearsals, repertoire, presentation, performances, festival, choir, workshops/sessions, talent development, collaborations [this included a separate list of past collaborations], education, supporting newcomers' initiatives, and community." Since these are so many aspects of CCO's existence, these four people form the core of CCO's day-to-day functioning.

That is not to say there aren't other people who play more roles than just their instrument. First of all, quite a few discussions are open to everyone and in those cases members are actually actively invited to join them. On the other hand there is the orchestral committee, whose meetings are more frequent and less open. Trumpet player Michiel often arranges such meetings. Furthermore Mariëlle, Jan, Hamed, Mohamad, Mahmoud, Suzanne and Hans, along with Hermine and Roelof in their leading roles, are the people most often featured in these talks. With her background in theatrical education, Suzanne often takes care of the orchestra's on-stage presentation and every now and then takes centre stage to introduce the group or a specific song. A dress code committee, responsible for people dressing accordingly, was also recently founded, consisting of Mo, Monica and Toon. Car seats are often offered by Jan, Frans, Roelof, Hans, Bibiana and Herman to those who can't come by any other means themselves. Lastly there is a highly important role for the newcomers, as they determine the repertoire. Though Hermine always (re-)arranges them, it is ultimately up to them to determine what songs Catching Cultures Orchestra will perform.

Though partially depending on the frequency with which the group gets together, face-to-face contact is often used as the preferred means of communication. When possible, announcements are made and discussions are held in physical proximity. Other than that, WhatsApp and e-mail are the most frequent means of communication. No matter the means, Dutch is the language of choice. With Sudanese Mo and Turkish Pelin, however, group conversations often feature native speakers translating small bits into English for them. The Dutch language leads to regular misunderstandings about virtually anything, from musical details to transportation from and to gigs. As for the Arabic language, when things aren't clear to someone who speaks that language better than Dutch, other speakers are quick to step in and help them understand what is being said. As often as this helps clear things up, however, such talks result in discussions in Arabic where the other musicians sit by and wait to hear the conclusions. These barriers also have the consequence of Arabic musicians being prone to stick together in a separate group when there is no music being made.

Whether digitally or in real life, language can cause a lot of misunderstandings. One such case was when, 45 minutes into the rehearsal, some people were starting to wonder where Mo was. Quite often musicians come in a bit later than the others, and Mo is no exception, but this was turning into a more outstanding case. Just as Roelof grabbed his phone to check the time and whether he had received a reply, a message popped up:

> Roelof: "Oh… Oh okay…"
> Hermine: "Is it Mo?"
> Roelof: "Yes and as a matter of fact he's asking me right now where the performance of the Canadian orchestra is taking place."
> Jan: "Oh haha so did he think that was today?"
> Boris: "Did he misunderstand your message or something?"
> Roelof: "Yes I think so. He's asking me where we are and where he needs to go."

To clarify: a few days earlier Roelof had sent the following message:

> [Roelof @ CCO, 2-5-2019 09:54]: "Dear people, the evening after our concert with 6 members of the Canadian orchestra, this orchestra will be playing in TivoliVredenburg. We can attend for free. I propose we do so and find an alternative date for the rehearsal. Those who want a ticket for that concert, please report to me."

Clearly there had been a misunderstanding that resulted in Mo only showing up for the last hour or-so of the rehearsal. Two weeks later that we would go and actually see that orchestra perform. It was far for from the only time such miscommunications popped up, nor the only time there were unwanted consequences. Though this itself is perhaps an understandable mistake on Mo's part, misunderstandings like these happen across a variety places, moments and people. Quite often these misunderstandings are easily accepted and quickly forgotten.

All in all CCO has always been about diversity, that much is sure. Since its inception the goal has been to include members of various backgrounds, most notably people who came to the Netherlands as refugees. Various people have taken on a role besides their instrument, though Hermine and Roelof could be considered the people in charge. The multitude of people, roles, languages and means of communication also results in frequent misunderstandings, incoherent interpretations and gaps in people's knowledge of what is going on.

Naming the music

What to call CCO and its diversity? Questions like this are not often discussed collectively – actually never as far as I witnessed – but that are of interest to those who have to market CCO to others. Otherwise how could an audience easily know what to expect? I have seen some announcements where CCO was described as world music, but this was marketed externally, not at the orchestra's request. Other than that such labels are not often found. There was a particular incident in relation to this, where PR-man Max had written the following as an announcement for an upcoming concert:

> "In honor of the 50-year anniversary of the Canadian National Arts Centre Orchestra they are going on a world tour. They will perform in TivoliVredenburg, for example, but will also look for musical exchange. The 19th of May we will create that exchange with them: We will perform our trans-cultural music with musicians from this renowned orchestra! The performance will be in ZIMIHC theatre Stefanus and will be freely accessible. More info on www.catchingculturesorchestra.nl!"[7]

I was particularly surprised by the term 'trans-cultural'. Wondering came up with it, what was meant by it and how this term was decided upon, I later asked Max and Rosa about it. Max seemed almost

[7] https://catchingculturesorchestra.nl/agenda/ 19-05-2019

apologetic when he responded, telling me that he rather immediately changed the announcement to one where there wasn't any reference to genre or style at all. He told me Rosa and Roelof had instructed him to do so with the primary reason being that the term "trans-cultural" had never been used before. He furthermore told how there was no unanimously agreed upon alternative available and the only consensual description was well over a hundred words in length. I only later got a reply from Rosa where she summarized the same points. Both Roelof and Rosa seemed to insist mostly on the argument that the name 'trans-cultural' had never been used in that sense before, but in fact no convincing one- or two-word name has ever really been given to CCO or its music.

The idea of the 'trans-cultural' is not limited to Max' usage of the term though. In Brink's (1994) usage for example, transcultural describes "the beliefs in, and definitions of, concepts that *transcend* cultural boundaries" (ibid: 344). Given this definition, the music and message of CCO might evolve from the common grounds among the various members. This might make sense at first; the orchestra would then stand for the universality of music and the human experience. Saron actually once said how the music shows that "we're all humans". This sentiment is found quite often among members of CCO and refers to those common universal principles that bind humanity, most notably music.

However, since the incident above I have also seen quite a few descriptions where the orchestra called itself and its music "neither Eastern nor Western". This is interesting since it's not marketed as "*both* Eastern *and* Western". Rather than common ground or universal (musical) values though, I therefore believe this to refer to something else. It's as Roelof told me: "I present CCO to the outside world as an orchestra where on an equal basis and from different traditions we try to get to something new."

To extend the meaning of transcultural, German philosopher Welsch (1999) used the term more as a belief in and of itself. In this view different cultural spheres permeate and pass through each other, while also being deconstructed into smaller spheres themselves. The cultural boundaries are thereby blurred and spheres merge as much as they fall apart into smaller spheres (ibid: 4-6). This more accurately describes what many musicians in the orchestra believe happens in the music. It is not necessarily to find the concepts that transcend the boundaries but rather to create or adapt these in a process where formerly separate beliefs, definitions and practices come into contact with each other. And so a new 'mix' of cultures emerges that's somehow unlike its predecessors.

I believe this to be what Max intended by using the term. The idea that CCO crosses musical boundaries and mixes various sounds into something new is a believe shared by many members of the orchestra. In fact, quite a few believe it to be the actual goal of Catching Cultures Orchestra's music-

making. It is what Hermine attempted to advance when she encouraged musicians to improvise over *Delelegne*, the song I introduced in the beginning of this chapter. Mo actually believed that to create a mix was the true meaning of "catching cultures". He contrasted this to a "copy-paste" attitude whereby one would always stick to the original as closely as possible. Hamed furthermore told me that: "We can mix. I think the mix is really the goal of this orchestra." He did admit, though, that "the music right now is much more Arab."

Despite the negative backlash to the usage of the term, I believe transcultural to be a fitting term for what CCO tries to do. The transcultural mix is never just one thing, but always an amalgamation of diverse cultural backgrounds simultaneously at play. So too is a single name considered too fixed or exclusive, it seems. Names, labels and the like are similarly varied and thrown into a mix where boundaries become blurry, as exemplified by the preferred description "neither Eastern nor Western".

The deal with diversity

The transcultural ideal of CCO so far seems rather clear and universally accepted among its members. However, there are just as many ideas present that seem rather paradoxical to this belief. I have frequently posed the question that Max tried to answer through the trans-cultural label to members of the orchestra. Though responses varied greatly, everyone agreed that the group is diverse. This is hardly surprising, given the description I have given above. That diversity is always seen as a positive thing and often seen as a thing of beauty. But what does that diversity mean or imply? And how should it then be celebrated?

Some believe that through CCO's diversity, Dutch people can "learn" about "Arabic music" (Wissam), which to some includes all songs sung in Arabic. Wissam added that the Arabic musical education of Westerners was achieved by playing "with European instruments so it's easier for them to understand". At the same time Wissam believed CCO was about "showing beautiful culture". Others believe CCO to be about giving refugees a place in society and a chance to tell the Dutch about their culture. To yet others, CCO is about wanting "the diversity in [Dutch] society to be audible in our music," as Roelof said, or even representing a global society beyond national borders, as meant by Mo when he described the orchestra as "multicultural music and multicultural people".

This term, multicultural, is not uncommon to everyday speech and societal debates. CCO could feature as a prime example of it in any context. It basically refers to the presence and interaction of people of rather varying backgrounds within the same space. Importantly, multiculturality also means that these differences are to a certain extent maintained despite people's closeness and interaction

(Castles & Miller 2003). This is sometimes also theorized as an ideology in and of itself. For example, Welsch defined multiculturality as an attempt to deal with "the problems which different cultures have living together within one society" (Welsch 1999: 3). Such problems are often grounded in the idea that certain values and ideas stemming from different 'cultures' are incompatible (Ng & Bloemraad 2015). At the root of this lies a conception of cultures as distinguishable and separate from each other (Welsch 1999: 2-4). Because of this belief one could consider it an ideology as well, as it entails that cultures can live together, but as separate entities. Welsch calls this idea of separateness the "classical model of culture" (ibid), which he opposes to the transcultural perspective.

It thereby seems to be somewhat paradoxical to the transcultural ideals that members can propagate. Yet I believe this conception of cultures as separate and distinguishable to be present in the group as well. In fact, some of those who favor the mix are the same that uphold this classical model of cultures. It is believed that differences between people have to be maintained or sometimes even emphasized, as this is what distinguishes it from other orchestras. Even the name Catching Cultures almost seems to somehow imply that there is such a thing as separate cultures.

This belief can be found in such things as the dress code. For quite some time, members of the orchestra had lamented the visual incoherence of the orchestra when on stage. In fact, I picked up on complaints about clothing styles even before my research started. When the entire group was present for a meeting a week prior to the grand festival in TivoliVredenburg, which was led by the president of CCO's board, Wies, the matter came up once again. This time decisions had to be made so as to have a certain formality, quality and general air of professionalism upon that renowned stage. It was rather quickly decided that black with a colorful accent would be ideal, which would be a slightly adjusted continuation of an earlier agreement. But then Mo made the following addition, which stirred up some conversation:

> Mo: "I have a question about the dress code: is the dress code for all the orchestra, also the singers, or should the singer be wearing something different?"
> Roelof: "More special!"
> Wies: "But that can be part of the dress code, that's a good point."
> Mo: "You know sometimes they send like: you should dress black, all of the orchestra. Just I don't know if the singer also should be wearing black like the orchestra."

The conversation drifted off a bit before Wies once again asked for collective confirmation and said:

Wies: “What do you think about the question: should there be a dress code?”

Hamed: “With the talking about dress code I think: we are Catching Cultures Orchestra so also our dress code reflects our culture. So, for example, Mo wears something from Sudan, I dress in something from Palestine. I think it’s very suitable to do that.”

Wies: “That can also be an addition to the dress code.”

Suzanne: “To reflect what the orchestra is about.”

Jan: “And what about a Dutch farmer’s outfit?”

Frans: “Haha! No clearly the Dutch should follow the dress code and not the ‘New Dutch’, they can show their own culture through their clothing.”[8]

The discussion went on for a bit but the ultimate answer was yes: there should be a dress code. Mo and Hamed’s addition that the clothing of newcomers should reflect their cultural background was in the end also included. I believe this to be a reflection of a belief in cultures as at least somewhat distinct and separate from each other. Musicians from different backgrounds are supposed to literally be distinguishable through their clothing. What Frans and Jan added about Dutch farmer’s outfits similarly shows how the cultures of newcomers are still clearly considered something different than Dutch culture. Through Suzanne’s remark that this reflects what CCO is about one can see how this “classical model of cultures” is ingrained in the orchestra’s goals just as much as the transcendence of cultural boundaries is.

Though this dress code was actively discussed back then and more or less complied with at the subsequent festival, the addition about different outfits for has never been mentioned as such ever since. Actually, it has quickly become something unspoken, a decision generally left to the musician him- or herself. Even Hamed, who was supportive of the idea, usually dresses similar to the other “Dutch” musicians, as does Mohamad. At the other end of the spectrum are Victor and Mo, whose colorful clothes are seen as representative of their African heritage. The idea that there is such a thing as ‘different’ cultures that remain to a certain degree separate is surely present nonetheless.

[8] 20-01-2019

2. Catching Cultures Orchestra in TivoliVredenburg 27-01-2019, with Victor (center stage, playing the *ngoni*) in his brightly colored outfit. © Ebru Aydin

What we stand for

Aside from the various answers to question of what CCO does, there is the follow-up question of what those activities *mean*. What does CCO stand for? At the surface answers are rather straightforward and universal. By far the most often mentioned answers involve freedom and openness, quite often in exactly those words. Others have mentioned terms such as "warmth" (Mohamad), "showing the beauty of other cultures" (Wissam) and "overcoming apparent differences" (Dilshad). Saron even believed CCO to represent how "we're one no matter where you come from". All of these phrases point to freedom, openness and diversity in one way or another. What is more, they are generally uttered in a way that implies that everyone considers these to be positive things.

However, these ideas aren't free of other, underlying values. Few (if any) of the ideas on CCO's goal or mission as they were postulated earlier are free of ideological or even political undertones and naturally, all of them furthermore have to do with diversity in one way or another. That is not to say, of course, that members of the orchestra are primarily motivated by political reasoning, nor are they even ever really explicit about such matters. Still, going beyond CCO's mere state of multiculturality, being a belief in separate and distinct cultures, the goals are easily taken for its ideological counterpart: multiculturalism. This entails the belief that for cultures to live alongside each other in equal fashion while remaining distinct and separate is the best way to deal with diversity (Bauböck 2001, Wise 2014).

It can definitely be seen in Wissam's statement and the dress code, whereby diversity is actively propagated or even promoted.

The apparent unity that Dilshad and Saron mention points more towards transculturalism, as those differences are actually supposed to be overcome (Cuccioletta 2001). However, they also uphold a certain degree of separation between, as Saron said "my own culture" and "Dutch people." With the way diversity is furthermore celebrated, I believe CCO promotes a message of multiculturalism first and foremost. The mix and the overcoming of differences rather show the success of multiculturalism rather than an attempt to take "the next step" (ibid) and blur cultural boundaries. This idea is exemplified by Mariëlle's belief that "all the diversity gives such a connection in the fact that we're all the same." In this sense, people are encouraged to foster the traits that distinguish them from others.

The celebration can first of all be seen in the very way CCO approaches such things as membership and repertoire. It would be rather impossible to imagine the orchestra without its diversity. This clearly has an influence on the sort of events that I witnessed them being part of. These more often than not somehow have to do with diversity or refugees. From playing right before an Imam declares the *iftar* (first meal after sunset during Ramadan) to being the main act at a get-together for employees of *Vluchtelingenwerk* (an organization that looks after the interests of refugees), CCO's goal of celebrating diversity is very often represented in the events they play.

However, to celebrate diversity is already quite often featured as a political statement in societal debates. By extension this is also the case for openness and freedom. For multiple cultures to exist alongside each other is deemed to be problematic by opponents, and to defend such ideals a political choice. This is caused not in the least by the idea of cultures being separate and distinct entities. Statistics by the Central Dutch Statistics Office (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, CBS) furthermore show that up to 82% of citizens consider there to be a lot of tension between different social groups (Schmeets & De Witt 2017: 13-14). Similarly Dutch minister Stef Blok recently considered a successful multicultural state to be impossible. Diversity policies of any kind are generally met with outrage and used by opponents as a sign of, for example, The Netherlands' "suffocating climate of political correctness"[9]. Through its very multicultural makeup then, CCO might already have political connotations, whether they want to or not. That's without even touching upon the matter of newcomers and the often encountered view that these receive a preferential treatment of sorts. This only further pushes CCO into a certain ideological corner.

[9] Forum voor Democratie, 20-09-2018:

Most musicians are aware of such sentiments and their own position in them. However, very few ever dare to label it as anything even vaguely related to political issues. I had initially anticipated that quite a lot of people would be aware of and open to the idea of CCO being an ideological project as well. Unexpected to me, however, many found the idea surprising and some even seemed a bit anxious to discuss it in that sense. When I mentioned the actual term, by which I simply meant a set of (normative) beliefs, Roelof was quick to reply by saying: "Well I wouldn't call it ideological. Because essentially it's simply put just about wanting to build a proper society." Similarly when I asked Hermine whether she or CCO were in any way motivated by politics, she replied: "Well it's not political, but it is like: if we could all interact with each other this way…" In both cases I couldn't help but see their ideals as easily being subjected to ideological and political readings.

It is actually a broadly shared idea among members of CCO that there is no ideological or political side to the message, goal or values of CCO. Only a few people will admit that political or ideological associations are unavoidable with the way CCO is set up. This was the case with Mariëlle:

> Mariëlle: "For me CCO puts love and inclusivity into the world. That's a political choice. And there's plenty of folks putting something different into the world right now. But I really think that culture is never free of values."
> Boris: "But some people might not like to hear that. In the orchestra as well."
> Mariëlle: "You don't have to make it explicit. It's true that people who don't want that. But the not wanting is also a political act. To abstain from politics and just write love poems… You know?"

To her, CCO was obviously a political enterprise too. This is a view that would not be appreciated by, for example, Dilshad, who when I asked him stated that CCO was "about love and acceptance. That is not political". Lucky for him though, once again these matters aren't something ever discussed within the group itself, even though there are varying interpretations of it. This would be similarly to the liking of Wissam, who stated that: "This thing, to make problems and talk about politics, when we talk about that we're gonna fight. That's why when we're here as an Arabic person to talk about politics is not good. No."

So too is the question of what CCO stands for is ever really discussed to begin with, let alone collectively. The outcome is therefore surprisingly universal and coherent. But as to what these shared ideals of openness, freedom and diversity furthermore mean, there is far less coherence. Rather, this is

left open to interpretation, as with many aspects of CCO's activities and goals. With the way the orchestra presents itself, though, one can see how there is at least some ideological or even political side to the message that they propagate, whatever one labels it.

Catching cultures

When Catching Cultures Orchestra started, the goal was simple: to make music with refugees and to learn from each other along the way. But as time went on and things started to change, goals started to shift for some while they remained the same for others. Meanwhile more and more people joined from widely varying backgrounds and at different moments in the orchestra's development. In this complicated process, misunderstandings and differing interpretations have become quite common.

As to what Catching Cultures Orchestra really *does* nowadays, there is similarly no clear answer. On the one hand, there is a belief that cultures are indeed to a certain extent different from each other, or can at least be distinguished from each other. But transgressing those cultural boundaries is simultaneously considered one of CCO's primary goals. One thing that *is* commonly accepted is that the orchestra is diverse, open and free. However, there is little coherence as to what that diversity means. There is no universally embraced view among CCO's members as to how that diversity comes across to others, and whether that could be considered an ideology or something political.

Such differing ideas can even be found among a single person, only further exemplifying the climate of vagueness. Though Roelof seemed rather convinced of his own description of what CCO does, he told me that he only used that terminology towards outsiders. Within the group, though, such labels or descriptions are hardly ever heard, let alone discussed. He and Rosa might also have reprimanded Max' attempt at labeling CCO because they were aware of the differing sentiments. Instead, it seems multi-interpretability is preferred in such descriptions. For example, "Neither Eastern nor Western" can see varying interpretations as it only names that which it *isn't*. Perhaps this is also what freedom and openness mean; to let differing interpretations be. These can thrive all the more when there is hardly ever any discussion about such matters. As I will go on to exemplify in the following section, that lacking coherence and multi-interpretability also apply to the music itself.

Making The Music: The Multiculturally Authentic

Now I turn to the matter of what motivates the musicians, what they think about music in general and that of CCO and how they listen to it and play it. What musicians value and hear in the music differs greatly from person to person and from time to time, to the point where it almost seems like two people could be listening to completely different pieces of music. From various interviews I will make explicit what musicians feel a song, a musician and music in general are supposed to be and sound like and why so. With regards to the last question I focus especially on the aspects of ideology and community. I thereby lay bare the unspoken desires and ideas they have about CCO's artistic directions and show how these influence their entire approach to playing music (Bowen 1993). What lays behind these ideas quite often goes far beyond the music itself. And once again, these views can be quite different from each other.

How to play the music: heart and feeling

With the ways a song can evoke intense, specific and real emotions on the one hand and the almost mathematical approach applicable to rhythms, harmonies and melodies on the other, it is hard to imagine how music can be interpreted so differently. Even harder would be to imagine such divergent perceptions among musicians in the same group. That a member of the audience might interpret things differently to what is intended might make sense, but it is assumed to be necessary that the performers have a coherent view of the feelings they wish to evoke and how to do so, even if they 'fail' at it for whatever reason (Martin 1993). And yet the opposite is the case with CCO.

To give an example of how a group is assumed to be aware of what they're doing, how they're doing it and what they aspire to achieve by it, Shannon (2003a) describes a noteworthy incident. This takes place during a performance of an orchestra playing Syrian music in a New York City concert hall. Here, the non-Syrian audience had sat quietly listening to this music labeled 'sacred'. When a group of Syrians arrived as the orchestra was performing, they displayed rather the opposite behavior. Instead, they danced and sang as the performance went on, to the displeasure of the rest of the audience. This might not sound all too surprising, as it is commonly accepted that such different groups hold different views of what both artist and audience are supposed to look, sound or behave like (Force 2009). Afterwards, the musicians were apparently unanimous in their appreciation of the Syrians and disappointment with the other audience members (Shannon 2003b: 268). They furthermore agreed that their music was indeed 'sacred' to a certain extent, but that the audience's response was nonetheless

'wrong'. Similar ideas can be found in another one of Shannon's articles on Syrian music and the experience of tarab (Shannon 2003a). Once again there is room for differing views of the authentic, with the artist considering his performance wrong while the audience considered it right (ibid: 78). However, there is no mention of such a thing among the performers themselves.

But in CCO, the music itself isn't even experienced the same. To some a rendition of a song can even be fast while to others it's too slow. This was the case after a performance of the song Azez Alaya El Nom[10]. This particular execution was deemed rather good by the group. Though there was an atmosphere of excitement among many as we applauded the success, a discussion immediately came up about why it worked so well. Some assumed this to be because we played slightly faster than usual while others argued the complete opposite, believing this to be a slower rendition. Even if people do agree on such musical details, what these mean can once again be interpreted rather differently. To one person the faster version could be the right way, full of energy and demanding immediate attention, while the other favors a rendition that slowly and quietly builds up to get the audience engaged gradually.

In a similar vein, the matter of which aspects make up the 'heart' of the song sees opinions in almost complete opposition. The heart is considered to be what makes a certain song sound and feel like that specific song and which therefore should remain unchanged. For Mo, this heart was made up primarily by the rhythm, as he explained during a talk he, Roelof, Mahmoud and myself had:

> "I feel all the music has like a rhythm. This is the first thing. And after that the tempo, to think about. And then the melody and the harmony. Yeah? You can, for any song, change or add or take something […] in the melody and harmony. And in the tempo also you can make it higher and lower. Just with the rhythm in some music, like the 'culture music', it's something different to change the rhythm. Because if you change the rhythm that means you change the heart of the song. You know?"[11]

Roelof jotted some of these remarks down in a notebook and considered it an important point to take into accoun. Mahmoud seemed to agree on the importance of rhythm too, but I would later learn that this made him an exception among 'the Syrians'. Later, Mo also told me that he considered the lyrics to his song *Zooly* to be rather nonsensical. As he saw it, they were merely there to support the rhythm.

[10] Audio Track: 04-Azez-Rehearsal – note that this is a live performance and not the actual version discussed above
[11] 20-01-2019

Inspired by Mo's quote and wanting to get down to the heart of multicultural authenticity, I asked most of my interviewees what they considered to be the 'heart' of a song. Hamed, Wissam and Mohamad all more or less agreed as to which aspects should remain intact when playing a song: lyrics and melody. The latter actually told me that "a different melody isn't right. It should stay the same. Another rhythm, sure…" This sounded like the complete opposite of what Mo had told me before.

These ideas about the heart of a song are exactly the sort of details other authors have assumed to be known collectively to the performers. Disagreement is generally acknowledged, but mainly in the context of an artist-audience relation, or as detached debates between and among audiences and critics (Grossberg 1992, in Moore 2002: 211). Internal incoherence is absent when Merriam (1964) discusses a variety of 'traditional' (in his words) examples, from the Maori to the Navaho. And it is still absent 50 years later when Strand (2014) compares the (global) country and indie music scenes. Even if the roles of audience and artist might reverse at some point, it is still in this relation that the performance seem to be legitimized according to the perceptions of either. In all cases, it is overlooked how the performer might not be uniformly aware of what they are adhering to. It is then up to the onlooker to legitimize the performance based on their own expectations.

However, in CCO, musicians seem to find peace with the way the orchestra plays their songs, even when all those people with differing views are playing at the same time. They still consider their performance legitimate, despite others not knowing why or how it could be so. A song can even be considered 'traditional' with a long and complicated history and still ignorance of this background and the standards to which to adhere does not seem to interfere with the process of making music together. With the emphasis often placed on authenticity as part of the musical experience and the emphasis on the 'heart' of the music by members of CCO, this is surprising. Even more surprising is that outside of the group talk I just mentioned, the details of what makes up the 'heart', or what "good music" (Frith 1996: 121) is like are hardly discussed. Not only is there little coherence about such things, interpretations also don't seem to be becoming more coherent as time goes on.

Different musicians interpreting the same piece differently out of (unintended) ignorance also goes for the meaning or feeling a song conveys. Sometimes people were asked to tell a bit more about what a certain song was about. On more than one occasion leading this led to surprised reactions at a song's sad or melancholic meaning when people had interpreted the music to be happy or festive. I have noticed this happen to Dilshad's song *Berivane* and Saron's song *Delelegne*. I myself was no exception as I was surprised to learn that these songs were not as celebratory as they sounded to me. This was also

the case with the song *Kan El Zaman*[12], which I perceived as danceable and festivalesque, but whose message turned out to be far darker and less celebratory. It begs the question whether to play it with such party-spirited intentions is even appropriate. Such interpretations do not seem to necessarily have to do with any major, minor or even unfamiliar tones, such as the quarter notes typical of Arabic scales. Nor does it seem to be determined by tempo, timbre or intensity.

This is quite contrary to Shannon's (2003a) description of *tarab*, a specific feeling of ecstasy invoked by some specific Arabic musical performances of specific songs (ibid: 75-76). Here, the feeling a performer tries to convey is considered essential to stirring up *tarab*, a delicate feeling Mohamad called "a bit drunk". Even though CCO plays some songs that fall into this category of music, as Hamed told me, many other musicians had never even heard of the term. Yet both Hamed and Mohamad asserted that we, the orchestra, did achieve that drunk-like state of ecstasy sometimes. Some musicians would then apparently convey a feeling they themselves didn't even know existed.

That a song can stir up rather varying emotions is all the more interesting as many will never have heard the song before and can only judge it purely for the feeling they get from it, rather than any specific memory attached to it. Those feelings are far from universal but at the same time deemed to be very influential to people's playing. As Mohamad put it, it was highly important to know such things "…for everyone. They might play a different way. With their heart". This sentiment has been picked up over the past couple of months though, as it is now common for a new song to be introduced along with a short story about the subject matter and, occasionally, its history and origins. Though this is considered a positive change by all, to some it is not yet enough. Mariëlle told me that she felt there had to be so much more "intrinsic value" to a song and that it must contain "probably quite poetic images, that to the person singing it mean so much". Meanwhile it is often jokingly lamented how those who are asked to explain what their song is about a lot of times don't get much further than "it's just about love". Even though everyone agrees that the meaning and feeling of a song matters, to many these details remains unknown. Shannon's assumption is thereby shared by many musicians, but in practice it can apparently be absent without consequence.

That such varied interpretations of the same piece of music can exist within the same group is remarkable to say the least. Yet it is also something often overlooked by other authors. But surely such disagreements exist within many groups. It is not hard to imagine bands or orchestras arguing amongst themselves about the right way to perform a piece of music. The end result of that would be either (partial) dissolution or "modulation and adaptation" (Biasutti 2012: 6). What makes the case of CCO

[12] Audio Track: 05-Kan-El-Zaman

different, though, is that such disagreement is hardly ever discussed and any agreement or solution is thereby never reached. There is actually hardly any awareness about such different views of what CCO is or does. Where in other groups, such as the one discussed by Shannon (2003b), there is at least some consensus on what is being made, how it is made and what it conveys, these matters remain unspoken in Catching Cultures Orchestra.

To whom we play: the (imagined) audience

When I told how some members favored music slowly building up to get the audience engaged, this did not refer to just any members, but especially the musicians from Syria. Hamed explained it to me like this:

> Hamed: "Yeah. More quiet intros and then that makes it so the people will listen carefully. With a solo for *oud*, for *ney*, another solo, to prepare the people for the song."
> Boris: "And that's the Arab way?"
> Hamed: "Yes, generally. The classical Arab music starts with *mawwal*, that's improvisation, then the singer comes in and sings slowly. It's like a poem, a 'word song'. That's what you call *mawwal*."[13]

I've heard similar thoughts coming from two of Hamed's fellow musicians of Syrian origin, Mohamad and Wissam. When this way of playing a song came up, it was always mentioned in relation to an audience. That audience was often imagined to be as multicultural as the orchestra, but it was still very important to them that their songs would adhere to the standards and values of the Arab community. Hence, we now arrive at the matter of community, which is often even approached as a prerequisite for authentication and thereby legitimacy (Redhead & Street 1989). Wissam reflected this idea in his statement: "I don't do music for myself, I do it for the people." But who are those people? What community is the music of such a diverse orchestra believed to represent? And how do these perceptions differ between musicians and subsequently influence their approach to music?

The community represented can essentially be any group of people with shared beliefs, histories, traditions etc. (ibid: 6-7). However, Vaughan Williams took it one step further, writing of music how it "above all the other arts is the expression of the soul of the nation, and by a nation I mean . . . any community of people who are spiritually bound together by language, environment, history and

[13] 21-03-2019

common ideals, and above all, a continuity with the past". (Vaughan Williams 1987: 68, quoted in Moore 2002: 217). This relates to the envisioned "authentic homeland" (Shannon 2003b: 266) that a musical piece is perceived to originate from by those authenticating it. Even though that homeland, rootedness (Moore 2002: 217) or locality (Kavoori 2009) can be represented and legitimized in a variety of ways (ibid: 93-94), it is deemed necessary before an artist or song can be considered authentic. Catching Cultures Orchestra, as the name suggests and as was discussed before, makes music from many different cultures, or "multicultural music", as Mo put it. But there is no easily identifiable "multicultural people" whose standards the orchestra can live up to. Saxophonist Hans once affirmed this problem by saying "when you make music from one culture, people from another culture might not feel as attracted to that."

This idea itself, a "nation" being represented by a song and the performer being legitimized according to that community's standards, is found often among CCO's members. That this community is based on shared ethno-linguistic or national identities is a similarly present thought. Just look at the way Hamed talks about *mawwal*, for example. When Wissam furthermore mentioned "the people", he specifically referred to Arab people, often calling himself an "Arabic singer" rather than just a singer.

However, they, along with everyone else I talked to, agreed that some alterations to the original were inevitable. Still many aspects were supposed to be as close to the original as possible so that the audience would recognize and enjoy the song. Interestingly though, it did not seem to matter much to Hamed, Mohamad or Wissam whether there actually would be Arab people at a given concert. They felt that one first of all could not always know whether they would be there and that it was generally better to keep doing the song that way all the time to avoid doing things wrong on the long term. The community they felt they represented thereby omnipresently over the songs' execution. This follows from the idea that to for the authentic artist's "fundamental role was to represent the culture from which he comes". (Gilbert and Pearson 1999, pp. 164–5, quoted in Moore 2002: 209). When there are such varying and to many ears foreign sounds being created, this is all the more the case (Feld 2000, Kavoori 2009). The artist is supposed to represent a culture even if that culture is not around to listen to it, it seems. And to represent such a culture, or community, would mean to play it as such that, as Wissam said, "the people really like it".

Though Mo's thoughts were more or less the opposite in terms of what couldn't be changed, the idea that music represented a community was still very much upheld by him. This had become

especially apparent during several different occasions at which his song *Zooly*[14] was performed. For him, to play this song was to pay homage to the people of Darfur, the region where this "culture song" was, in the words of Moore (2002: 217) "rooted". It became all the more important to him to do it 'right' as his mother had her roots in that same region. To do that song right to Mo not surprisingly depended very heavily on one thing: rhythm, as he told me that "when you change the melody or the harmony or anything or the text, that's no problem... but if you change the rhythm, that means you change the heart of the song". To keep that heart intact was furthermore important to Mo as this rhythm had a longstanding tradition among the people of Darfur, the details of which will be discussed later on in this chapter.

This sensitivity over the song's rhythm was especially notable when the orchestra was practicing the song. Hermine decided to play it a lot slower than usual so as to allow the horn section to practice their lines. Though Mo cooperated without much ado, he kept insisting afterwards that "if there would be Sudanese people in the audience, they would not like it like this". When Hermine asserted that it was only so the horns could better practice their parts, Mo accepted this but could not resist to once again remind Hermine that this was definitely not the right way to do it.

Though Mo has since unproblematically played the song live, this does touch upon a problematic issue. Given the prevalence of the idea of CCO's musical mixing, what do various musicians feel can be done to a song without dishonoring the imagined community to which it belongs? It would firstly seem to depend on the song and the people it supposedly represents, each with their own specific standards. And of course the personal opinions of the musicians matter greatly, though sometimes those who prefer to mix can at the same time still care greatly about the community's standards. For example, both Hamed and Mo mentioned both perceptions within the same conversation, in Mo's case even about the same song. The line between experimentation and representation seems thin and hard to pinpoint. How the various cultures are at times represented therefore remains vague through the varied and constantly varying opinions.

Hermine also apparently had little idea of what standards she was supposed to adhere to in this regard, arguing that she had "no idea really" and "just tried to do something". She did want to treat the songs with some respect, but that was rather just "so someone [that chooses the song] doesn't feel pushed to the side too much." As for the sacredness with which music can be treated (Lindholm 2002, Shannon 2003), Hermine said: "There are those people that say: you have to do it a certain way otherwise they'll feel hurt. Nothing's sacred in my opinion. And I'll see if it gets accepted". Compare this

[14] Audio Track: 06-Zooly-Live

to the ideas Mohamad, Wisam, Hamed and Mo postulated above, and it's easy to imagine the process of creating CCO's multicultural performance as problematic.

However, such problems rarely arise, though when they do they do so rather violently. Quite often the musicians will find the communal approval they desire to see anyway. Indeed, the standards might not always be met in the eyes of the performer but still believed to be upheld for the audience, as Shannon noted (Shannon 2003a: 76). Wissam mentioned similar thoughts when he said how "the people listen to different things. For a musician it's not good but for the audience it's good and they really like it". Perhaps it's precisely because the opinion of an imagined audience is so very influential that they'd rather believe an audience would interpret it differently (and positively) than admit to a possible shortcoming.

To mix a song up is always a gamble then. Even if, or perhaps because, an audience might hear things differently from oneself, it is hard to predict what an they'd think of something new. Something new that furthermore deals with musical aspeccts familiar to that audience. Saron did not seem too anxious about such questions. Coincidentally she had thought about the matter just before I interviewed her. As to why that was the case, she told me:

> "Just this week I tried remixing some songs […] and in the beginning I was afraid to post it on Facebook because Eritrean people are just like that, like: you shouldn't touch such a song, especially the old songs. They reminded me of that often. But at one point I just thought: fuck it. […] When I post[15]ed it I was actually surprised by people's reactions. They said: how nice, something new, you know?"

That mix is inevitable in a formation like CCO and as far as Saron is concerned, it could very well be embraced too. Her imagined audience was now imagined to be less anxious about changes too. Though other musicians prefer to believe 'their' community would enjoy what they do even if it's a bit different, they seemingly prefer to play it safe. Mahmoud said, for example: "it's very difficult to mix because it's culture [and] in order to please a mixed audience we should make something standard." To make that something standard would mean to adhere to a standard. Hence sometimes a change or addition to a song can be undone by the people who feel they represent their community through it, as much as they have accepted some inevitable changes.

[15] 19-04-2019

However, as far as I witnessed it is never explained why this is done. As strong as some people's sense of community can be, others are hardly ever aware of how this community influences what they and their fellow musicians do. In relation to this, Roelof once told me what Jonás, an acquaintance of the orchestra who has worked with refugee musicians for a long time, told him:

> "Why do you do things a certain way? And Jonás said: 'look at the audience, a mixed audience, and see what happens when you play. When you start off with a song and you're sort of introducing it slowly. The Dutch don't respond and think: when does it start? But the newcomers do respond because sometimes something happens that touches them'."[16]

This of course refers to the *mawwal* that Hamed described earlier. It took an outsider to tell Roelof about this phenomenon and he told me the story as if it was something he too had only recently learned. On top of this Roelof is one of the most intricately involved members and even he would not know what to call this way of playing music. This is illustrative of the relative ignorance that typifies much of what CCO does. Even those who play out of communal considerations are seemingly unaware of those of different cultures. When asked what he thought could be changed about the Arabic songs, Mo bluntly answered: "No idea. I don't know."

The only real exception is Hermine, who is, as I said, the go-to person when a song has to be changed, exemplified by her discussion with Mo about *Zooly*'s tempo. But with her, the standards of the many different communities only become apparent when they are clearly not being met. Other than that, she "just [tries] to do something." Through this approach to music, the standards of the represented community are not just vague; they remain vague throughout.

The idea of music always being rooted in, and representing a culture or community is one that members of CCO do believe in. When asked whether we could ever play a song from a tradition not physically represented in the orchestra, Hermine considered this quite unimaginable. It would seem to follow logically from the idea of cultures existing as separate and distinguishable from each other (Welsch 1999: 2-4). On the other hand it matters little whether that culture is actually represented among members of the audience. So far, these findings support what many have assumed to be the relation between the community and musical authenticity, despite the discrepancy between a multicultural group attempting to create "transcultural music" (Erlmann 1993). However, very few people are aware of the musical movements by which they represent a community. In this regard CCO

[16] 21-03-2019

puts the idea of the "fundamental role" of the artist, "to represent the culture from which he comes," (Gilbert and Pearson 1999, pp. 164–5, quoted in Moore 2002: 209) into a new perspective. Still, those who feel they are indeed doing just that will find a perspective towards the matter that supports their interpretation. This approach furthermore continues to thrive in the relative ignorance and unspokenness that goes along with the musical experimentation. Because of this inexplicitness about communal standards, the ignorance about such standards is hardly being reduced.

What we tell: the lyrics

Besides a community based on a 'nation', the standards and values of CCO's music can perhaps be found in another "notion of 'the people'." (Redhead & Street 1989: 177). A community of people by whose standards to judge the music can also be based on an ideology (ibid) or even some shared political beliefs (Force 2009: 307). In the previous chapter I discussed how CCO could be considered ideological or even political, despite many people's backlash against such an idea. CCO's multiculturality and/or transculturality can easily be mistaken for multiculturalism, or even ideologies in and of themselves (Welsch 1999). Though the musicians often deny this, many aspects, such as the sort of events the orchestra plays, suggest otherwise. Meanwhile Fine (2003) indeed argued that "the characteristics of the creators matter as much as the characteristics of the work. […] the construction of images of authenticity [also] applies to […] the politics of Orientalism and multi-culturalism." (ibid: 176). It has been established that CCO is to some extent involved with such politics of multiculturalism, whether they like it or not. Even the music itself is subject to the listener's self-fulfilling desire "to interpret culture, to read it ideologically, to assign it social conditions" (Frith 1996: 109). In doing so, the performer is legitimized by that ideology (Moore 2002: 214-215). So why not make use of that in the process of authentication? Why not sing a song about it so an audience will recognize you for your legitimate representation of multicultural politics?

There have been attempts to make that apparently unavoidable image part of the repertoire, such as CCO's reworking of the Dutch song *Mensch Durf Te Leven*[17]. This oft reinterpreted song was originally composed over a 100 years ago as a denouncement of the pillarisation (verzuiling) of that era. The most prominent interpreter nowadays is probably singer Wende, who even argued that should become the Dutch national anthem[18]. This inspired Roelof to propose the song to Hermine, as it had always been one of his favourite songs. The lyrics were surely an ideological or even political statement

[17] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ssTpB9hu9Bs
[18] http://livestreammagazine.nl/wende-naar-luxor-live/

at that time and Wende herself has often emphasized political connotations of the text and how she considered them still relevant[19]. To perform such a song is unavoidably also a political act and to those familiar with these intentions, the lyrics surely read as such.

The initial idea was to have Wissam or Mohamad, or both, sing these lyrics, but they never really got their performance to a point that Hermine nor many others deemed stage-ready. However, both singers did have to read the lyrics numerous times. In doing so, they interpreted the message quite differently from how Hermine and Mariëlle (and I too) had read it. The latter of the two later recalled Hamed and Mohamad bringing up songs they felt had a similar meaning as *Mensch Durf Te Leven*:

> "Those two songs that Hamed and Mohamad brought up were also about daring to live, but daring to live like: dare to live together and celebrate the community. Dare to live and put yourself in service to the community."[20]

The lyrics were interpreted as the exact opposite of what Mariëlle called "a sort of 1960's individualistic, Western call". Once again, there was little coherence or clarity about what was being made, or in this case, told. Though she found this remarkable, Mariëlle never felt the need to 'correct' Hamed and Mohamad. Instead, she simply let their differing interpretations be. In fact, in a similar vein, for the version CCO would play Hermine and Mariëlle wrote an extra verse with a slightly different perspective than the original, adapted to the current state of affairs and what they believed CCO to stand for. It went as follows:

Different colours, a different sound	*Andere kleuren, een ander geluid*
Don't be afraid, just step out your front door	*Wees maar niet bang, kom je voordeur maar uit*
With a heart full of warmth and love in your chest	*Met een hart vol van warmt' en liefde in je borst*
Open your ears, which you didn't desire before	*Open je oor, wat je eerder niet dorst*
What do you receive and what can you give?	*Wat ontvang je en wat kun je geven?*
Human, dare to live	*Mensch, durf te leven*
Human, dare to live together	*Mensch, durf samen te leven*

Clearly an attempt had been made to incorporate a new message into an already political song. To me, this verse also has idea(l)s behind it that surely not everyone would agree with, as was the case with the original 100-year old text. These lyrics are presumably easily politicized in the current climate. If that is

[19] https://www.trouw.nl/cultuur-media/het-lied-dat-al-100-jaar-niet-verslijt-mens-durf-te-leven~b46165b7/
[20] 30-04-2019

indeed so and CCO's multicultural makeup are already pushes them into certain corners of the political spectrum, why not use that? Redhead & Street (1989) have argued that "musicians function like elected politicians; they represent their audience/constituency. Their authority is dependent on their ability to claim to speak for those who follow." (ibid: 178).

Selecting *Mensch Durf Te Leven*, with its new verse, could surely be interpreted as a move towards such a basis for authentication. By playing the song, especially with the added verse, CCO would represent their imagined multicultural following and let the music speak for their ideals as if politicians. And yet few of those to whom the song was not familiar wanted to see the song in such a light. Mohamad told me how to him: "That song is for all the people and I think it means that we're all equal." To him, this was not a political message. This is generally the response when I ask people why someone would like the music CCO makes. Only once did I encounter a member of CCO that readily admitted politics to be a part of CCO's legitimacy. Mariëlle openly told me that she did indeed think CCO's attraction was also based in ideology, as she told me:

> "Yeah we stand for something, surely. A certain view of society, or worldview… […] You might not mean for it to be political, but it has a societal effect, to choose to do that. […] I don't think we will be some sort of protest-orchestra that plays demonstrations, though that wouldn't be all bad either, in my opinion. But we play a certain type of events. We select the sort of places that we go to. And there's a societal view there, right? And maybe not all musicians want that to be explicit, but that is what we do."[21]

When put as such, it seems like the orchestra's multiculturalism and associated ideals actually are part of what authenticates them. But the idea of an ideological message or actual politics being mentioned in the music can be a very sensitive topic, even taboo, as Mariëlle seemed to be aware of. This would become all the more apparent during the following incident, which took place after Mo had sung over *Delelegne* but with, per Hermine's request, newly added lyrics:

> While we were packing up our equipment, I heard Mo sing his self-made lyrics to Wissam with a line prominently featuring the word 'pantalons'. He seemed to be doing so as a joke, so I asked both of them why pantalons was so funny. Mo told me that he had done this jokingly as his was originally a critical text directed towards the government of Mo's native Sudan. As a

[21] 30-04-2019

> joke Mo had subsequently suggested replacing a crucial part of the lyrics by the similar sounding 'pantalons', to make his fellow Arabic-speaking musicians less anxious. Though they laughed at Mo's joke, Wissam and others who had understood the lyrics seemed quite uncomfortable with using political subject matter in their music. The non-Arab musicians seemed oblivious to this discussion and went about their business uninhibited.

When I later asked Mo about this, he argued that to stand for freedom, openness and diversity also meant to make music that supports that message. To openly sing about it would only add to that message's strength. In certain contexts, those things can indeed be political. To dare take such a stance, though, could in itself be a marker for authentic music (Grenier & Gilbault 1990: 388, Moore 2002: 214-215).

However, Mo's attempts to make his and/or CCO's ideals explicit were met with great resistance. Indeed Wissam and Mohamad would later admit to their uneasiness with the matter, as would Dilshad a while after. Mohamad was especially adamant about this, adding to his doubtless "no" that "I think he shouldn't do it. I told him: 'we're musicians, but not a political party or something'." He then continued: "Yeah, cause politics is unfair. […] And people won't accept that." Rather than representing a political constituency through music, as Redhead & Street (1989) called it, some believe the community is best represented by *not* taking any political stance.

In the previous chapter I had discussed the rather universally shared ideals behind CCO and to what extent these are political or ideological. The main conclusion was that it is something often left unspoken and therefore has multiple interpretations, despite the shared views themselves. Similarly, few of the musicians are willing to admit that this political side is actually part of what authenticates CCO, if they even believe in its existence at all. However, I believe this might be so, based on my observations, academic literature and the sparse responses that do admit to such things. Though this basis for authenticity is itself a common idea in academia, there is often an assumption that this is intentional and explicit on the artist's side (Frith 1981, Moore 2002) that the case of CCO challenges.

As with the community based on a 'nation', the idea of music representing an ideology is itself present. Unlike the other though, that idea is far less shared. Though I, and some members of CCO believe there to be an unavoidable association of CCO with certain ideological views, to others the idea is unthinkable. This leads some to view an attempt like *Mensch Durf Te Leven*, which is known to have rather political connotations, as completely apolitical. When they do, no attempt is made to correct them. When others, such as Mo, do try to elucidate the ideology of CCO through its music, which can

indeed be a means of authentication, they are quickly reprimanded. Meanwhile such intentions are generally kept implicit and unspoken as much as possible, as are the discussions when they do become apparent. A notable difference is then also that while the details of both forms of communal representation (a nation or a constituency) remain vague to the collective, the reasons for doing so are rather different.

When we can't go on: friction

In this chapter, "the problems which different cultures have living together" (Welsch 1999: 3), have become apparent in the process of making music too. Catching Cultures Orchestra is thereby exemplary of a multicultural global music scene full of forays into transcultural music that Erlmann (1993) has labeled "the new global chaos" (ibid: 5). Though the way the orchestra functions indeed seems chaotic at times, that chaos rarely reflects on the people themselves. More often than not, incidents are forgotten and problems are overlooked. When the chaos does become unbearable, things escalate rather quickly. The following lays bare the problems with regards to authenticity that CCO has to deal with and people's attitudes towards these problems.

> It was the first rehearsal of 2019, early January, before my research period had officially started. The felt very welcoming coming from the wintery darkness outside. The atmosphere was one of celebration from beginning to end as people congratulated each other over the past holidays, quite often in their best attempts at languages they were not exceptionally eloquent in. This feeling of joy was only amplified by the collective enthusiasm over the upcoming festival, at that moment less than three weeks away. We immediately started working on some new songs, as the goal was to perform four or five previously unheard songs upon that renowned stage in TivoliVredenburg. Though the music sounded great, there were obviously some people missing. I didn't feel all too surprised about it though, since it had been as such at every one of the rehearsals I had attended earlier. The evening came to an end and I got ready to go home without much ado. Walking down the long stairs I ran into Mo. We walked outside and made some conversation as he smoked a cigarette and I unlocked my bike. Then all of a sudden I would learn that the absence of one musician was not as unremarkable as I had thought.
>
> Out of nowhere, to me at least, Mo told me Ibrahim, the highly skilled and highly appreciated *darbuka*-player from Syria, had quit the orchestra. This was why he was missing. He had

apparently told Hermine and Roelof in an e-mail that he was unable to continue with the current state of things and he or Mo would have to leave. The resulting attempts to patch things up soon culminated in Ibrahim's departure. I had noticed before that Mo and Ibrahim didn't get along all too well, but had not anticipated this. It turned out their squabbles had been far more complicated than I knew. They were not only a personal matter, but also very much rooted in their musical discordance. At one of the first rehearsals I ever attended I had seen Hermine trying to patch things up between the two over musical disagreement about the song *Allayl Alhadi*. The last time I had seen Ibrahim there was again a lot of friction, this time over the now familiar song *Zooly*.[22] This same song now turned out to be the trigger for his eventual departure.

Not having been at the final culmination of built-up chaotic inability and personal embitterment, I'll let Mo retell his version of events:

"The problem was that the song has the rhythm 12/8, but Ibrahim he played an Arabic rhythm. […] He played in 7/8. It's totally different. And I said to Hermine: we will try it. I will try to sing it but then I feel like I'm totally out. And after that I told them [Hermine and Ibrahim]: I cannot do it like that. It should be in 12/8."[23]

So far, this seems like a minor problem that can surely be overcome. However, matters quickly turned for the worse. Mo tried explaining the rhythm to Ibrahim himself, but the latter personally felt rather offended by this attempt. Behind this response laid a deeper feeling of uneasiness for Ibrahim. The thing here was that Ibrahim was not only highly skilled, but also well-educated in his instrument, having studied it and played it professionally back in his native Syria. Meanwhile Mo had always been an amateur musician, to whom it had only been a hobby. Hermine later told me that this had severely bothered Ibrahim during this whole incident. In other words: Ibrahim's imagined ideal of what music and a musician were to be like were so severely shaken that he felt he could no longer go on. Hermine had known this to be so through her involvement with the enduring conflict, but this aspect of Ibrahim's discomfort had never really been known to other musicians beforehand. Hence the shock the eventual exit caused.

[22] Audio Track: 06-Zooly-Live
[23] 01-04-2019

Discrepant ideas on how to behave as, or even *be* a musician caused conflict within the performing group. This once again differs greatly from the assumed coherence on the performing side as described by Shannon (2003a, 2003b), Grossberg (1992, in Moore 2002), Merriam (1964) and Strand (2014), among others. Though these authors might not have looked for these exact same internal processes, their neglect of these processes often leaves a notable hole in their analysis of authenticity. Many of the details they discuss as to the music, the performers and the audience, which themselves surely play a part in CCO too, gain depth by including at least an acknowledgement of such processes. Would we otherwise have known of this division of amateurs versus professionals, for example? How does that in turn influence an aspect like ideology or community? Whether incidents erupt rather extremely like in the example above, or discrepancies go unmentioned unproblematically, the actual dealings with authenticity within a group are as important as the details at stake or the relation with the audience. As noted before, I believe the lack of literature on this subject in itself already signifies a shortcoming in the field.

To further illustrate this idea, consider the following statement by Mo, who I soon learned also had some other unspoken personal motivations to try and get Ibrahim to play the right rhythm:

> "The first problem [was] that all the music will be Arabic this way. And this is too far away from the goal of catching cultures. It will be Catching Middle East Orchestra. Because that's the only music we'd be playing then." [24]

Clearly Mo's perception of what CCO was doing, and by extension authenticated the music, did not match what he experienced either. Nor would his intentions with regards to the community have become known had the internal incoherence not been taken into consideration. These intentions surely play their part outside of the immediate group too, hence the importance of this aspect of musical authenticity.

As has been the case for most differing perceptions so far, before the incident Mo never shared these sentiments with anyone else. A few weeks prior he did send an e-mail capturing his thoughts on what was going on with *Zooly.* Here he described another factor involved which even further complicated the matter. This too mostly had to do with Mo's attempted "expression of the soul of the nation" (Vaughan Williams 1987: 68, quoted in Moore 2002: 217). In a conversation I had with him he told it as follows:

[24] 01-04-2019

"And the second thing is that this song is a culture song. In my country, the people from Khartoum, where I lived, they don't do this music because they don't know it. It's not their rhythm because in Khartoum we have different types of music and different types of rhythm than in West Sudan. This song is from there, where my mum is from. And this is like the culture rhythm. […] And this rhythm in this song is called *kiran* and the *kiran* was used when the people worked in agriculture. And when you look at the text in Arabic, if you're Arabic, it doesn't mean anything. […] But the rhythm means everything. They have a dance to this rhythm and this is the rhythm of this city. They don't play it by their instruments, they play it by themselves with their feet. Like that [drums on table], you know? And when you change the melody or the harmony or anything… or the text, that's no problem. But if you change the rhythm, that means you change the heart of the song."[25]

3. Mo dancing the dance to Zooly at a performance at ZIMIHC Theatre, 19-05-2019. © Birgit Schuch

[25] 01-04-2019

Mo's strong communal connection and subsequent insistence on this heart, along with his dissatisfaction with CCO's Arab sound and his amateur background, clashed violently with Ibrahim's well-educated professional history and his lack of knowledge of African rhythms. Though Hermine was the one that pointed that last point out to me, she did not seem to speak for the whole group. Hamed would later send the following e-mail on behalf of Wissam, Mohamad and himself in response to Mo, where he saw less flaws in Ibrahim's playing. Here, he said how:

> "Ibrahim always tries to do his best to find the suitable rhythm for any song. And he is the only one that is specialized in rhythm so he is the only person that can decide what is the rhythm if any conflict appeared. We heard what Ibrahim played and we found that the rhythm that he played was correct and suits this song."

Differing interpretations of music and perceptions of authenticity, as I would now call it, had finally come to an explosive, uncovering collision. It clearly had an effect outside of the two people involved, too. It had to do with Mo's ideas on community and Ibrahim's perception of musicianship, supported by Wissam, Hamed and Mohamad. To fall back on the essential importance of authenticity as I described it in the introduction to this thesis, the 'fantasies' of what the 'real' was supposedly like were so fundamental to both Mo and Ibrahim's understanding of reality, that reality became no longer 'real' (Erlmann 1999: 3-4, Moore 2002: 109, Van de Port 2005: 153-155). In other words, the exposure of inauthenticity meant that the music, the orchestra or, especially for Ibrahim, they themselves could no longer be considered legitimate (Cavanaugh & Shankar 2014: 53, Redhead & Street 1989: 178-179). To deal with this fundamental shaking up of their reality and legitimacy, a drastic change had to be made.

It was here that I first felt how very real the consequences of the idealized imaginaries could be. The whole incident struck me more than I had expected. It felt as if all the joy and friendliness of that rehearsal, perhaps even my entire time with the orchestra, had been falsely built upon a foundation of unvoiced discomfort. I definitely wasn't the only one feeling this way looking at the reactions I got when it came up in conversations. At times struggling to find the words, Hermine told me that "the conflict between Ibrahim and Mo, that's something that I really couldn't… at some point that just exploded… And I didn't have any tools to deal with that". Apparently she had also felt some personal responsibility. What she considered her lack of tools was perhaps in part also caused by unwanted ignorance of the complete story behind the conflict, which required quite some effort to uncover. Initially unable to fully grasp the complicated situation, she felt overwhelmed and even rather emotional for a long time after.

Still, the incident stopped being mentioned quite soon afterwards, only ever coming up when I explicitly referred to it. The differing perceptions of authenticity that laid its foundations would fade into obscurity even sooner and further. Through this long and complicated story it has become apparent that perceptions of authenticity are highly influential in people's dealing with their realities. What is more, it shows that to discuss those differing perceptions can have the presumably undesirable effect of creating conflict. Rather than finding new common ground through the discussion of those incongruent values the construction of the multicultural performance is inhibited by these becoming explicit.

Throughout this chapter, a now unsurprising amount of unspoken ideas, implicit remarks and assumed perspectives have come into play. Whether it's about the music, the audience/community or the lyrics/ideology, more often than not seemingly conflicting perceptions of authenticity get to coexist as they go unspoken. This goes against a great many assumptions made by other authors, though the details of musical difference, communal standards and to a lesser extent ideological authentication are in themselves aspects actively upheld by individual members. In other words: the belief in communal and ideological representation is present, but it works in a different manner than previously assumed. And yet the overall incoherence doesn't seem to inhibit people in their perceptions, performances or even enjoyment of the orchestra as much as one would expect. The following chapter will further explain how I believe this approach to work.

Creating 'Our' Performance

Mo and Ibrahim's imagined ideals mismatched with the experienced reality so severely, it shook up not only their worlds but those of the entire orchestra. But this was the only time I witnessed this mismatch coming to such a violent eruption. In the previous chapter some aspects of authenticity have been discussed where such a mismatch is clearly present. There have been some minor verbalizations of it, but these often take place in private and the incidents are usually quickly forgotten, as became apparent too. I also mentioned this as partially diverging from common assumptions about performers in anthropological literature and beyond. So then how does CCO succeed in getting on stage, performing seemingly unanimously agreed upon pieces in apparently perfect harmony? Through an examination of the aftermath of the incident described earlier, this chapter provides insights into this process. The new concept subsequently introduced puts these findings and those of the two previous chapters into a framework that can add to our understanding of authenticity.

Looking at difference: celebrating the misunderstanding

To provide a starting point for a further analysis of CCO's way of working, consider the following message by Hermine. It was more specifically a response to the initial argument between Mo and Ibrahim, before that conflict 'exploded'. Here, she e-mailed these remarks about communication and what I would call differing perceptions of authenticity:

> "For a number of reasons, Mo and Ibrahim did not match on the rhythm on the darbuka, the communication about what we were going to try during the rehearsal did not go well anyway. But actually this incident is a good representation of what we will encounter more often and in order to be able to work together on this, we must be open to each other. Because we bring different music styles together, which we all want to use, that is often different and awkward, sometimes contrary to what we are used to. Sometimes the person who presents or arranges the song wants to give instructions on how to play, but we will also let the orchestra work out the details. Not only with explanation or presentation, but also with improvisation, giving each other room for different interpretations."[26]

[26] 17-10-2018

At first some points seem to go somewhat against my ideas of things remaining unarticulated. However, this e-mail was sent before I joined and my observations and responses since then have often been quite the opposite of the plans seemingly made here. The idea of clearer communication has surely lost to that of letting the orchestra work out the details according to people's interpretations. On a second read though, many of the aspects I have come to see as typical are actually there. I will analyze the most important ones to further illustrate what I believe to be CCO's way of dealing with differing perceptions of authenticity.

The first general point is openness. It seems obvious perhaps, given CCO's multiculturality, but it permeates into more aspects. For example, Mo mentioned in regard to Ibrahim and those who supported him how "I don't want to say they're not open" as if this would imply that they didn't fit with CCO altogether. Dilshad, who joined in the first week of my research, mentioned it as one of his primary reasons for joining CCO, by which he primarily referred to an "atmosphere" of openness through which he felt he got to realize his full potential. Thus, as Hermine would assert me, and as others would later repeat, openness not only means being open to other cultures, thoughts and traditions, but also to making mistakes and letting others make mistakes. She'd later add that this openness to her also had to do with a sense of "freedom to also be allowed to fail and to shine. Because if you give someone that freedom, all the moments to shine and all the failures will come out". To a similar quote Mariëlle once added the word "safety", by which she meant "that we hold on to each other". She'd add that this was "so you can open your heart and be vulnerable because it's safe. We try to leave the judgements behind us". I believe this summarizes the openness that defines CCO's approach. It also seems to entail the assumption that the other musician means well, or even the same as you, and should therefore be left to do things as he or she sees fit.

This brings me to the second point: combination of awkwardness and letting the orchestra work out the details, as mentioned in the e-mail. This "letting things take their course" goes beyond merely letting others do as they see fit, assuming their best intentions. It means that one should also trust others to do those things, even if those are to a certain extent 'wrong' in the eyes of the people who best know the original. The mistakes should not only be allowed, they can also often be embraced. The other can even mean the complete opposite of what you intended by a song and yet, it should be allowed to exist. This must be what Mariëlle was referring to when she talked about "celebrating the misunderstanding." It means to make the unavoidable mistakes part of the performance, showing "the joy of making music." This seems to mean that two different ideas of what a song is or should be are actually supposed to be able to coexist. Something outstandingly 'wrong' can thereby eventually still

find its place in the harmonious whole. Of course this can only go so far, and there should be enough room left for the other musicians to do what they want.

There's something implicit in the two paragraphs above that I have named various times before and Hermine actually called by the same name: interpretation. On the one hand it stems from the openness to mistakes and the accompanying assumption of the other's intentions. This way one can interpret a mistake by the other as an attempt at what he or she assumes to be correct. As for celebrating the misunderstanding, I believe this to mean that two different interpretations should get to exist simultaneously, even if they do initially sound wrong to one's ears. But being open to interpretation also means *leaving* things open to interpretation. That way one can actually always see or hear things as they wish, in accordance with their perceptions of authenticity, even if there is no mistake or misunderstanding. Though this point and the other two were made explicit in the e-mail above, it is generally not something that is discussed. In fact this e-mail was the first and only time I've seen it put as such. All those different perceptions aside, there is an unspoken and thereby to some subconscious agreement about the importance of these points.

A possible fourth point is then to keep quiet. As has been the case numerous times in the previous two chapters, ideas, feelings and musical details tend to go unspoken. Even when incidents do arise, they more often than not immediately fade back into obscurity. It has often been said that members of the orchestra should try and listen carefully to each other. But when listening with an ear that can apparently be so strongly predetermined by perceptions of authenticity, what remains unspoken is left to be interpreted as the listener sees fit. Sometimes that silence is deliberate and sometimes one subconsciously chooses not to speak, or at least not to the entire group. What is certain is that in CCO a culture has come into being that thrives in such silence and implicit assumptions. The mistakes thereby get to exist, the interpretations can run wild and the misunderstanding gets to be celebrated.

All of the above came together not too long before the end of my research period. At a rehearsal in mid-April there was a scheduled moment at which some updates were given on the state of upcoming concerts, subsidy requests and other matters worth mentioning. After some regular updates, suddenly Hermine added that she wanted to say something else. She seemed to have a tough time saying what she was about to say. It was about Ibrahim. His name had not been heard for a quite a while, let alone in a talk such as this and mentioning it immediately had everyone's interest piqued. Ibrahim had contacted Hermine and Roelof a couple of weeks before and told them he wanted to talk to

them. By now this talk, where Mo was also invited to join, had taken place and Hermine summarized Ibrahim's feelings to the group:

> "There has been some sort of breakthrough that he has come to the realization that he feels shitty about how he has acted but he was also really messed up personally. […] Yeah it was very emotional. And also the talk with you [looks at Mo]. It touched me deeply how he has changed and how he wants to interact with those around him. And I think he will also go to talk with you [the other Syrians], with everyone. It's a bit of a wait and we have to wait and see how it develops and so… Well… that's just what I wanted to tell you. It's very pleasant how he's opened himself up and also how he apologized to Mo."[27]

The story had made a notable impact on the group. Some people stared at distant corners, seemingly processing the thought. I even noticed a few tears welling up here and there. The incident and its resolution had touched upon something very important. Not too long after it was time to take a break. As people headed for the door to get coffee, smoke a cigarette or visit the toilet, I noticed Mariëlle kept talking to Hermine for a while longer. I heard her tell how great she thought it was that Ibrahim had come to embrace the values of CCO. Opening up, she said, had not only meant opening up to other traditions (such as that of *Zooly*), but also opening up to his own flaws and those of others.

It would be a while before Ibrahim actually returned to rehearsals and performances, but during the last days of my research I saw him a couple of times. His troubles with *Zooly* are not yet over, but through his unexpected musical connection through drummer Toon (who isn't at rehearsals as often) his 'wrong' playing has found its way in the greater musical whole. Ibrahim once mentioned how he still interpreted the rhythm as something other than what Mo and some others asserted him it was. But this interpretation was allowed to exist without further problems, as his misunderstandings found a place. This is not only because he himself opened up significantly, but also because Mo did too with regards to the 'right' ways of playing *Zooly*. Mo instead keeps quiet more often, believing that Ibrahim must be trying to do the rhythm as he intended it. Others simultaneously don't know any better than that Ibrahim is playing the right rhythm, especially to those whose playing does not depend on it too much. I believe this story to be illustrative of how differing perceptions of authenticity get to coexist in the construction of the multicultural performance.

[27] 15-04-2019

The fluidity of Catching Cultures Orchestra

Now, one can truly see how CCO deals with authenticity. But I believe it is not only revealing of the orchestra, but also of the meaning of authenticity in music and the anthropological approach towards it. To summarize, the general approach in CCO is most importantly to let others have their interpretation, by remaining open to others' 'faults' and embracing things that go 'wrong' or feel 'awkward'. The result is that many interpretations can exist simultaneously without anyone doubting that theirs is being met. This coexistence furthermore thrives in silence about such matters.

This is quite contrary to what many authors have said or assumed. These often treat the performing group as being collectively and uniformly aware of what they are conveying, how this is conveyed and why it is done as such. The performer is assumed to be actively working towards meeting certain standards and values, in turn determined by a variety of factors. One can see the assumption in both of Shannon's works on Syrian musicians (2003a, 2003b), Moore's description of rock and folk music's conception of community (2002) and Redhead & Street's exploration of folk's ideological authentication (1989). Here musicians are portrayed as being well aware of the musical guidelines they follow, despite occasional experimentation and unintended shortcomings. But as the case of CCO shows, such factors do indeed play a role but are far from universally shared among all members of the performing group, though These authors surely don't actively deny the existence of the internal incoherence described in this thesis. However, they do generally ignore it. I have meanwhile found this lack of collective awareness to be integral to authenticity *in practice* and *under construction*.

When I first started thinking about this research, way before it actually started, I had anticipated I would be looking for some new form of authenticity as it emerged out of the many different perceptions present. In the words of Erlmann (1993) I was looking for "a synthesis of a new type" (ibid: 8). Also speaking of intercultural musical connections, Erlmann furthermore appended though that "this synthesis does not […] represent an attempt at "collective redirection" through which musical communities are brought into new alliances" (ibid). Surely this seems the case with CCO too. However, I believe what I have witnessed is not really a synthesis of any kind, but rather a process that facilitates the coexistence of different perceptions. Roelof said, for example, how CCO's directions were "very open still. And in development". What is at play in this process is what I have come to call fluid authenticity. I call it such because there is no solid or fixed outcome, but a process that leaves authenticity malleable, multifaceted and "in development." Though she did not seem to mean it as necessarily positive, part of the process of differing perceptions interacting was highlighted by Mariëlle as she said:

> "The group, when playing together, has to continuously span these threads [from one] to the other and listen like: 'oh this is what we're doing now, this is the type of game we're playing'. But okay, right now we're playing a ball game, so to say. […] Are we playing the same ball game? Is one playing water polo and the other playing football? There as well it's the trick to make clear decisions and create clarity in the way of playing and the game you're playing. So that so called freedom needs some canalization. It needs a current that gets us on the same track."[28]

What she called "clear decisions", "clarity" and "canalization" seem to indeed be part of the process. However, more often than not, I have experienced, many people find those things without any active or explicit directing or conducting, unlike Mariëlle seemed to imply. Rather than there always being actual clarity, the idea of clarity is enough to let people play their instrument without much inhibition. This does not underestimate Hermine's important role, but she has said herself how she often simply tried to "do something." This of course leaves a lot of room for mistakes, different interpretations and misunderstandings. But these are actually some of the things that can get a flow going.

An example would be CCO's version of the song "Allayl Alhadi." This version leaned a lot more to a reggae style than many other ones I've heard. Hermine also added a new midsection where horn players get to improvise over a significantly more jazzy groove. The original version from the 1960's is indeed often presented as a pioneering Sudanese jazz song, which might have inspired Hermine to add this part, whether consciously or not.

It was specifically for this song that Mo first invited me to come and play bass with CCO. He had insisted that the reggae feel could not be fully grasped without an electric bass. However, I went on to play more or less the same line as the sousaphones, whereby I personally felt my part didn't really add that much. Mo heard things otherwise though and was really satisfied with my addition. The more we played the song, the more Jan and Roelof, who play said sousaphones, started to diverge from the original line. The swing-feel they increasingly brought started to change the entire vibe of the song, perhaps inspired by the jazzy midsection. I gradually went along with it. Only later did Toon join the group on drums. His interpretation of the song – note that he had no sheet music or any real point of reference other than 'a reggae feel' – slowly changed the course of our collective playing. I felt like letting go of the 'swing' vibes that Jan and Roelof had played and went for a much simpler line. Their

[28] 30-04-2019

playing changed too, more often playing their notes exactly on the beat, especially the first of each measure's four beats.

Until Toon joined, the only percussive instrument had been Ibrahim's darbuka. He had struggled to grasp the reggae-feel, in part because he had some reservations, believing another rhythm to be better suited. He eventually ended up playing a rhythm "in 4/8, that's also Arabic", as Mo told me. There were disagreements about this rhythm at first, but it still ended up becoming part of the song. Yet another flavor was added and Mo eventually came to interpret Ibrahim's rhythm as an attempt to grasp the right feel. After all, he called it "also Arabic", implying that it's perhaps still 'also reggae', rather than different or simply wrong.

Though differences did become explicit for a while here, it also ended up working because it went back into a state where both sides could have their interpretations. "Allayl Alhadi" had now become a staple of many live performances. A complete understanding of the other's intentions was never really reached though. It seems that many either don't really think about the other's intentions or simply assumed he understands and adapts to them. This has left a multi-faceted and thereby multi-interpretable song that's part reggae and part Arabic, with a little swing on the side and a jazzy midsection, featuring continuous interaction between the different parts. Few if any musicians would actually call it anything like that though.

In this example, certain decisions by one musician push the music in a way that leads another musician to make a possibly oppositional decision based on his own interpretations. This once more pushes the music a certain way, canalizing the overall flow. All along, neither knows of the other's intentions and interpretations and believes the decision to be clear. It doesn't seem to matter whether two people aren't "playing the same ball game" as long as the intentions and interpretations of the other remain unspoken. This leaves room for one's own intentions and interpretations. To find out the rules of the ball game as one goes along is part of the game itself, then.

To his earlier statement that CCO was "in development" Roelof added that "it's also great to talk about these things together", referring to artistic choices and related musical differences between cultures. This might be true, but I haven't seen such talks actually taking place, let alone together. But that is precisely how fluid authenticity works: far more often without words than with them. Rather, music is the preferred language of this process. This of course only adds to the multiplicity of possible interpretations and subsequent actions. Clarity exists first and foremost in the mind of the interpreter.

There are numerous other examples of this process, such as the interpretation of a moment of (partial) silence in a song. Is it a moment to play a solo, or is the absence of certain instruments

intentional or even part of the song's story? If one does play a solo, even if that section wasn't intended as such, it might change the perception of those who had never viewed it that way. This "fluidity of meanings" (Keil 2002: 37-38) can be found at various moments with all sorts of musicians. Similarly, the more abstract idea of what CCO does can see various interpretations with every new song, member or concert can also be reinterpreted according to others' proceedings with it. This is how Dilshad, who only joined in February 2019, found himself with a perception that changed in a matter of months. From an orchestra that "gives refugees and their music a place in The Netherlands" his view had shifted towards "a mix of different cultures" where "there are no borders" by early May. The degree to which CCO is political is to a very large extent subject to the same process, where different interpretations can coexist but also change for and by individuals, especially with certain events.

Through the process of fluid authenticity the idealized imaginary can change shape according to the flows of the group, but remains sufficiently amorphous for anyone to see or hear in it what they want. From one person's perspective it might clearly look or sound like one thing and seem to flow one way, while the other might see or hear the exact opposite. From your point of view, it might therefore be hard to see things any other way than yours. When someone calls the same thing by another name or does something unexpected or 'wrong', it is easier to assume they mean the same as you than call them out on it. Because this might result in your own view turning out to be 'incorrect'.

In relation to this fear of discrepancy between the real and the imaginary, I had named rejection and avoidance as two possible outcomes. In an earlier example, backpackers actively avoided those people who didn't fit their idealized picture of "the real India" (Lozanksi 2010: 746). When Shannon (2003b) described how two different audiences differently interpreted the music they witnessed, those who felt the others were not behaving accordingly similarly rejected them. While it is true that this can be found in CCO, as with "the Zooly incident", there is another way avoidance and rejection can be applied to the mismatch between people's perceptions and the encountered reality. I believe it's actually two-sided: one can avoid the inauthentic as in the examples above, but one can just as well avoid its exposition to begin with. Instead of always looking for confirmation of the imaginary, its denial can also be evaded. Similarly, one could reject the idea that the other means things differently rather than rejection that different perceptions itself.

Only when it becomes too clear that someone else interprets it completely differently from you is it time to correct them, actively pulling the concept of 'the authentic' back your way. Such was the case with Victor, who kept insisting that after many tries Toon and I still did not play the groove his self-written song *Natree* correctly, which he believed to in turn obstruct his own playing. However, I have

never really known what I was doing 'wrong' in the first place. I also still don't know whether I'm doing it differently to his ears now, let alone correctly, or if he has embraced the flaw. Nor do I have any real clue of Toon's interpretation of the situation. Through a lack of in-depth discussion and a preference for letting the music speak for itself, the result has been a return to multi-interpretability. The same can be seen with *Allayl Alhadi* and *Zooly*. In this celebration of misunderstandings the 'wrong' does become not necessarily 'right' but it does gradually become less noteworthy.

Hovering over the creative process, fluid authenticity moves and changes shape with the subconscious movements of the group while keeping its multi-faceted nature intact so that every member gets to see it their way. These different interpretations, be they musical or about more abstract ideas like a collective goal, in turn determine the movements of the individual members. Through the individual pushes and pulls the group as a whole moves, albeit gradually and more often than not without any verbalizations. Through its continuous movement, little to nothing has the time or space to solidify, thereby keeping the whole creative process and its dependence on authenticity fluid. Still, differing perceptions can eventually change through the greater process' gradual flowing and morphing. I believe this might be the "development" that Roelof mentioned. Importantly, what differentiates this from Erlmann's "synthesis of a new type" (Erlmann 1993: 8) is that is continually changing, whereby a possible synthesis is never more than a fleeting snapshot in the ever-moving process.

To apply fluid authenticity theoretically means to not only look for the perceptions of authenticity themselves, nor their consequences, but for the processes and places where the multiple perceptions interact, allowing their coexistence. It means to look for the larger flows that determine the overall direction, but also for the tiny pushes and pulls that leave things multi-interpretable to those involved. It means laying bare the interactions and ways of communicating that keep the authentic fluid. It's furthermore about looking for those moments where a formerly different perception gets taken along in a certain flow and changes its own shape. And it means to try and observe those moments where it does actually 'solidify' or where this has already taken place, and how these points themselves can direct the flow of things.

Conclusion

Since the very first performance, Catching Cultures Orchestra has incorporated people from widely varying backgrounds. In fact, this diversity is, as Suzanne once said, "what the orchestra is about". However, there are multiple ways of dealing with that diversity that have found their way into CCO. On the one hand there is the idea that different cultures are indeed just that: different. As much as the orchestra displays a certain harmony between them, they are indeed often considered to be separate and distinguishable, as can be seen in the dress code, for example. However, there is also the idea that the boundaries through which these differences are maintained are supposed to be overcome. In its music CCO tries to create a much-supported mix that's "neither Eastern nor Western" but rather "something new". Importantly, there is little discussion about such attitudes, nor what to name such things. This silence about such matters also applies to the meaning of that diversity. The question of whether there is any ideology behind CCO and whether this could be called political is a sensitive one, and hence is generally left open to interpretation. This way of working can be found in many aspects of CCO's dealing with diversity and difference. Through this complicated interplay between tradition, transcendence and their meanings, matters previously deemed by other authors to be clear, coherent and collective on the performing side are challenged.

In relation to such assumptions, Bowen once said how:

> "the most fundamental assumptions musicologists make are that musical works exist and that they are stable. […] and we also assume that these musical works are somehow related to certain basic musical elements which remain the same from performance to performance." (Bowen 1993: 139)

As the case of CCO has shown, this is assumption indeed rarely holds up. However, I'd like to add that it's also often assumed that the basic musical elements remain the same from performer to performer, as far as a single performance is concerned. By this I refer to the now familiar situations where the same piece of music at the same moment in time can be interpreted completely different by two musicians. Furthermore, the assumption of coherence goes beyond the musical elements. It can also be found in such questions as how a nation is represented through musical traditions, or to what extent the lyrics represent an ideological constituency. Though the idea that such representations and underlying meanings do exist and matter is surely found among musicians in CCO, there is no coherence about what these are. This differs greatly from assumptions that other authors have made about

performing groups. What is more, the incoherence is rarely overcome and attempts to do so are equally uncommon. Differing interpretations of what makes up an authentic song or musician are rarely expressed, let alone discussed. This involves a certain risk of conflicting situations when unvoiced disagreement builds up beyond the boiling point as the shaking up of perceptions of authenticity similarly shake up reality. Still, such incidents are scarce and more often than not the silence and subsequent ignorance do not inhibit a collaborative performance at all.

Through my research I have found that this in fact forms the basis of CCO's way of dealing with different perceptions of authenticity. Summarized, there is a shared but not often explicated belief that the orchestra thrives in openness, misunderstandings and multi-interpretability. The success of this belief lies precisely in the lack of explicitness. In silence, multiple highly varied interpretations can flourish but as they remain unspoken also get to coexist. The same performance, musician or piece of music can be interpreted in a variety of ways, but as long as there's some amount of assumed coherence and clarity, these need not be outspoken and therefore needn't interfere with each other. Even when someone else does clearly differ from the assumed clear direction, it is easier to assume the other must mean the same thing but has a different way of naming or doing it. Should doubts emerge whether the other truly does imply the same, silence is often preferred as it allows for the continuation of one's own interpretation. On those rare occasions where such details are discussed, because someone believes them to be too wrong to continue, the conclusion is still often a return to silence and implicitness. In this way, different interpretations get to coexist, though they can be subject to gradual change. Importantly, they thereby also don't necessarily have to converge. Fluid authenticity is a process of continuous change too.

Becoming a member: being bassist and researcher

The day I made the final decision was the day I sent an email to Hermine and Rosa. Here I declared my intentions to do my research on them, while also announcing my intentions to become the full time bass player. They immediately gave their permission without any real stipulations. Though my research officially started in early February, I came to join full time from the first rehearsal of 2019 onwards and not much later publicly announced my intentions to the entire group. I asked them some subsequent questions throughout the talk and the rest of the day, including whether someone would not like to be interviewed (no one) and if anyone preferred anonymity (none). Responses were generally very positive and for the rest of the day people would come up to me and ask me about my research.

This continued throughout my research period. Many were interested in what I was hoping to find out and what approach I would take. Especially interested were Roelof, since he thinks about these matters in his leading role, and Michiel, who once studied anthropology himself. However, some people also seemed oblivious to my role as researcher, even though they knew about my intended research. During a car ride in late March, Monica (saxophone) asked me when my research would start. Despite my frequent recording, note-taking, questioning and even having interviewed her partner Roelof, she had never viewed me in that role. Me reminding her that I was already researching seemed to jog her memory more than truly surprise her but for her, and many others I assume, I was bass player first and researcher second. This gave me a lot of opportunity, especially around some people who I noticed behaving differently when I explicitly approached them for research matters. I believe I have gained an unique perspective on the group through my dual identity in it.

There are also some downsides to being more than a researcher. There were definitely moments where I was not only seen, but also expected to behave as the bassist firstly. When a piece of music required a continuous bass line that in turn demanded above average attention on my part, this partially obstructed my ability to focus fully on what was happening with the music and people. For the most part then my balancing was mostly concerned with trying to not get too carried away by the music. To some degree my direct involvement with the group might also at times have slightly hampered my ability to be completely critical or speak my mind when talking to members. I wasn't always willing or able to give people my real opinion when they tried to assert me certain things were as they saw it. This was the case even when I was asked for my honest opinion on matters related to the orchestra but not necessarily to my research.

When I was in my role as researcher, my primary methods consisted of regular note-taking during every moment people got together for orchestral matters (rehearsals, performances, meetings),

supplemented by innumerable informal talks and well over a dozen formal in-depth interviews which usually took about an hour. Another notable aspect of this research has been the audio recordings, which I mostly took myself on my phone though a few were made available to me by others. I'd replay them a couple of times to see whether I had missed anything happening in the music itself. I later cut them up to fit as fragments in this thesis, though nothing else was altered. Two songs had to be cut as they turned out unusable for auditory illustration. I chose the method of uploading them to Soundcloud so as to keep them available at all times, though only to those with the provided link.

Bibliography

Bauböck, R.	2001	"Cherishing diversity and promoting political community", *Ethnicities,* 1 (1): 109-140
Biasutti, M.	2012	"Orchestra rehearsal strategies: Conductor and performer views", *Musicae Scientiae*, 0 (0): 1-15
Bowen, J. A.	1993	"The History of Remembered Innovation: Tradition and Its Role in the Relationship between Musical Works and Their Performances", *The Journal of Musicology*, 11 (2): 139-173
Brink, P. J.	1994	"Transcultural Versus Cross-Cultural", *Western Journal of Nursing Research,* 16 (4): 344-346
Castles, S. and M. J. Miller	2003	"Chapter 2: The Migration Process and the Formation of Ethnic Minorities", in: Stephen Castles & Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*: 21-49
Cavanaugh, J.R. & S. Shankar	2014	"Producing Authenticity in Global Capitalism: Language, Materiality, and Value", *American Anthropologist*, 116 (1): 51–64
Cohen, S.	1993	Ethnography and Popular Music Studies, *Popular Music*, 12 (2): 123-138
Cole, S.	2007	"Beyond Authenticity and Commodification", *Annals of Tourism Research,* 34 (4): 943-960
Cuccioletta, D.	2001	"Multiculturalism or Transculturalism: Towards a Cosmopolitan Citizenship", London Journal of Canadian Studies, 17 (1): 1-11
Downey, G.	2002	"Listening to Capoeira: Phenomenology, Embodiment, and the Materiality of Music", *Ethnomusicology,* 46 (3): 487-509
Ebster, C. & I. Guist	2005	"The Role of Authenticity in Ethnic Theme Restaurants", *Journal of Foodservice Business Research*, 7 (2): 41-52
Erlmann, V.	1993	"The Politics and Aesthetics of Transnational Musics", *The World of Music*, 35 (2): 3-15
Erlmann, V.	1999	*Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK
Feld, S.	2000	"A Sweet Lullaby for World Music", *Public Culture* 12 (1): 145-171
Fine, G.	2003	"Crafing Authenticity: The validation of identity in self-taught art", *Theory and Society,* 32: 153-180

Force, W. R.	2009	"Consumption Styles and the Fluid Complexity of Punk Authenticity", *Symbolic Interaction*, 32 (4): 289-309
Frith, S.	1981	"'The magic that can set you free': the ideology of folk and the myth of the rock community", *Popular Music,* 1: 159-168
Frith, S.	1996	"Music and Identity", *Questions of Cultural Identity,* 1 (1): 108-128
Hughes, G.	1995	"Authenticity in Tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research,* 22 (4): 781-803
Kavoori, A.	2009	"World music, authenticity and Africa: Reading Cesaria Evora and Ali Farka Toure", *Global Media Journal African Edition,* 3 (1): 80-96
Keil, C.	2002	"They Want the Music but They Don't Want the People", *City & Society*, 14 (1): 37-57
Lindholm, C.	2002	"Authenticity, Anthropology and the Sacred", *Anthropological Quarterly,* 75 (2): 331-338
Lozanksi, K.	2010	"Defining 'real India': representations of authenticity in independent travel." *Social Identities,* 16 (6): 741-762
Martin, C.	1993	"Traditional criticism of popular music and the making of a lip-synching scandal", *Popular Music and Society,* 17, (4): 63-81
Merriam, A. P.	1964	*The Anthropology of Music*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois, USA
Moore, A.	2002	"Authenticity as Authentication", *Popular Music,* 21 (2): 209-223
Ng, E.S. & Bloem-raad, I.	2015	"A SWOT Analysis of Multiculturalism in Canada, Europe, Mauritius, and South Korea." *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59: 619-636
O'Connell, J. M. & S. El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, eds.	2010	*Music and Conflict,* University of Illinois Press, Chicago, USA
Port, van de, M.	2005	"Circling around the Really Real: Spirit possession ceremonies and the search for authenticity in Bahian Candomblé", *Ethos*, 33(2): 149-179
Redhead, S. & J. Street	1989	"Have I the Right? Legitimacy, authenticity and Community in Folk's Politics", *Popular Music*, 8 (2): 177-184
Schmeets, H. & S. De Witt	2017	*Bevolkingstrends april 2017,* 05, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek
Shannon, J. H.	2003a	"Emotion, Performance, and Temporality in Arab Music: Reflections on Tarab", *Cultural Anthropology* 18 (1): 72–98.

Shannon, J. H.	2003b	"Sultans of Spin: Syrian Sacred Music on the World Stage", *American Anthropologist,* 105 (2): 266-277.
Stokes, M.	1994	*Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The musical construction of place*, Oxford, Berg.
Strand, M.	2014	"Authenticity as a form of worth", *Journal for Cultural Research*, 18 (1): 60-77
Theodossopoulos, D.	2013	Introduction: Laying Claim to Authenticity: Five Anthropological Dilemmas, *Anthropological Quarterly,* 337-360
Welsch, W.	1999	"Transculturality – the Puzzling Form of Culture Today", Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World, ed. by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash, London: Sage, 194-213
Wise, A.	2014	"Everyday Multiculturalism", *Migration: A COMPAS Anthology*, COMPAS, Oxford, 2014

Appendix

Link to full playlist:

https://soundcloud.com/boris-van-olffen/sets/tunes-traditions-transcendence-accompanying-audio-tracks/s-c5yJ1

Track list:

01-Ik-Hou-Van-Nederland

Link: https://soundcloud.com/boris-van-olffen/01-ik-hou-van-nederland/s-GI04N?in=boris-van-olffen/sets/tunes-traditions-transcendence-accompanying-audio-tracks/s-c5yJ1

Recorded: unknown

02-Delelegne-Improvisation

Link: https://soundcloud.com/boris-van-olffen/02-delelegne-improvisation/s-fSli9?in=boris-van-olffen/sets/tunes-traditions-transcendence-accompanying-audio-tracks/s-c5yJ1

Recorded: 04-03-2019

03-Nassam

Link:https://soundcloud.com/boris-van-olffen/03-nassam/s-9cOlr?in=boris-van-olffen/sets/tunes-traditions-transcendence-accompanying-audio-tracks/s-c5yJ1

Recorded: 18-02-2019

04-Azez-Live

Link: https://soundcloud.com/boris-van-olffen/04-azez-live/s-C2Bdi?in=boris-van-olffen/sets/tunes-traditions-transcendence-accompanying-audio-tracks/s-c5yJ1

Recorded: 20-01-2019

05-Kan-El-Zaman

Link: https://soundcloud.com/boris-van-olffen/05-kan-el-zaman/s-tlRnF?in=boris-van-olffen/sets/tunes-traditions-transcendence-accompanying-audio-tracks/s-c5yJ1

Recorded: unknown

06-Zooly-Live

Link: https://soundcloud.com/boris-van-olffen/06-zooly-live/s-ZFjLL?in=boris-van-olffen/sets/tunes-traditions-transcendence-accompanying-audio-tracks/s-c5yJ1

Recorded: 20-01-2019