

**Multi-ethnic orchestras and cross-cultural dialogue
in Southern Europe: processes of integration, musical
hybridization and citizenship in Italy and Portugal**

English version of:

Introduction

Chapter 3

Chapter 4

Table of contents

Introduction	4
Chapter 3.	21
The multi-ethnic orchestra: a plausible model of social integration among musicians and host communities	
3.1. Introduction: music and migration in a multicultural society	21
3.2. L’Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio: birth and history of the first Italian multi-ethnic orchestra	23
3.3. Multi-ethnic orchestras in Italy: an ethnographic research	31
3.3.1. Piccola Orchestra di Tor Pignattara - Rome	32
3.3.2. Orchestra Multiethnica Mediterranea (OMM) - Naples	37
3.3.3. L’Orchestra di Via Padova (OVP)- Milan	45
3.3.4. Other multi-ethnic Italian orchestras	48
3.3.5. Inactive and recently-formed multi-ethnic orchestras	53
3.4. Multi-ethnic choirs: group singing as a vehicle for knowledge and integration	58
3.4.1. Choir “Voci dal Mondo”- Venice	59
3.4.2. Multi-ethnic choir “Romolo Balzani”- Rome	62
3.5. Loans, transits, transformation	64
3.6. ‘Music-meeting’ in multi-ethnic orchestras	67
Chapter 4.	77
The Portugal Experience: Music- meeting in Lisbon	
4.1. Contemporary migration in Portugal- a summary	78
4.2. The adoption of “Nova Lei da Nacionalidade” (Lei Ôrganica 2/2006 de 17 de Abril)	81
4.3. Migration management and recent cultural policies in Lisbon	84

4.4.	<i>Festival Todos-Caminhada de Culturas:</i> multiculturalism and urban renewal	87
4.5.	<i>Orquestra Todos:</i> the adoption of the multi-ethnic orchestra 'Italian model'	92
4.5.1.	From L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio to <i>Orquestra Todos</i> (OT)	94
4.6.	"Good practices": music and migration in Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian's cultural programmes	104
4.6.1.	Music education and social commitment: <i>Orquestra Geração</i>	106
4.7.	Music and migration: the "musical citizenship" concept	109
4.8.	Other instances of intercultural exchanges in Lisbon	113
4.8.1	<i>Sons da Lusofonia:</i> musical union, identity and colonial past	113
4.8.2.	<i>Orquestra Transcultural Latinidade:</i> a meeting experience promoted by Italian musicians	116

Introduction

‘Musicisti che provengono da dieci paesi e parlano nove lingue diverse. Insieme, trasformano le loro variegata radici e culture in una lingua singola, la musica.’¹

This is how L’Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio (OPV) introduce themselves on their own website: as a music project internationally renowned both for their refined and original repertoire and for their highly valuable message of intercultural exchange and integration, which the group has been putting forward, to date, for fifteen years:

L’orchestra promuove la ricerca e l’integrazione di repertori musicali diversi e spesso sconosciuti al grande pubblico, costituendo anche un mezzo di recupero e di riscatto per musicisti stranieri che vivono a Roma a volte in condizioni di emarginazione culturale e sociale.²

Perhaps those who have watched the eponymous ‘*L’Orchestra Di Piazza Vittorio*’, a 2006 film directed by Agostino Ferrente recounting the birth of this successful artistic venture, will remember the sequences where Mario Tronco, the Orchestra director, is riding his Vespa scooter around the streets of Rome, desperately searching for migrant musicians to invite to his local multicultural orchestra. Those meaningful scenes, which bring to mind Nanni Moretti’s famous ‘Rome-centric’ movies (Favero 2009), helpfully frame the artistic project underlying the orchestra’s foundation within a specific historical, geographical and political moment.

Indeed, OPV started during a time of mobilization to rescue the Cinema Apollo, a well-established local institution at risk of becoming a betting hall. Musicians, artists and local intellectuals thought it necessary to encourage dialogue between the growing migrant population and local Romans. L’Orchestra Di Piazza Vittorio was then established in 2002 as part of a project promoted by Associazione Apollo 11 to revamp the Rione Esquilino in Rome: to date, it is the first and only orchestra constituted thanks to the self-taxation of citizens. In time, it would create jobs and allow musicians from different countries and cultures to be granted a working visa in Italy³.

¹ ‘Musicians from ten different countries who speak nine different languages. Together, they merge their diverse roots and cultures into one single item: music’. From www.orchestrapiazzavittorio.it - retrieved on 2 October 2017 (own translation).

² The orchestra supports the research and integration of diverse and often little-known musical repertoire and it represents a means for the rehabilitation of foreign musicians living in Rome in cultural and social isolation - *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*

The story of OPV is steeped in the social and political context that characterised the Esquilino area, Rome and Italy as a whole during the early 2000's. The Orchestra's foreign musicians, who are currently all properly hired working members with contracts, arrived in the country during the first migratory wave that came over Italy and other Southern European countries in the early 1990's, leading to demographic shifts that brought about significant cultural and urban adaptations.

Other cities started picking up on what was happening in Rome: multi-ethnic orchestras, bands or choirs were formed elsewhere in the country, quickly leading to the spread of this 'all-Italian phenomenon'⁴ all over the peninsula, reaching an apex in 2012, when there were 'in tutto centottanta musicisti, provenienti da ventotto paesi diversi, per un totale di quindici band all'attivo in tutto il territorio, e questo fa dell'Italia la nazione in Europa con la maggior presenza di bande multietniche'⁵ (Fiore 2012: 12).

In fact, Italian multi-ethnic orchestras can be found in all parts of the country, from North to South: I shall mention at least the presence of an ensemble in Turin, two in Milan, one in Genoa, no less than five in Rome, one in Arezzo, one in Naples and two in Lecce⁶. Some of these groups have only been active in the past few years while others have recently ceased their activities. Although such phenomenon has steadily and widely taken place in the last fifteen years, it is still lacking proper recognition, in spite of its diverse representations in various cities in the country.

All musicians performing in the ensembles surveyed here talk of their groups as 'bridges' between the many different kinds of music found in the Mediterranean. Whilst true, such assessment points out to only part of these groups' socio-cultural identity: these bands are both advocates and messengers for those who play this music and live, more or less permanently, in a specific city neighbourhood or area. Their aim is to go beyond an initial aural or visual approach, striving to subsume change as a dynamic and potentially creative process – the efficacy of which

⁴ This observation was originally offered by journalist Vladimiro Polchi in an article first published on Repubblica.it on 14 September 2012. – cf. www.repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2012/09/14/orchestra-multi-etniche.html.

⁵ 'a total of 180 musicians from 28 different countries playing in 15 active bands, making Italy the European nation with the highest number of multi-ethnic groups' (own translation).

⁶ The bands referenced are, in order: Orchestra di Porta Palazzo, Orchestra di Via Padova e Orchestra dei Popoli Vittorio Baldoni, Banda di Piazza Caricamento, Med Free Orchestra, L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio, Piccola Orchestra di Tor Pignattara, Orchestra delle donne del 41° Parallelo, Takadum Orchestra, Orchestra Multietnica di Arezzo, Orchestra Multietnica Mediterranea, Banda Adriatica and Orchestra Popolare di Via Leuca. Mention should also be made of two important multi-ethnic choirs: Voci dal Mondo from Venice and Mestre and coro multietnico 'Romolo Balzani' from Rome.

manifests in an environment that evolves rapidly, in the residents' ethnic make-up and cultures hosted – and to imagine 'new settings' that may not only become useful for practical, everyday activities but also symbolically and emotionally, where the heritage of the country of origin may be preserved and where unusual settings may be 'created', to experiment with new spaces and manners of coexistence and integration.

The 'new' place which eventually takes shape has social connotations too, as meetings happen out of curiosity towards new forms of expression and people share the common goal of attempting to represent the city's everyday essence and all cultural diversities which cross it and characterise it. These exchanges are primarily guided by the urge to share knowledge, emotions and personal stories, aiming to create something new by various means, for example by improvising using practices and musical styles brought by participants, thus enhancing the background and all-round personal knowledge of each musician involved. The music itself prominently features such differences: specific elements and structures are mixed after mutual listening, and the integration of disparate elements does not only reflect geographic or cultural heterogeneity – emphasized by the term 'multi-ethnic', employed by all groups – but also relational, social and civic, representing the complex human reality found in neighbourhoods, cities and contemporary Italy as a whole.

Object of study, methodology and theoretical framework

With this study I shall attempt a census and an analysis on the recent multi-ethnic orchestras phenomenon that has taken place in a number of Southern European countries. To delineate ethnographic aspects I have focused on results obtained by gathering data in Tuscany, Italy and Portugal, employing these three areas as a useful benchmark.

Firstly, I have analysed transnational migration flows. The reorganization of the global economy and the establishment of a new geopolitical and social order, as configured towards the end of the cold war, has increased the circulation of people, capital, ideas, images, goods and services. At the same time, the emergence of a new global reality characterised by the increasing speed of people flows has resulted in phenomena of ‘dislocation’ and ‘de-territorialization’, which then tend to ‘re-territorialize’ and ‘re-localize’ again (Hannerz 2001; Giddens 1994; Appadurai 1990 and 1996). These processes have had a dramatic impact: they have manifested themselves very quickly within the urban context of big European cities, where people of different cultures and origins have relocated in the outskirts of metropolitan areas, somehow localizing the global world in a specific neighbourhood, which is often partially segregated. (Borjia, Castello 2002).

This new social fabric is clearly antithetical to the unitary, homogenous model which held a dominant role in the 19th and 20th centuries, during the constitution of ‘Nation-States’ whose founding principles lay in uniformity around a ‘culture’, a hegemonic language and fixed, unmoveable borders. Contemporary processes of globalization, coupled with the increase of migratory flows, have decisively altered the economic and social shape of some European states as a consequence of decolonization processes; since the 1960’s and 1970’s these countries have had to adjust to an ethnically heterogeneous reality and adopt policies of recognition and integration of cultural diversities. Subsequently, the matter of managing ‘multicultural societies’ (a term that gained great currency towards the end of the 1980’s) became increasingly urgent within major European countries: these can be described as sections of society where several communities, possibly even widely different between each other, coexist and, in spite of mutual exchanges, still manage to keep their own peculiarities (Bauman 2007).

Within this framework, Italy, Portugal and all other Southern European countries, which have traditionally been considered territories with high levels of outward

migration, turned, since the end of the 1970's, into countries characterised by high levels of inward migration. Contrary to 'old immigration' Central-Northern European countries (Perna 2015), Italy has distinguished itself for its high level of ethnic 'polycentrism' (Schmoll 2006), meaning the high diversity rate of immigrants' origins. In Southern European countries, policies aimed at regulating migration and favouring integration occasionally share similar features, especially when emphasis is put on the rhetoric assessing border control and on the fight against illegal immigration when it's not accompanied by adequate programmes for the effective management of incoming flows. Contextually, integration policies are often scantily developed and very fragmented, reproducing the innate fragility of these countries' welfare systems (Caponio 2010).

Therefore I have chosen to focus mainly on two areas of paramount importance for the case studies analysed: firstly, the management of migratory phenomena; secondly, the policies devised to handle both integration and the challenges to multicultural societies as dealt with by the regional Tuscany administration and later by the Lisbon city council. The present research outlines affinities and differences on the nature of nationalities attested, the motives for their stay and reception and integration policies undertaken by local authorities. In all contexts I have focused on social, artistic and cultural initiatives regarded as 'good practices' by national institutions and promoted by local authorities and subjects from the world of associations: specifically, actions which may decisively facilitate meetings and exchanges, promote intercultural dialogue and overcome 'marginalization' and 'stigmatization' of foreign communities living on the territory.

In Italy, migration is strongly regionalized. As a consequence, dynamics of integration of migrant communities within the urban fabric and the factual enactment of policies of reception and integration can only be understood from the viewpoint of the varied local and regional systems. As for the normative, legislative and strictly socio-political aspects, this study relies largely on data gathering carried out in Tuscany on regional legislation, complying with the specific request of the university programme 'Pegaso' to detect aspects, practices and cultural facts registered in the Tuscan area.

I have also attempted to chart the various stages of the legal proceedings that foreign citizens in Tuscany need to go through, clarifying the different phases of reception and the main features of the 'Tuscan model', meaning the whole of the legislative

acts, regulations and plans implemented at local level aiming to achieve effective integration of foreign communities (Pirni 2012). The result is the recent model of ‘scattered reception’, whose strength comes primarily from its ‘small-scale’ dimension and the right of asylum seekers to be sheltered.⁷

From now on the term ‘asylum seeker’ will be employed for a specific category of migrants, specifically all those who, after leaving their country of origin and submitting an asylum application, are still waiting an official answer from the authorities of the hosting country about having their status recognised as ‘refugee’. ‘Refugee’ is the legally recognised status accorded to persons who have left their own country because of the attested risk of being persecuted on the grounds of their race, religion, nationality, sexual orientation and political affiliation, therefore seeking and applying for asylum in a foreign country⁸. A refugee may also be someone who has had to leave their own country for reasons as varied as war, poverty, famine or natural disasters, despite not meeting the necessary requirements for being granted international protection.

The present survey integrates data from the Caritas-Migrantes dossier (www.caritasambrosiana.it) and from *Dossier Statistici Immigrazione* (‘Statistical Immigration Dossiers’ - www.dossierimmigrazione.it) to get a broader picture on the Italian inward migration phenomenon which has led to the constitution of foreign communities in the last fifteen years. As for details on the Tuscan case, I have relied on the *Profilo Sociale Regionale* (‘Regional Social Profile’) and on *Profili dell’Immigrazione Straniera* (‘Profiles of Foreign Migration’) both published by *Osservatorio Sociale Regionale - Rete degli Osservatori Sociali Provinciali* and available on the official website for the Regional Council of Tuscany (www.regione.toscana.it). These have proved quite useful as they also feature up-to-date regulations concerning foreign presence and interventions undertaken by local authorities to foster social inclusion and integration.

To review both the complex voluntary world and musical interventions carried out locally and promoted by local authorities, I have privileged documentation published

⁷ SPRAR projects in Tuscany are an example of such structures: www.sprar.it.

⁸ The status of ‘refugee’ was defined by the Geneva Convention in 1951 and was ratified by 145 ONU member states. Italy acknowledged this definition in its law n.722, dating 24 July 1954: ‘Ratifica ed esecuzione della Convenzione relativa allo statuto dei rifugiati, firmata a Ginevra il 28 luglio 1951’. The full text can be found at www.normattiva.it/uri-res/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:legge:1954-07-24;722

by the charitable association Centro Servizi Volontariato Toscana (www.cesvot.it) and by ANCI's local Tuscan branch (<http://www.ancitoscana.it/>).

In Portugal, I have researched the processes directing multicultural interaction: starting from a general framework relative to contemporary migration phenomena, I have charted the normative evolution of regularisation laws concerning foreign citizens (Baldwin- Edwards e Kraler 2009; Healy 2011) and the enactment of the 'Nova Lei de Nacionalidade' ('New Citizenship Bill')⁹.

In other sections I have analysed the debate on the management of a 'multicultural society' and of cultural policies in the Lisbon city district, focusing on the actions undertaken to foster integration and social cohesion of foreign communities and ethnic minorities. Lisbon citizens have come to regard their city as a cosmopolitan place open to transits and flows between different cultures and experiences, where cultural diversity is also an educational opportunity for its local administration (Fonseca 2002; Fonseca e Goracci 2007; Menezes 2011). The Portuguese capital adheres to the Intercultural Cities programme, which is promoted by the Council of Europe and supports the implementation of local initiatives to manage diversities; it also provides local authorities with a methodology to implement innovative intercultural integration policies and tools for analysis and evaluation¹⁰.

Data gathering for Portugal was largely based on its relevant Bibliography and Webliography: I consulted data supplied by the *Diagnóstico da População imigrante em Portugal* and by the *Observatório da Imigração e do Diálogo Intercultural* (www.om.acm.gov.pt). I also referred to thematic studies on the management of migratory phenomena and studies on regulations concerning the management of cultural diversities published by the governmental agency *Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural (ACIDI)*. The *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa* (www.cm-lisboa.pt/) supplied information on the specific Lisbon case.

The multi-ethnic orchestra phenomenon is regarded as one of the musical and artistic occurrences that contributed most significantly to the debate on social changes affecting Italy as a result of contemporary migrations (Marcuse 2007, in Gavazzo et

⁹ Lei Órgânica 2/2006 de 17 de Abril; the full text of the *Lei da Nacionalidade* and its normative framework can be consulted at <https://portal.oa.pt/comunicacao/noticias/2006/04/19/lei-da-nacionalidade/>.

¹⁰ More details on the Lisbon profile included in the Intercultural Cities programme can be consulted at <https://rm.coe.int/1680482a42>.

al. 2016). The process of setting up a multi-ethnic orchestra is part of a wider institutional discourse, where collective musical activity is employed as an effective strategy to support and foster cultural diversity: a necessity for the development of contemporary multicultural cities (Guilbault 2011).

The circumstances that made possible the birth and the expansion of this musical phenomenon were taken into account in all contexts analysed here: I've sought to highlight the Arts' great potential in exerting a positive influence on the renovation of city areas and neighbourhoods characterised by high levels of urban decay (Guilbault 1997; Turino 1993). Within this framework, making music and performative practices can become tools to strengthen ties between 'new residents' and the locals, improving the local population's perception of the 'foreigner' (Martiniello and Lafleur 2008), whilst at the same time encouraging reflection on the condition of migrants themselves, who perform music as a way to assert their own identity in the hosting country by including shared experiences of travelling, adaptation and exclusion in their output (Stokes 1994).

Thus, the creation of new music that reflects the meeting of different cultures takes on the aspect of confrontation and exchange among different dimensions, aiming to recognise and reconstitute new identity arrangements (Baily e Collier 2006).

A theoretical benchmark proved necessary when attempting a definition of some categories found in the specific bibliography, such as 'world music', 'folk', 'popular music', cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism or multi-ethnicity.

In this study, the various local musical traditions, as well as the outcomes of hybridization and revival – which shall be analysed as representative of widely different and distant cultures – have been labelled 'world music', indicating both the ideal catalogue of local musical traditions and of contemporary 'fusion' practices. I believe this is the most adequate term to represent such a wide variety of styles, practices, knowledge, stories, personalities, groups, products and habits that, by now, have been largely attested in musicological works.

At the same time I have also attempted to explain a number of processes such as those of musical hybridization, of the construction of transnational identities and of 'musical citizenship' (O'Toole 2014; Stokes 2017). The latter label, which has recently entered Ethnomusicology, Sociology and Anthropology literature and which

includes new citizenship models in relation to the social inclusion and adaptation of transiting peoples, is mainly found within studies dedicated to music teaching theory, where teaching music is considered a necessary procedure by which to re-construct the cultural identity of new generations caught within a specific context (Morris 2004).

Fieldwork: methodology and research

Overall, two years were spent conducting fieldwork. Data gathering in Portugal lasted for six months, coinciding with the time frame allotted by the European Ph.D. 'Pegaso' programme, whose schedule includes a period of study and research abroad. I also went on brief stays in other relevant centres of study for 'migrant' music elsewhere in Europe for further research.

After getting in contact with musicians and organizers, fieldwork was carried out fulfilling the following points:

- 1) Mapping of orchestras and bands active in Italy. The survey was organized in three separate categories: active Italian orchestras, recently dissolved orchestras or that structurally modified their line-up and ensembles established during the last three years, whose numbers are lower than other groups cited.

The survey included orchestras that are stable, ephemeral, other-directed, those constituted by professionals and those made of 'amateurs', groups where the didactic aspect was more pronounced and, lastly, groups that include second-generation foreign minors, refugees and asylum seekers hosted in reception centres.

- 2) Mapping of multi-ethnic choirs in Italy, which can be found in several cities although in lesser numbers than orchestras: the largest, longest-standing and better-known are active in Rome and Venice. I have then analysed related contexts such as promotion and institutional connections.
- 3) Conducting interviews and making audio/video recordings, which helped to trace the professional history and in some cases the interpersonal relations of some of the main actors in this framework such as promoters, orchestra and choir directors, organizers, producers and of course both migrant and non-migrant musicians.

- 4) Undertaking participant observation of orchestras', choirs' and bands' live performances in festivals and concerts whose purpose was the advocacy of dialogue with migrant communities in Italy. Among these: *Festival au Désert* in Florence (www.festivalaudesertfirenze.com), *Festival Musicale del Mediterraneo* in Genoa (www.echoart.org), concerts and events organized by the local *Arci* branch in Milan which featured *L'Orchestra di Via Padova*, the *Festa delle Scuole Migranti* hosted at Città dell'Altra Economia in Rome, the festival *Roma Forestiera* which took place at the *Casa Internazionale delle Donne* in Rome (www.casainternazionalelledonne.org), the *Giornata Mondiale del Rifugiato* which featured Orchestra Multietnica di Arezzo, the award ceremony *MigrArti spettacolo – la cultura unisce* in Pistoia (www.migrarti.it), *Festival delle Colline* in Poggio a Caiano (www.festivaldellecolline.com), *Festival delle Culture* in Ravenna (www.festivaldelleculture.org), *YallaFest Festival dell'Intercultura* in Naples, the *Polifonie “in viva voce”* seminars directed by Maurizio Agamennone at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice (www.cini.it/events/polifonie-in-viva-voce-18), the international seminar *XX Seminario Internazionale di etnomusicologia “Le tradizioni musicali fra documenti, patrimoni e nuove creatività”* coordinated by Francesco Giannattasio at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice (www.cini.it/events/xx-seminario-internazionale-etnomusicologia).
- 5) Data gathering in Portugal, with a specific focus on Lisbon and its multi-ethnic orchestras inspired by the Italian model as exemplified by OPV. I have researched the experiences of 'music-meeting' connected to identity issues as well as musical projects promoted at institutional level to integrate cultural diversity and the renovation of specific city neighbourhoods. As with other instances I have conducted interviews and made audio-video recordings of musicians from Italy, Portugal and other countries, as well as of organizers, managers, university lecturers and music education projects coordinators.
- 6) In Portugal, my survey has privileged some independent cultural organizations related to multicultural orchestras that have contributed to the spread of cultural, artistic and musical offer on the territory such as *Associação Sons da Lusofonia* (www.sonsdalusofonia.com), *Associação Solidariedade Imigrante* (www.solimigrante.org) and *Festival Todos – Caminhada de Culturas* (www.festivaltodos.com). Each year, these organizations promote the *Festival*

Lisboa Mistura and the eponymous *Festival Todos*, whose 2016 editions I attended both.

Within an academic environment, the present research has benefited from some important international conferences I have had the chance of attending, nominally: “Music and Human Mobility” (ICMHM’16) and “Protest Song and Social Change” (ICPSong’16), both coordinated by INET-MD *Instituto de Etnomusicologia – Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança* at the *Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa*.

- 7) At a European level, data gathering has mostly been limited to France and Germany and specifically to the *Festival Villes des Musiques du Monde* in Aubervilliers (www.villesdesmusiquesdumonde.com), and to the Centre for World Music, which is located within the University of Hildesheim in Germany and which hosts important testimonies, instruments and recordings, an audio archive and one of the largest collections of musical instruments in Europe (www.uni-hildesheim.de/center-for-world-music). As for other European experiences, the survey has mostly developed on a ‘netnographic’ and bibliographic basis, where the writing has developed around the general interpretation of broad outlines.
- 8) Orchestras, choirs and bands were monitored through the Internet and the most important virtual platforms such as social networking websites. These resources are constantly updated by organizers and the directors themselves, thus represent a great aid for the quick retrieval of information, news and journalistic reports on concerts, festivals and public events. Such channels made it possible to interact in a quicker manner with musicians and to gather interviews, sheet music, pictures, videos and other promotional material.
- 9) So as to analyse the institutional, political and public information on multiculturalism and on the role of musical practices within intercultural debate, data gathering was carried out at the premises of some important academic organizations and cultural enterprises known for popularising ‘world music’ and for their studies on migrant music in Italy. Among these are the sound, video and book archive *Musica dei Popoli* in Florence, the *Circolo Gianni Bosio* and the sound archive *Franco Coggiola* in Rome, the *Castello d’Albertis Museum of World Cultures* in Genoa, the *Centro Studi post-coloniali e di Genere* at the Università degli Studi L’Orientale in Naples and the *Giorgio Cini Onlus* Foundation in Venice.

For what concerns Portugal, this study was significantly supported by INET-MD *Instituto de Etnomusicologia – Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança, Universidade Nova de Lisboa – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas*, which was of great assistance in getting me in contact with both migrant and non-migrant musicians, promoters and researchers and scholars committed to studying the links between music and migration. The survey undertaken at the globally renowned *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* was equally fruitful, as it cyclically sets up specific cultural programmes aimed at encouraging integration of more vulnerable subjects and categories such as the *Programa Gulbenkian de Desenvolvimento Humano*, the *Programa Gulbenkian Próximo Futuro 2009-2011* and the *Projeto Geração/Oportunidade*.

The research was led by a fact-finding quest aiming to delineate the relational practices among musicians, their approach to performative practices and the modalities by which intercultural meetings that directly involve people, cultural backgrounds and musical styles take place. Special attention was paid to musicians' practical actions and thoughts, to their musical education, to processes of negotiation and exchange between performers of different origins when caught in new migration frameworks, to transformations occurring to music performed and to its eventual consumption by the audience. Relationships between musicians, the nature of transient or more stable leaderships, dealings established with managers and cultural operators and lastly audience participation within all cases observed were also accounted for.

Concurrently, I have focused on the differences between professional musicians – where 'professional' is employed within a Western framework of meaning – and migrant musicians that, living in a new context, are forced to take on non-musical jobs, reducing time to dedicate to music, therefore having to turn it into an option to consider for their free time. I have attempted an analysis on how the combination of these factors impact on the music produced and, in this sense, I have considered selected elaboration procedures of the music performed taking place within performative practices analysed¹¹.

¹¹ Detailed musical analysis is beyond the scope of the present study; rather, the focus here is on the analysis of discourses made around music and on musical styles attempted and attested.

Ample space was given to the interaction between choir directors and the group, to the selection of repertoires and, finally, to musicians' and singers' personal stories and experiences, who saw in a career in music a significant way to redeem socially their status as migrant.

Fieldwork is a research method which enhances reflection and listening, allowing to deal with situations and matters so as to relay them in all their complexity, inducing further reflexions, conjectures and reworkings (Gobbo 1998). When choosing this stimulating and complex methodology, researchers take on a central role: they become the most important research tool, aiming to report reality as it is found within the context observed, to tell facts as they happen and give an account on the structure of interactions among actors.

The goal of an ethnographic research is to furnish an accurate description of an event or a situation, applying direct observation and a deeper understanding of the participants' point of view. However, while conducting ethnographic fieldwork, the researcher needs to keep in mind that methods initially decided upon and the objectives leading the research may ultimately be either frustrated or partially or completely modified by subsequent developments.

Researching has not been exempt from several difficulties, starting from the actual availability of orchestras and bands: at times, it was not possible to establish contact with them, either via phone or email. Often, I travelled to other cities to meet musicians and observe rehearsals, only to discover upon arrival that they had not turned up, therefore making it necessary to reschedule the appointment. Such incidents took place with orchestras in Naples, Rome, Genoa and Milan. To counter this, directors invited me to come back to attend specific public events such as concerts, festivals or other celebrations when musicians' presence would be assured.

The issues arising from conducting urban ethnography are consistent, as musicians are often involved in many artistic ventures or have other working commitments; in other cases they may be constantly moving or live in areas difficult to reach. Such environments are markedly different from those exemplified by small rural communities, where the researcher can easily establish a meaningful relationship with the locals. Multi-ethnic groups, which are composed of migrant, cosmopolitan musicians, get together sporadically and at short notice. Often rehearsals take place on the day before the concert if not on the day itself, when groups go through their whole repertoire before going on stage. Therefore, it has not been particularly easy or

occasionally even possible to delve in depth in the daily lives of either the subjects' or the groups' studied so as to report events taking place there and then, trying to take into account bonds and possibilities offered by other subjects not directly involved in interactions: such was the geographically complex and extensive nature of the fieldwork presented here.

Nonetheless, during these two years of active research it has been possible to gather significant data relative to field interactions, making it possible to reconstruct personal and shared perceptions, to analyse critical situations, to map out profiles and identify the reasons for the enactment of the practices described.

In Portugal, data gathering was performed according to specific object studies, highlighting peculiarities, objectives, similarities and divergences. The Portuguese framework proved to be particularly fruitful, in that it was possible to ascertain a concrete case of gemination of the Italian model of multi-ethnic orchestra: Orquestra Todos (OT). Openly inspired by L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio, it was formed after a significant push by important city institutions such as the *Câmara de Lisboa/Gabinete Lisboa Encruzilhada de Mundos*, the *Academia de Produtores Culturais* and the *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian*.

Roman conductors Mario Tronco and Pino Pecorelli were later involved and worked in Lisbon for more than a year, replicating the modalities they had already put into practice in Rome to search and select suitable foreign musicians available in the city, and then conducting auditions. To clarify to the fourteen musicians selected the nature of the project, they were shown Agostino Ferrente's documentary *L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio*, one further reference to the Roman orchestra and to the stated intention of replicating its successful experience.

It was interesting to observe that although musicians frequently lead a fast, frenetic life, making it necessary for them to adjust to widely different environments, they still manage to increase their professional competences by continuing their academic studies. Among OT members are professional musicians who have pursued degrees in *Ciências Musicais*, while others are currently attending a Ph.D. in Musicology or Ethnomusicology.

At the same time I also learnt that many musicians succeeded in gaining full citizenship status thanks to their Lusophone roots: being originally from former Portugal colonies somehow smoothed the regularisation process. Conversely, this

pattern seems alien to Italy: some foreign musicians such as OPV members have been given honorary citizenship but this falls short of gaining full citizenship. In spite of being born in Italy to migrant parents, the young members of Piccola Orchestra di Tor Pignattara are themselves considered ‘foreign citizens’: their latest musical output therefore bears testimony to their outspoken support for the *jus soli* parliamentary bill (a proposal aiming to grant citizenship to all those who were born on Italian soil), and to communicating to the wider population the message that music may foster new ways to coexist between locals and new citizens.

The Orquestra Todos experience confirms the Italian character of the multi-ethnic orchestra phenomenon, which arose as a consequence of strong migratory waves that have characterised big urban areas in Southern Europe. During my research I ascertained that many of these orchestras were put together, motivated and spurred on by artists (such as OPV’s Mario Tronco, former pianist of the very popular Piccola Orchestra Avion Travel) who happened to live in the most multi-ethnic neighbourhoods of various Italian cities, and managed to assemble migrants that had a solid musical foundation, whom through the orchestras found a way to prove their professionalism. Thanks to the role played by local councils many orchestras, as well as choirs and bands, have progressively become ‘an important offering on the territory’ capable of operating, through community development, in those fragile and delicate inner city areas most impacted by cultural, relational and structural changes. Many experiments were started with the intention of giving people from different countries, cultures and languages a chance to meet. Just as people go through the experience of being either migrant or emigrant, likewise those who join musical groups can go through the experience of meeting others - where ‘meeting people’ is the social process that makes such a project possible. Such meetings may occasionally endanger relations, but they can also outline a continuity relationship, which is different from that of a fixed group: continuity is established at a transversal level, within people experiencing it. Lastly, it could be said that the importance of this experience does not derive from displaying nostalgic feelings resulting from migration and either leaving behind or losing the native cultural environment; rather, it is the will to affirm and build a new identity. In contemporary Italy, which as stated previously is a country characterised by significant migratory flows, it would be highly desirable to witness the spread of multi-ethnic experiences employing

music to voice the certainty that social integration is possible, aiming to newly discover their own culture and that of the hosting country.

I first became interested in migrant music while working as an organizer of musical events as part of a traineeship within my Masters Degree in Performing Arts, where I specialised in Entertainment, Music and Art production ('Pro.S.M.Art – Produzione di Spettacolo, Musica e Arte): between 2010 and 2012 I had the chance of being part of the staff for the Festival au Désert/Presenze d'Africa in Florence, where I was in charge of the reception of host musicians and the organization of meetings and conferences, which took place immediately prior to music performances. Thus, I got in touch with African associations operating in Italy and I had the chance of inviting consuls and ambassadors of African countries most interested by the festival, namely Senegal, Morocco, Mali, Somalia, Republic of the Congo and Burkina Faso.

The most interesting part of my job was to take part in the development of a network of production and promotion of new creations, a process whereby the transmission of African music traditions met with the most innovative sounds and procedures from Europe and the West in general. We were able to ensure the participation of important African and European musicians, who shared their experiences and even involved artists from the Florence music scene. The main objective was, and still is, the research of a strongly multidisciplinary language that may stem from the promotion of civil coexistence and the affirmation of a peace culture capable of giving African migrants new chances to 'revolutionise and enrich' the cultural heritage of the hosting societies.

This formative experience sparked my interest in 'migrant' music, so much so that I continued studying and monitoring the numerous performative practices brought by migrant musicians. A deeper knowledge of the multi-faceted framework of multi-ethnic orchestras, bands and choirs has thus prompted me to investigate music-meetings that have taken place in the last fifteen years, as the outcome of specific historic and political circumstances.

It is reasonable and desirable to assume that the results of these three years of research may enrich contemporary studies on the use of conciliatory functions within musical practices and more generally of artistic and cultural expressions employed to

foster the integration process of migrants in a multicultural context¹². Such a heterogeneous mix of musicians represents a willing attempt to encourage new opportunities for the meeting of different cultures, and it may take on the features of both a debate and an exchange, eventually leading to the depiction of a new transnational musical identity: an artistic and physical meeting which brings to the streets new and complex challenges of inclusion, citizenship and peaceful coexistence.

¹² Some important world projects, such as UNESCO's *Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity*, *Womex- the World Music Expo* and the *Womad Festival (World of Music, Art and Dance)*, concentrate on the integration of migrant communities through different artistic disciplines.

Chapter 3

The multi-ethnic orchestra: a plausible model of social integration among musicians and host communities

3.1. Introduction: music and migration in a multicultural society

The last decades have witnessed profound and, at times, controversial and contradictory social changes in Italian society as a consequence of mass immigration. Italy entered such processes much more slowly compared to other major European countries, but then it quickly caught up, with over five million new citizens now making up more than 8% of the total population.¹

The impact of human migration was felt immediately in Italian urban environments, in a much quicker way than in other rural or provincial areas. People from different countries settled in city neighbourhoods and the ‘global world’, in a way, became local in specific areas, which often meant they were partially segregated from the rest of the city (Borja, Castells 2002).

It could be argued that the mingling of people of different origins might lead to sheer juxtapositions, particularly when the contrast between old and new citizens is starker and foreign communities are confined to run-down areas. In actual fact, new citizens integrated into the urban fabric, changing some of its features, taking over whole areas and in some cases even creating new cities (Coppola in Brusa, 1999).

Processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization (Giddens, 1994) can therefore signal the abandonment of urban spaces by their original inhabitants and their symbolic and material acquisition by immigrant communities.

Thus, traditionally working class areas such as Porta Palazzo in Turin, Via Padova in Milan or Torpignattara and Esquilino in Rome have now become areas of settlement for immigrants. Urban conglomerations that host ethnic markets, mosques and

¹ www.istat.it - 16 October 2017.

formal or informal retail outlets have gradually acquired great significance for immigrant communities, which in Italy are particularly varied in terms of origins and nature.

Contemporary cities are characterised by the increasing coexistence of different cultural identities, lifestyles and aspirations (Schmoll, 2006).

Five million immigrants have become a new reality in Italy and their stable presence, apart from its effect on society and the economy, has started influencing art and culture in its broader sense.

There are now many places where migrant communities can get together – and where indigenous cultures meet other cultures. This has also led to a radical change in the way and the manner in which music is performed in urban environments.

The processes that have been taking place in Italy during the last fifteen years have persuaded scholars and musicians alike to start assembling stories and music from different parts of the world. Musicians, promoters and people from the associations' world have combined their expertise to research migrants' music and stories in the streets, in ceremonies and celebrations in religious places, in schools and in places where people socialize with each other.

Intercultural and music workshops have started in many Italian cities. Some of them have later become orchestras, choirs and bands. In these cultural circles musical practices are regarded as the means by which to bring about integration to ultimately tear down linguistic, cultural and ethnic barriers.

In most cases the musical activities that take place in multi-ethnic orchestras are promoted and financially supported by local authorities and cultural institutions, as music is seen as a purveyor of intercultural communication, helping foreign communities to become acquainted with their Italian neighbours. For local councils, multi-ethnic orchestras themselves may foster the creation of social unity, showing to participants, musicians and the audience how they are all part of a multicultural, peaceful, sympathetic and egalitarian community (Taffon, 2011), even though this idealised image often contrasts greatly with the social predicament of these large urban conglomerations as they are usually portrayed, especially in the media.

In this context, the conception and establishment of multi-ethnic orchestras are part of a process of urban regeneration of areas where the presence of migrant communities is perceived strongly, and as practices they help to contrast instances of

urban decay and allow the delicate process of integration within the territory and its social context.

The beginnings of this lucky experiment can be traced to the early 2000s and specifically to 2002, which was the founding year of *L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio*, the first great globally famous Italian multi-ethnic orchestra, a paragon of intercultural dialogue and of research and integration of diverse musical repertoires.

This chapter contains an overview of multi-ethnic orchestras, choirs and bands currently active in Italy as well as some experiences recently discontinued. This survey is the result of an accurate ethnographic research which I have carried out in the years 2015-2016 by mapping actively working groups, starting from Rome – which hosts the greatest number of such groups – and continuing with other cities north and south of the country.

I will consider the cultural and social context that made possible the formation of the main orchestras, whose development and achievements will be fully recounted; particular care has been taken on elucidating the musicians' thinking and their actions, their musical education, the processes of interaction in the migration context and their adjustment to performative practices and production. In this scenario, multi-ethnic orchestras are a privileged vantage point from which to assess the transformation of identity natures relative to music and contemporary intercultural processes.

3.2. L' Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio: birth and history of the first Italian multi-ethnic orchestra

Immigrants have long been a steady fixture of the Roman citizenry, the city landscape providing ample proof by featuring symbolic sites such as synagogues, mosques, churches and associations where foreigners can meet and be surrounded by physical representations of their own cultures.

Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, in the Rione Esquilino, is a square at the centre of one of the areas where migrants' presence has become particularly visible, impacting

radically on the area itself and the way it is perceived. In its streets and buildings, Italians and immigrants of all ages and their children mingle with each other; this diversity is reflected by the composition of the diverse cultural subjects who engage daily in social relations, in shops, at public celebrations or at demonstrations (Taffon, 2011).

Piazza Vittorio has a long historical tradition of welcoming foreigners, dating back to 1871, the year of the Piazza's conception by King Vittorio Emanuele II di Savoia – who was from Piedmont, a northern 'foreigner' in the Centre-South of a recently-united Italy; that was also the year when the capital of the Kingdom of Italy moved from Turin to Rome. Back then the area was subjected to extensive property speculation. In later years, specifically in the post-WWII period, the Esquilino area became known mainly for its *mercato rionale* (local market), among the largest markets in central Rome. Due to a big recession in the 1990's, many Roman shopkeepers had to leave their premises, which were then bought by Chinese tradesmen or rented to North-African or Bengali immigrants (Favero, 2009).

Through the years, the market has become a place for trade and intercultural exchanges between locals and foreigners, as well as between foreigners themselves (Taffon, 2011)². Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II is also physically close to the central railway station Roma Termini, which further explains its 'low' reputation among Roman citizens, apart from it being at the centre of the significant flow of immigrants that have crossed and are still crossing the *rione* (Favero, 2009).

Since the end of the Eighties, the Esquilino has been the primary meeting place for migrants of different extractions. According to a report by *Caritas Migrante* and *l'Osservatorio Romano della Migrazione*, in 2005 only 33% of the residents was a native speaker of Italian, and 8.000 out of 40.000 residents were born in other countries³.

The arrival of many foreigners coming from all over the world and the resulting social and cultural changes are among the reasons for the *rione's* local fame. Anthropologist Pierluigi Taffon argues that

² In 2001 the market moved to the "Nuovo Centro Esquilino" near Piazza Vittorio. This has improved both the market's and the *Piazza's* general hygiene, thanks also to the renovation of the public gardens (www.mercatidiroma.com/nuovo-mercato-esquilino-ex-piazza-vittorio/esquilino 10 July 2017).

³ www.dossierimmigrazione.it retrieved on 20 July 2017.

La realtà sociale dell'Esquilino è diventata il primo riferimento delle autorità cittadine per comprendere la società multiculturale, dove il termine *multiculturale* ha assunto un significato meramente descrittivo, mentre un altro concetto, quello di *interculturale*, è stato elaborato allo scopo di evidenziare la dimensione dello scambio tra soggetti culturali diversi. Nell'ambito della politica locale, dalla fine degli anni Novanta fino al 2008, il contesto di Piazza Vittorio è divenuto pertanto il *laboratorio* del centro-sinistra dove testare le politiche locali per l'interculturale e osservare la società multiculturale (Taffon, 2011: 74)⁴.

Piazza Vittorio then becomes the symbol of a multicultural society, both for those who promote and have a positive outlook on the presence of diverse cultural subjects and intercultural meeting and for those who object to such changes in society.

Some of the locals have been arguing for some time that the *rione* is in a state of decay because it has been 'invaded' by foreigners and tramps loitering about, and that regeneration of the square is long overdue⁵.

During the early 2000's, the Centre-Left council led policies aimed at improving significantly the negative outlook that Romans had on the Esquilino, by renovating the area and promoting public meetings between migrants and Italians, in an attempt to ease tensions within the neighbourhood (Taffon, 2011).

The association Apollo 11 was set up as such debates on regeneration were taking place. It started as a collective of local intellectuals and artists living in the *rione*, that in a bid to prevent the conversion of a local historical cinema called Cinema Apollo to a bingo hall organized many cultural events in its site and in the whole neighbourhood. Mario Tronco, a well-known musician and pianist for popular band *Piccola Orchestra Avion Travel* was among the association's members: he would go on to form and direct L'Orchestra Multietnica di Piazza Vittorio (OPV).

OPV is the first Italian orchestra that wasn't established within an institutional framework, but rather was promoted and supported by the citizens themselves. Thanks to the contribution of Roman residents, it also managed to create jobs and guarantee an adequate salary to all its excellent musicians, both immigrants and Italians. Moreover, the orchestra actively supported its musicians in their dealings

⁴ 'The social make-up of Esquilino has become the main reference for local authorities to understand the nature of a multicultural society, where the term 'multicultural' takes on a merely descriptive meaning, while a different concept called *interculture* has been developed to highlight the scale of the exchange between different cultural subjects. As for local politics, from the end of the 1990's to 2008 Piazza Vittorio has been the setting for the centre-left's local policy experiments in *interculture* and observation of the multicultural society'.

⁵ www.roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2017/02/02/news/roma_piazza_vittorio_terra_di_nessuno-157456216 - retrieved on 10 July 2017.

with bureaucracy: thus, many could successfully get work permits that allowed them to feel fully integrated within society, in spite of their not having acquired full citizenship yet⁶.

Mario Tronco said that:

L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio nasce grazie ad un profondo innamoramento per il territorio.

Vivevo a Piazza Vittorio da soli due mesi e un giorno, affacciandomi alla finestra incuriosito dai suoni che provenivano da fuori, mi sono fermato ad ascoltare un cantante algerino accompagnato da un chitarrista brasiliano. Non avevo mai visto né sentito una cosa simile. A distanza di alcune ore ho avuto la possibilità di ascoltare una ninna nanna cantata da una donna originaria del Pakistan. Da quel giorno è nata veramente l'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio. È una creazione sentimentale e romantica. Maturata con la convinzione che unire musica e culture diverse produce bellezza, ed era importante ribadirlo soprattutto l'anno successivo agli attentati alle torri Gemelle dell'undici settembre 2001 che sconvolsero il mondo.

Tuttavia, l'idea non è stata tanto importante quanto la partecipazione delle persone a realizzare, a promuovere e costruire la prima orchestra al mondo voluta e prodotta grazie all'auto-tassazione dagli abitanti del quartiere Esquilino di Roma.⁷

According to Mario Tronco, the most important outcome of the orchestra formation has been to persuade Italians and foreigners to speak to each other, to promote a new model of shared living and the building of a shared urban space.

The director's sentimental view of the orchestra, its musicians and their territory emerges in the documentary *L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio*, directed by Agostino Ferrente. Ferrente is one of the main members of the association *Apollo 11* and as such has followed closely its progress since its inception, charting its genesis within five years, from 2001 to 2006. Stylistically, the film is based on the observation of characters and places and features a voice-over that leads viewers in an actual road-movie set on the quarter's streets (Favero, 2009).

⁶ www.orchestrapiazzavittorio.it - retrieved on 13 July 2017.

⁷ Tronco, M. speaking at the *XX Seminario Internazionale di Etnomusicologia*, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 30 January 2015 – 'L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio was born out of deep love for the area. I had been living in Piazza Vittorio for only two months when one day I stopped by a window in my flat, intrigued by the sounds coming from outside: there were an Algerian singer accompanied by a Brazilian guitarist. I had never seen nor heard anything like it. A few hours later I heard a lullaby sung by a Pakistani lady. That is when L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio was born. It is a sentimental, romantic creation, nurtured by the belief that putting together different cultures and music creates something beautiful, and it was important to reiterate this the year after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers that shocked the world. However, it wasn't as much the idea as people's participation that mattered, their attempt to create, promote and build the first orchestra in the world, wanted and made possible through voluntary contributions by the residents of the *rione* Esquilino in Rome.'

The film reconstructs the historical context and the area's social tensions – which are elements conducive to the creation of an orchestra composed of immigrant citizens – and the process that led to the constitution and success of the band, amid many vicissitudes.

Footage of demonstrations bookends the film: in the first scene Roman residents are parading to protest against the 'invasion' of immigrants; by contrast, the closing scene gives some hope for the future, as marchers are in fact defending the migrants' rights (Favero 2009).

The association Apollo 11 first voiced publicly its artistic and musical aims at public debates that took place during demonstrations in the square. A march in protest of the fourth Berlusconi government and the introduction of a new law called 'Bossi-Fini', which made illegal immigration a criminal offence (law n.189 of 30 July 2002), saw Mario Tronco stand up in the middle of Piazza Vittorio to invite all foreign musicians who could sing, play an instrument or beat on a drum to join the new orchestra⁸.

Initially, Mario Tronco and his collaborators went looking for any musician living in the area: they went to shops run by Bengali, Pakistani and North African citizens, they distributed multi-lingual flyers in the main meeting places and generally made contact with various communities spreading the word.

Once they had found the right musicians they set up a rehearsal space in the basement of the Cinema Apollo, as their debut got closer. The first OPV concert took place on 24 November 2002 as part of the *RomaEuropa Festival* organized by RomaEuropa, one of the most prestigious European Foundations to promote the arts in all forms.

Many of the musicians introduced by the documentary are still currently playing in the orchestra: Houcine Ataa (Tunisia) on vocals, Emanuele Bultrini (Italy) on guitars, Giuseppe D'Argenzio (Italy) on saxophone and clarinet, Duilio Galioto (Italy) on keyboards, Sanjay Kansa Banik (India) on tablas, Awalys Ernesto Lopez Maturell (Cuba) on drums and percussions, Omar Lopez Valle (Cuba) on trumpet and flugelhorn, Kyung Mi Lee (South Korea) on cello, Carlos Paz Duque (Ecuador) on vocals and Andean flutes, El Hadji Yer Samb (Senegal) on vocals and percussions, Raul Scebba (Argentina) on percussions, Dially Mady Sissoko (Senegal) on vocals

⁸ From the documentary *L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio*, directed by Agostino Ferrente, 2006. The trailer is available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5jzl_oJccIo.

and kora, Ziad Trabelsi (Tunisia) on vocals and oud and lastly *maestros* Pino Pecorelli on upright bass and Leandro Piccioni on piano, who are the main creative and professional contributors to arrangements⁹.

During its many years of activity the OPV has released three CDs of original material. Many of its members, apart from being excellent musicians, have become established composers, started other groups and routinely set up music courses and workshops. For example Ziad Trabelsi, as already seen in the previous chapter, has collaborated with the *Festival au Desert/Presenze d’Africa* in Florence as coordinator of the workshop *Almarà - l’orchestra di donne arabe e del Mediterraneo*.

For approximately ten years OPV has mostly focused on creating, producing and staging their interpretation of some of the most popular classical operas, which they revisit through their ‘multi-ethnic’ lens in very complex productions that involve several interpreters, actors, musicians and dancers, featuring *auteur* scenography and original music.

Their famous rendition of Mozart’s The Magic Flute *Flauto Magico secondo l’Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio* has already had more than 150 performances and has been staged in all major European theatres, with positive critic and audience reception¹⁰.

The orchestra has also been touring, for about two years, their original staging of Bizet’s *Carmen*, directed by Mario Martone and co-produced by the *Fondazione del Teatro Stabile di Torino* and *Teatro di Roma*¹¹. Other notable productions include the self-produced *Il Giro del Mondo in Ottanta Minuti*¹², and their take on Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*, co-produced by the Accademia Filarmonica Romana and the Festival Les Nuits de Fourvière. In 2016 they also debuted their version of Stravinsky’s *L’histoire du soldat*¹³.

Credo, a 2016 production, features an original musical interpretation of an intercultural and interfaith dialogue. It is a multi-ethnic oratorio dedicated to

⁹ www.orchestrapiazzavittorio.it - retrieved on 13 July 2017.

¹⁰ <http://www.fermataspettacolo.it/teatro/il-flauto-magico-leggerezza-e-allegria-di-una-fiaba-senza-tempo> - retrieved on 13 July 2017.

¹¹ www.orchestrapiazzavittorio.it - retrieved on 13 July 2017.

¹² www.ilgrido.org/recensioni/il-giro-del-mondo-in-80-minuti - retrieved on 13 July 2017.

¹³ www.globalist.it/culture/articolo/201715/quot-histoire-du-soldat-quot-l-039-orchestra-di-piazza-vittorio-interpreta-il-capolavoro-di-stravinsky - retrieved on 13 July 2017.

collaboration, dialogue and tolerance between people that come from different religious backgrounds¹⁴.

Despite its rich activities, OPV does not refrain from engaging with its territory and its distinctive cultural elements.

Since 2015 the orchestra has been working on *L'Atlante di Piazza Vittorio - A scuola con l'OPV*, a music-based education project directed at schools located on the outskirts of Rome, in areas whose residents include high numbers of foreign students and where knowledge, dialogue and interaction between immigrants and Italians are essential for integration, especially in the school environment.

The first phase of *A scuola con l'OPV* includes a series of meetings conceived for primary and secondary school pupils. The format, which started on a trial basis, includes an innovative method of music teaching, in which artists tell both their personal story and the orchestra's, and introduce their approach to playing music and the origins of some world instruments.

The project is supported by the foundation *Terzo Pilastro - Italia Mediterraneo*, while the lessons are organized by the associations *Vagabundos* and *Musica e Altre Cose* with the contribution of Paco Cinematografica¹⁵.

One of the main reasons for OPV's international success lies in the detailed engineering of the whole project, which is composed of the most appropriate elements, as can be seen in the documentary as well: the director managed to get a contract for the orchestra's debut at *RomaEuropa Festival* even before completing the orchestra personnel, establishing a working ensemble and compiling a set list. This motivated the coordinators even further and reveals a central peculiarity: the multi-ethnic L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio is a successful, brilliant concept, perfectly planned with detail and precision. Mario Tronco has assembled some of the best professional musicians available, both Italian and foreign, as well as a few that have especially come from distant countries to join the orchestra. As performers they are a very tight unit, always mindful of the overall concept holding everything together which acts as reference pointing towards the next phase in terms of idea conception, orchestration and performance choices.

¹⁴ www.blogfoolk.com/2017/03/orchestra-di-piazza-vittorio-credo.html - retrieved on 13 July 2017.

¹⁵ www.orchestrapiazzavittorio.it/a-scuola-con-l-opv - retrieved on 13 July 2017.

In his review of the documentary the anthropologist Paolo Favero observes, rather sternly, that OPV does not seem to be a truly inclusive project, making a case for its irrelevance with regards to real integration processes:

Just as we see Mario Tronco on stage give directions to the musicians and somehow be the director of this multicultural collection of nationalities, so the film puts the lives of migrant artists to the service of our entertainment without offering us insights into the complicated legal and practical situations in which they are involved [...] Despite its original explicit wishes, the band has become trapped into representing otherness in front of mainly white middle-class audience (I have had the chance to notice how few migrants attend their concerts), rather than creating a bridge across categorisations of race ethnicity (Favero 2009: 349).

Conversely, it could be argued that it is not the musicians' responsibility to draft and implement effective integration policies. The nature of their target audience, labelled as 'white middle-class', is more to do with their need to sell tickets so as to ensure reasonable gains for its members than anything else.

Moreover, it should be remembered that OPV's real commitment towards integration comes from the fact that it is perhaps the sole Italian multi-ethnic orchestra to have created stable jobs, and that most of the musicians involved were supposed to be in Italy for fixed periods but eventually stayed on to build a career out of music¹⁶.

In conclusion, OPV has clearly developed its own unique sound, hard to imitate and distinguished by its playful approach to classical music, which has become a globally recognised trademark.

During its fifteen years of activity, OPV has become renown for its imposing organisation, boasting more than 800 concerts in all five continents and big productions staged in the most important theatres and in big international festivals¹⁷.

Nevertheless, the message that the first ever multi-ethnic orchestra has been sending to its vast international audience since its beginnings has never changed: it aims to demonstrate that through the richness of varied artistic expressions and musical styles it is possible to connect and explore different worlds. It is in such peculiarities that OPV's music and activities find the expressive force of contemporary times.

¹⁶ Tronco, M. speaking at the *XX Seminario Internazionale di Etnomusicologia*, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 30 January 2015.

¹⁷ www.orchestrapiazzavittorio.it/chi-siamo/ - retrieved on 13 July 2017.

3.3. Multi-ethnic orchestras in Italy: an ethnographic research

In the years 2012-2013 the Italian multi-ethnic orchestra phenomenon reached a peak, with more than fifteen ensembles active all across the peninsula. It is worth mentioning that the book *Orchestre e Bande Multietiche in Italia*, published by Zona editrice, was presented during the 2012 edition of the *Meeting delle Etichette Indipendenti* (or MEI – an annual festival for non-major, independent record labels and artists). Written by Francesco Fiore, leader of the Rome-based Med Free Orkestra (MFO), it surveys ‘in tutto centottanta musicisti, provenienti da ventotto paesi diversi [...] un totale di quindici band all’attivo in tutto il territorio, e questo fa dell’Italia la nazione in Europa con la maggior presenza di bande multietiche (Fiore 2012)¹⁸.

The MEI event marks the moment when multi-ethnic orchestras became a bona fide news item claiming national roots. Indeed, an article published in *La Repubblica* newspaper described them as un fenomeno tutto italiano: in questi *ensemble* si vive felicemente del connubio tra vecchi e nuovi italiani e rappresentano un incrocio di culture che ormai funziona¹⁹.

However, keeping these bands together is hard work, and during my ethnographic research, conducted in the years 2015-2017, at least three different patterns emerged:

- a) some orchestras reduced their line-up due to financial issues;
- b) many even quit playing altogether and split;
- c) on the other hand others formed, although in fewer numbers than those which stopped performing.

The following paragraphs feature the results of my research, starting with the more established orchestras, which in spite of their struggles have managed to continue working and to take on new challenges in the integration of musicians.

¹⁸ “one hundred and eighty musicians from twenty-eight different countries’, counting ‘a total of fifteen active bands, making Italy the country with the greatest number of multi-ethnic groups in Europe” (Fiore 2012).

¹⁹ “an all-Italian phenomenon’ where ‘ensembles are made of an happy combination of old and new Italians that work together in an effective fusion of cultures”, <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2012/09/14/orchestre-multi-etniche.html> - retrieved in 3 August 2017.

3.3.1. Piccola Orchestra di Torpignattara (POT) - Rome

Torpignattara is an area that lies in the immediate outskirts of central Rome. It has long been at the centre of many debates, and for good or ill, it is one of Italy's capital city many distinctive features.

Its history is woven with that of migrations: in the first half of the 1920's Italian migrants, mostly from the South, settled there as they arrived in the 'eternal city' looking for work. In recent years it has become one of the inner city areas most impacted by foreign immigration, especially from Bangladesh, China, Africa and the Arab states. Next to the aging Italian population, a much younger foreign community (Adamo, 2013) has firmly planted its roots in this urban landscape. This has profoundly altered its qualities, both in terms of economy – several businesses once heading for closure have now become shops and restaurants run by immigrants – and culture.

According to sociologist Maria Grazia Adamo, 'passeggiando di sera tra le vie di Torpignattara si ha l'impressione di trovarsi in una città nord- europea, di quelle multietniche, dove la diversità si esprime attraverso i volti e i colori delle genti che vi abitano'²⁰ (Adamo, 2013: 145).

The idea of creating a community orchestra which would include both Italians and second-generation immigrants came from the participating observation of its residents, its founder Domenico Coduto told me²¹. Coduto, an expert in music management and founder of the association *Musica e Altre Cose*, said to have been inspired by L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio: 'La volontà era proseguire la storia dell'OPV, portando sul palco i figli di quella prima generazione di immigrati approdati nel nostro paese'²².

The Piccola Orchestra project was presented both to the Arts department of the local council office (the *Assessorato alla Cultura* located in the *Municipio VI*, now V) which offered a hall to the young musicians so they could meet and rehearse, and to

²⁰ 'Walking around Torpignattara in the evening, one gets the impression of being in a multi-ethnic Northern European city, where diversity is expressed through the faces and the colours of those who live there'.

²¹ Coduto D – Personal Interview, Rome, 20 April 2015 'our aim was to continue OPV's story by bringing on stage the children of the first wave of immigrants that arrived in this country'.

²² *ibid.* 'our aim was to continue OPV's story by bringing on stage the children of the first wave of immigrants that arrived in this country'.

the *Fondazione Nando Peretti*, which had become the main supporting partner, before being joined by other parties such as the *Foundation Migrantes* and *Alta Mane Italia*²³.

Piccola Orchestra di Torpignattara debuted at the Teatro Centrale Preneste in 2012 – exactly ten years from OPV’s debut – but compared to the multi-ethnic orchestra pioneers, this youth band was shaping up to be a social, inclusive and educational didactic project. Each year, workers scour the area looking for new musicians, using both the Internet and word of mouth; the shifting line-up mirrors migratory flows from and to Italy, and typical of most music projects, some members occasionally decide to leave²⁴.

As of July 2017, Piccola Orchestra di Torpignattara included twenty-five young musicians between the ages of 12-18, born in Rome but whose parents came from fourteen different countries: Poland, Egypt, Senegal, Eritrea, Tunisia, Nigeria, Cuba, Argentina, Colombia, the Philippines, Bangladesh, China, Guatemala and of course Italy²⁵.

Initially, composer and jazz musician Livio Minafra was the main coordinator. Former OPV bass player and experienced bass teacher Pino Pecorelli later succeeded him as director. In Pecorelli’s words:

‘Il laboratorio di composizione e di improvvisazione si rivolge ai ragazzi con un minimo di conoscenza musicale; in questo modo ognuno ha l’opportunità di mettere in campo le proprie esperienze mettere insieme tutte le diversità per dare vita a qualcosa di nuovo di cui loro si sentissero parte’²⁶.

During my visits to the neighbourhood I have had the chance to attend Piccola Orchestra’s rehearsals and managed to talk with the chief organisers like Pino Pecorelli, who recounted the creation process in general terms, focusing on the young musicians’ tastes and musical predilections:

²³ www.piccolaorchestratorpignattara.it - retrieved on 20 July 2017.

²⁴ Coduto D, - *ibid*.

²⁵ www.piccolaorchestratorpignattara.it - retrieved on 20 July 2017.

²⁶ Pecorelli P. - ‘the composition and improvisation workshop is open to all teenagers with basic musical knowledge. This way everybody gets the opportunity to share their experiences and offer their perspective, in order to create something new that belongs to all’ in Adamo, M.G. (2013) - Interview in: *Libertà Civili. Rivista bimestrale di studi e documentazione sui temi dell’immigrazione*, n.3, 2013. The magazine can be accessed at www.libertaciviliimmigrazione.dlci.interno.gov.it, retrieved on 20 July 2017.

Io cerco i brani, faccio l'arrangiamento e provo quantomeno a guidare i ragazzi. Propongo musiche e canzoni tradizionali, ma anche *pop*, più moderne o di vecchia data. I ragazzi non hanno i parametri di scelta di un professionista, ovvero suonano solo se la proposta è di loro gradimento dunque, se mi accorgo di non essere seguito, sono costretto a modificare l'arrangiamento o cambiare del tutto la proposta musicale.

In generale, i ragazzi cercano di imitare lo stile di vita *hip-hop* e vogliono cantare *rap*, un genere che personalmente amo molto, è stato quindi appassionante guidarli in questo percorso.

Normalmente ho notato che gli adolescenti per sentirsi inclusi nel tessuto sociale che li circonda, cercano di nascondere le proprie origini e rifiutano di parlare la lingua del paese dei loro genitori; inoltre è perfettamente normale che ad esempio, una ragazzina nata in Italia da genitori tunisini voglia cantare in inglese e che provi a partecipare ad un *reality show* come *Xfactor*.

Ciò che abbiamo provato a fare con la Piccola Orchestra è, ad esempio, prendere la canzone di una diva tunisina degli anni Cinquanta e orchestrarla con basi e ritmiche dello stile *hip-hop*. In questo modo i ragazzi stessi si rendono conto che la musica che più gli piace può essere cantata anche nella propria lingua. La cosa che più mi ha sorpreso è notare quanto, grazie all'esperienza dell'orchestra, i ragazzi si sono ri-avvicinati, o hanno conosciuto per la prima volta, la musica dei propri paesi d'origine: sono loro a volte che mi propongono brani che ascoltano a casa, nella propria lingua, brani tradizionali o anche più commerciali.

Mi piacerebbe poter fare un lavoro di scrittura musicale con i giovani componenti, nell'ultimo album ci siamo riusciti con un brano inedito *Under*, per il quale è stato prodotto anche il videoclip che vede i ragazzi protagonisti. Tuttavia portarli alla scrittura è difficile e in qualche modo prematuro, specialmente durante l'adolescenza, fase della vita in cui non è ancora chiaro il percorso da fare per diventare musicisti e/o rapper affermati²⁷.

On the whole this is indeed a music workshop, where children embark on a precious and delicate path of growth, of reckoning and discovery of their own background and

²⁷ Pecorelli, P. – Personal Interview, Rome, 20 April 2015 – ‘I select new material, write the arrangements and try guiding the kids. I suggest music and songs from the folk or traditional repertoires as well as pop, both old and new. Children don't judge material the way a professional would, they will play something only if they like it. Therefore, if I realise they're not following me I feel compelled to change the arrangement or scrap the song altogether.

Often, children imitate the hip hop lifestyle and want to freestyle like rappers do. I really like the genre so it was very inspiring to help them with that.

I have noticed that teenagers, to feel accepted by the society they live in, generally tend to hide their origins and refuse to sing in their parents' language: for example, it is perfectly normal for an Italian-born girl of Tunisian heritage to sing in English and wish to be in a reality show such as *X Factor*.

What we have attempted with Piccola Orchestra is to take a song by a Fifties Tunisian diva and arrange it using hip-hop beats and sounds. This way the children themselves realise that their favourite genre can be sung in their ancestral language. What surprised me most was noticing how they got newly accustomed to, or discovered for the first time, the music of their family country thanks to the orchestra: it's the children themselves who sometimes suggest songs, both traditional or more commercial, that they've heard at home, sung in their own language.

I'd love to attempt some writing sessions with them. We managed to do that on our last record, which features a new song called 'Under' for which we produced a video starring the kids. However, it is difficult and somehow premature to get them to write, especially during adolescence: they still don't know how to become successful musicians or rappers.'

experiment with ways to express themselves: ‘Operando sui loro gusti, abbiamo guidato le loro scelte affinché emergesse la ricchezza musicale di cui sono inconsapevolmente portatori’²⁸.

The personnel includes a large rhythm section comprising percussions, bass, drums, tablas and marimba; three guitars, two keyboards, two flutes, three saxophones, a trumpet and two electric guitars; finally a large vocal section, featuring eleven singers²⁹.

A more socially-oriented initiative got under way at the same time as the music project, with weekly meetings to help the integration of children who live in difficult circumstances.

Psychologist Daniele Cortese told me that ‘La musica è un importante strumento di prevenzione per i ragazzi. Io mi occupo dell’inserimento dei ragazzi con situazioni delicate, e che attraverso l’orchestra hanno la possibilità di vivere un’esperienza importante anche dal punto di vista umano, un modo di stare insieme in maniera costruttiva, molto importante anche per chi ha un passato difficile alle spalle.’³⁰ In addition, since 2016 workers have been developing a network to help the integration of underage refugees who have arrived in Italy.

In the past five years, Piccola Orchestra released three CDs that include traditional songs from around the world, songs that were popular in 1950’s America and, in their latest offering, two self-penned compositions³¹.

POT supervisors make great use of the Internet to share their music. Indeed, on POT’s website it is possible to listen to their releases through music streaming platforms such as Soundcloud and Deezer, as well as watch a video for their latest single *Under*, which has been viewed many times on YouTube³².

Their professional-looking website makes it clear that their communication is managed by experts, as it is very well structured and updated. Just like multi-ethnic ensembles composed of adult musicians, the Torpignattara project is very well organized and run by professionals.

²⁸ Adamo, M.G. (2013) – *ibid.* – ‘Working on their tastes, we have guided their choices so as to uncover the musical richness of which they are unconscious bearers’.

²⁹ www.piccolaorchestratorpignattara.it/orchestra - retrieved on 20 July 2017.

³⁰ Cortese, D. – Personal Interview, Rome, 20 April 2015 – ‘Music is an important prevention tool for children. I help children from disadvantaged backgrounds that get a chance to live an important, human experience through the orchestra. It is a constructive way to share something with others, especially for those with a difficult past’.

³¹ www.piccolaorchestratorpignattara.it/musica/ - retrieved on 20 July 2017.

³² www.piccolaorchestratorpignattara.it retrieved on 20 July 2017.

The orchestra represents arguably a great opportunity for its young members, who find themselves dealing with recording contracts, interviews, TV programmes and collaborations with international pop stars. The greatest satisfaction for the organizers is knowing that many musicians have started considering music as a proper future profession rather than just a hobby, influencing in a positive way their school career.

In 2017 POT won the second edition of the *MigrArti* contest, which was promoted by the Italian Ministry of Culture (*Ministero dei Beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo*) with the intention of spreading education about the many cultures and communities living in Italy. A concert was held on the opening night on 2 June (which is a national holiday in Italy, the *Festa della Repubblica* - Republic Day) at the Palazzo Segreto in Piazza Venezia. The event was called *Better Days, la musica dei nuovi italiani*; indeed, ‘*nuovi italiani*’ (‘new Italians’) is how second-generation immigrant musicians are called in Ministerial drafts of official projects created to the support of their new musical enterprises.

It is quite likely that the event’s title and its very nature were in support of a proposed law called ‘*ius soli*’, whereby all those born on Italian soil by foreign nationals would automatically get Italian citizenship. Here it is music itself that was used to demonstrate how it might help solve new coexistence challenges to citizens. Pino Pecorelli believed that:

‘questi ragazzi non hanno bisogno di essere educati all’interculturalità intesa come scambio di valori e di modi di vita, loro sono il prodotto dell’interculturalità e come tali si percepiscono come cittadini romani a tutti gli effetti. Questa è la dimostrazione del fatto che noi adulti ci interroghiamo su tematiche ormai superate’³³.

As a matter of fact, the subject of new citizenships raises an important issue that, according to the figures released by the “Fondazione Leone Moressa”, concerns about 600.000 migrants born in Italy since 1998 who have therefore barely become adults³⁴. These boys and girls speak Italian, have attended schools in the country and are *de facto* Italian citizens in all but name, as they are forced to grow up as

³³ Pecorelli, P. – Personal Interview, Rome, 20 April 2015 – ‘these children don’t need to be taught that inter-culture is an exchange of values and ways to live, they are a product of inter-culture already, and as such they view themselves as actual Rome citizens. This goes to show that adults mull over problems which have long been solved’.

³⁴ www.internazionale.it/notizie/annalisa-camilli/2017/06/21/ius-soli-cittadinanza-italia retrieved on 20 July 2017.

foreigners in the only country they have ever known and to be discriminated by the Italian law for lacking a document.

Nonetheless, we can only wish that the musical practices enacted by Piccola Orchestra and other similar groups may help, by the sheer act of making music together, as well as the messages they send, to raise public awareness on such urgent issues as conferring citizenship to new residents, a much debated topic by political institutions and an important step towards the integration of foreign citizens. To integrate new nationals should be considered a positive change for Italian society, the natural consequence of peoples moving – such episodes as the history of humanity abounds – and not only an ongoing ‘invasion’ of the Italian soil.

3.3.2. Orchestra Multietnica Mediterranea (OMM) - Naples

South of Rome, in the Campania region lies the city of Naples, the third biggest in Italy for size and number of residents. Like most big cities on the Mediterranean Sea it has a long history of immigration, of mixing, transits and movements that enrich its urban and social identity. It is also a city that has its own distinctive lifestyle and music, making it a truly unique place.

The first non-European immigrants, mostly from Eritrea and Morocco, settled in Naples in the early 1970’s but similarly to what happened in the rest of the country, mass immigration started in earnest in the 1980’s (Calvanese e Pugliese, 1991; Dines, 2002). According to statistics, the most stable and numerous communities are from Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Cape Verde and Somalia. Most of those coming from these countries work in the housekeeping sector, whereas another major group, mostly from Northern and Western Africa as well as Pakistan and China run a variety of commercial activities including peddling. (Dines, 2002).

Highly multi-ethnic or single groups areas include neighbourhoods in close proximity to the railway station, the docks or the old town centre – as well as the run-down outskirts where cheap lodging is easier to find; these are residential and

commercial areas but they are also places where people can socialise (Schmoll, 2008).

The cost of living is generally low, especially in the housing market, which literally makes Naples a landing port for all those migrants who then continue their journey towards Northern Italy or Northern Europe. There is a common tendency, both locally and nationally, to view the city as an open, welcoming place, tolerant towards foreigners in general. As observed by sociologist Nick Dines, this picture is partially true:

‘The Neapolitan axiom *l’arte di arrangiarsi* – the art of getting by in the face of adversity – is often attributed to the practical experiences of the city’s new residents as the evidence of their assimilation into a distinct urban way of life. [...] Moreover, in terms of social services and support for immigrants, Naples does not possess the extensive voluntary and local government networks of some northern Italian cities’ (Dines, 2002: 15).

The lack of infrastructure and social planning has favoured the mobilisation of NGOs and extra-parliamentary groups, committed to guaranteeing basic rights to migrants and supporting the delicate process of integration by offering suitable socio-educational support³⁵.

These are all founding principles of the association *Garibaldi 101*. It is composed exclusively of voluntaries who have been running for several years a centre dedicated to the support of migrants and the disadvantaged³⁶.

The association takes its name from its main action area, Piazza Garibaldi, Naples’ biggest square, which faces the main railway station, known to locals as *la ferrovia* (‘the railway’). In the 1980’s and the 1990’s this neighbourhood was seen as the area with the biggest number of migrant communities; a multifunctional quarter where people could meet and conduct business deals – including smuggling – with shops, supermarkets and call centres managed by the Asian community, and ‘ethnic’ urban markets mainly run by Africans (Schmoll 2008).

By the 1990’s the area was so severely neglected that a phase of regeneration was urgently planned and carried out, mostly during the Bassolino administration era (1993-2000). In those years renovation was strictly connected to the migration phenomenon, which was happening at the same time as the full development of the city’s tourist sector (Dines 2000). At the time of writing, the square and the surrounding area are still being renovated: although the overall look has considerably

³⁵ Felaco E. – Personal Interview, Naples, 7 January 2015. Felaco is OMM’s organizer.

³⁶ www.differentiuguagli.wixsite.com/garibaldi101 - retrieved on 24 July 2017.

improved compared to past decades, the council is still working to solve and contain phenomena of social marginalization that are still taking place³⁷.

The association Garibaldi 101 started operating in the years 2011-2013 after the enactment of the so-called ‘Emergenza Nord Africa’, an aid scheme set up by the *Ministero dell’Interno* (the Italian Home Office) at the start of 2011, which along with *Anci* (the national association of local *comuni*, or ‘municipalities’), *Protezione Civile* (‘Civil Protection’) and nationwide Prefectures gave shelter, from May 2011 to December 2012, to about 50.000 war refugees from Libya (www.huffingtonpost.it/rosamaria-vitale/emergenza-nord-africa 24 July 2017).

In Naples, a consistent number of asylum seekers were put up on disused hotels in the Piazza Garibaldi area. In such difficult circumstances, *Garibaldi 101* gave much needed support to abuse victims by offering legal advice, linguistic and cultural mediation and Italian language courses.

Among the education activities held in 2012, some of the most interesting include the musical workshop OMM – Orchestra Multietnica Mediterranea, described as ‘un grande esperimento musicale in itinere principalmente attuato attraverso la mediazione con i migranti presenti sul territorio che attraverso provini e percorsi di studio sono entrati a far parte dell’orchestra’³⁸.

The workshop was initially held inside the hotels where the asylum seekers were staying in quite severe conditions. On the orchestra’s beginnings and its main goals, organiser and lead singer Romilda Bocchetti said:

L’OMM è nata da un laboratorio musicale organizzato principalmente con lo scopo di tenere occupati i profughi di guerra e distrarli dalla situazione d’emergenza e dalla condizione drammatica in cui vivevano. Le attività musicali erano rivolte a tutti i musicisti migranti presenti sul territorio - per offrire loro la possibilità di coltivare la propria passione e le proprie capacità - e ai rifugiati e richiedenti asilo presenti nelle strutture temporanee. In questo senso l’OMM si pone fin dall’inizio come base di ricerca, di lavoro e di riscatto sociale per i soggetti più deboli; io e Giovanni, il direttore artistico, definiamo l’orchestra un progetto ibrido: sia la parte artistico-musicale che quella sociale sono molto accentuate. Fin dall’inizio volevamo dare una mano reale agli immigrati e promuovere le tematiche riguardanti l’integrazione³⁹.

³⁷ On the railway station area’s stigmatization and subsequent regeneration cf. Dines 2000, 2002; Amato 1997.

³⁸ ‘a big evolving experiment, enacted through the mediation of migrants living in the area, who through auditions and study have joined the orchestra’, www.differentiuguagli.wixsite.com/garibaldi101 - retrieved on 24 July 2017.

³⁹ Bocchetti R. - Personal Interview, Naples, 15 April 2016 – ‘OMM started as a music workshop whose main purpose was to keep war refugees busy and distract them from the emergency and their

After their debut in the beautiful Piazza del Gesù Nuovo on 21 June 2012, OMM took their busy music-teaching and social activities in three directions:

- a) by participating in several human rights demonstrations (such as the *Forum delle Culture* in Naples);
- b) by integrating weaker and more marginalised subjects in the orchestra;
- c) by conducting a campaign to raise awareness on racism⁴⁰.

Romilda Bocchetti added:

Siamo nati sulla scia delle altre orchestre multietniche italiane e ci sentiamo parte del fenomeno, abbiamo sentito l'esigenza di proporre la città di Napoli come crocevia di incontri e di culture diverse che possono esprimersi attraverso l'attività del suonare insieme. Un'attività formativa e ludica allo stesso tempo, nonché stimolante dal punto di vista dell'interazione e della reciprocità tra gli esecutori. Ci differenziamo dalle altre orchestre multietniche per la nostra proposta principalmente indirizzata in ambito sociale. Attraverso i nostri concerti vogliamo sensibilizzare le persone riguardo i problemi dell'integrazione e avvicinarli alle culture delle persone immigrate, che forse non hanno mai conosciuto. Penso che anche semplicemente cantando le canzoni del mondo, mostrando e suonando gli strumenti appartenenti a paesi e tradizioni diverse, è possibile promuovere una coscienza antirazzista in maniera semplice, delicata e soprattutto non aggressiva⁴¹.

Those responsible for the project say that their main inspiration is the *Ubuntu* philosophy as promoted by Nelson Mandela, which is focused on loyalty and relations among people⁴².

dramatic situation. The musical activities were conceived for migrant musicians living in the neighbourhood – so as to give them the chance to cultivate their passions and abilities – and to refugees and asylum seekers living in temporary accommodation. This way, OMM has been from the beginning a starting point for research, for work and social redemption for the weak: me and Giovanni, the creative director, see the orchestra as an hybrid project: both the music and the social sides are very prominent. Since our early days we wanted to help migrants properly and deal with themes related to migration.'

⁴⁰ www.orchestramultietnicamediterranea.it retrieved on 24 July 2017.

⁴¹ Bocchetti R. – Personal Interview, Naples, 15 April 2016 – 'We started on the trail of other Italian multi-ethnic orchestras and we think we are part of that wave. We felt the need to point to Naples as the meeting point of different cultures that have found a means of expression through performing together. This is at once an educational and playful activity, which encourages interaction and mutual sharing among performers. We're different from other multi-ethnic orchestras in that what we do has a strong social connotation. Through our concerts we want to raise awareness on the problems of integration and make people discover migrants' cultures, which probably they have never considered before. I believe that even by just singing songs from around the world and showing and playing instruments from different countries and traditions it is possible to promote anti-racism in a simple, delicate, non-aggressive way'.

⁴² Guarrera, G. - Personal Interview, Naples, 15 April 2016.

OMM activities are carried out in partnership with various non-profit social associations, whose intercultural mediators assist the orchestra when relational issues occasionally arise. For example, Bocchetti said that ‘alcuni ragazzi africani, ad esempio, hanno avuto problemi a riconoscermi un ruolo di leader sul palco in quanto sono una donna e sono sposata’⁴³. This episode highlights one of the many cultural divergences that occur in a closed multi-cultural, multi-ethnic environment, where interaction based on mutual respect between the various subjects can be difficult. Indeed, OMM directors were forced to let some of their musicians go, because although they were excellent players they couldn’t integrate or communicate peacefully with the group.

As of 2017, OMM’s busy social activity is being brought forward by an ambitious project that involves asylum seekers and refugees boarded in SPRAR structures located in various Italian cities. For example, during an April 2017 concert held at Teatro alle Vigne in Lodi, some asylum seekers staying at the local Caritas’s Reception Centre joined OMM on stage for a one-off special appearance⁴⁴.

The group, whose personnel is composed of thirteen stable members including directors Giovanni Guarrera and Romilda Bocchetti, calls itself a ‘nomadic ensemble’. This nickname originates in the fact that during the last five years about thirty musicians have left the orchestra for various reasons, including work, bureaucracy and visas. The orchestra still retains its character of an open and welcoming workshop willing to integrate, even for a short time, those participating in the orchestra’s own music teaching workshops. Guarrera talked to me about one of the orchestra’s main organisational issues:

Le prove del gruppo avvengono regolarmente, è previsto un incontro ogni due settimane e, ovviamente, qualche prova in più in precedenza di un concerto. Il problema principale dell’organizzazione è che la maggior parte degli elementi ha una vita molto precaria, in alcuni casi i musicisti sono costretti a rinunciare alle prove oppure ad una esibizione per motivi lavorativi. Alcuni esecutori lavorano con la musica ed hanno altri progetti, ma la maggior parte di loro fa lavori di manovalanza con contratti “a chiamata”. Fanno i musicisti nel tempo che rimane e questo fattore non

⁴³ Bocchetti, R. – Interview on Swiss radio channel Rete Due. The full interview is available on: www.orchestramultietnicamediterranea.it/#band - ‘some African boys couldn’t see me as a bandleader because I’m a woman and a married one at that’.

⁴⁴ www.ilcittadino.it/p/notizie/cultura_e_spettacoli/2017/04/20/ABDTr0oM-entra_folklore_scena_etniche.html - retrieved on 24 July 2017.

permette una crescita artistica costante del gruppo. D'altra parte, noi garantiamo un rimborso spese per le prove e i concerti, ma non è sufficiente per vivere o mantenere una famiglia.⁴⁵

The issue mentioned by Guarrera is about the musicians' professionalism, a problem faced by many Italian multi-ethnic orchestras, as observed by Maurizio Agamennone:

Nelle altre culture la professionalità dei musicisti ha un sapore diverso rispetto a quanto accade nella pratica musicale eurocolta (per noi professionale è il musicista che trae il suo reddito dalla sua attività musicale; gli altri sono dilettanti non-professionisti); pur esercitando in molti casi mestieri diversi, musicisti e cantanti tradizionali svolgono un ruolo professionistico all'interno della loro cultura: alimentano e controllano con la musica le cerimonie sociali e religiose, inventano e improvvisano all'interno di una grammatica formulare, ogni volta che replicano il repertorio (Agamennone, 1981: 15).⁴⁶

Costelu Lautaro's case is particularly representative. Lautaro is an accordion player from Romania. His main activity is performing in Naples' underground stations, on buses, on pedestrian subways and other such surroundings. His awareness of his role and of his own creative abilities allow him to play to extremely varied audiences and in situations which differ greatly from those offered by his native country, without feeling inhibited or disoriented (Agamennone, 1981: 15). The performers' professionalism is not a discriminating factor for the selection of OMM members. Guarrera considers this something very positive for relations within the band: 'Among musicians there seems to be an equal exchange, both professionals and non-professionals have played with us and there has never been an attempt by the best players to overcome the others'⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ Guarrera, G. – Personal Interview, Naples, 15 April 2016 – 'Rehearsals are held once every fortnight and of course we schedule more before a concert. The main problem is that most of the members live a very uncertain life. Occasionally they can't come to either rehearsals or concerts because of job commitments. Some of them are professional musicians who also have other projects, but most of them are unskilled labourers that work on an on-call basis. In their spare time they become musicians but this prevents the group from improving. On the other hand, we reimburse expenses for rehearsals and concerts but it is not enough to live on or support a family'.

⁴⁶ 'In other cultures, musicians' professionalism follows different rules from cultured European musical practice (where a professional musician is someone who makes a living from music; others are non-professional amateurs); despite being employed in different jobs, folk musicians and singers do hold a professional role: they boost and direct social and religious ceremonies through their music, using a formulaic music language as the basis for their improvisations every time they perform a repertoire'.

⁴⁷ Guarrera, G - *ibid* - 'tra i musicisti risulta esserci uno scambio più paritario, hanno suonato con noi sia professionisti che non –professionisti e non c'è mai stata alcuna volontà da parte dei più bravi di prevalere sugli altri'.

It is different for other members such as Nigeria-born singer and percussionist Nying Inyand, who works as a manual labourer to support himself and does not have much free time to spend on playing music with the orchestra. This undoubtedly influences the overall performance, both his own and that of the band.

The orchestra is composed of

- a string quartet (with musicians from Bulgaria and Albania),
- string instruments (kora, mandola and mandolin),
- electric instruments (guitars and bass)
- drums and percussions.

The repertoire comprises different styles and instruments. The creative director, a classical guitarist, briefly describes the style of their arrangements:

Nel brano *Otà*, ad esempio, abbiamo contrapposto la musica colta ad un canto tradizionale dell’Africa occidentale. Generalmente prendiamo un brano di tradizione popolare – appartenente ai paesi di provenienza dei musicisti o, in altri casi, alla tradizione ebraica sefardita – che viene arricchito intrecciandolo con la musica classica colta. Alcuni brani da noi proposti risalgono al Seicento Napoletano⁴⁸.

Their first CD, called *Il Mediterraneo unisce i continenti che separa* includes new arrangements of traditional folk songs such as their Klezmer version of the Sicilian lament *Malarazza* or *Kofi*, a Ghanaian folk song.

Some of their original compositions are of particular interest: they were written during meetings with Sub-Saharan asylum seekers and feature some typical African antiphonal choirs, as well as lyrics describing the migrants’ journey on barges to get to Europe⁴⁹.

An important point that emerged during talks with OMM directors is the lack of financial resources, an issue shared by many Italian orchestras.

Multi-ethnic orchestras usually include a considerable number of musicians – there is an average of 12 players per orchestra – which makes it very difficult to keep such large groups united. The main issues are finding spaces for rehearsals and

⁴⁸ Guarrera, G - *ibid* - ‘In the song *Otà*, for instance, a traditional vocal song from West Africa is juxtaposed to ‘art music’. We often choose a song from the folk canon – from one of our musicians’ countries or, in other cases, from the Jewish Sephardic tradition – and we enhance it by blending it with classical music. Part of our repertoire comes from 17th century Naples’.

⁴⁹ <http://www.napolicittasolidale.it/portal/vivi-sociale/archivio/musica/4463-il-mediterraneo-unisce-i-continenti-che-separa.html> - retrieved on 25 July 2017.

performances and sufficient funds to cover all expenses, especially in case of out-of-town concerts.

To raise funds and increase social activism on the ground many orchestras, among other initiatives, set up music teaching workshops for schools that are financed by state departments such as OMA in Arezzo (cf. Chapter 2). To solve such financial issues some orchestras have reduced their line-up, accordingly changing their repertoire – like the *OrcheXtra Terrestre* in Trento, which is now a quintet (cf. paragraph 3.3.5.).

Giovanni Guarrera says that OMM is a completely independent group and as such its progress is hindered by great difficulties:

L'OMM avrebbe bisogno di sovvenzioni statali per sopravvivere, è lo stesso problema che attraversano tutte le forme d'arte. Una delle nostre difficoltà è far crescere il livello artistico dell'orchestra e mantenerlo costante nel tempo, il nostro lavoro va avanti ad alti e bassi. Nel nostro caso cerchiamo di trarre dalle problematiche la forza per portare avanti l'orchestra, quando saliamo sul palco l'energia e la voglia di suonare è molta, questa è la cosa più importante. In questo senso prendiamo spunto dalla tradizione napoletana – con le sue macchiette, maschere e le storie di cui sono intrisi i *bassi* e i vicoli dei quartieri- una realtà unica nella quale l'allegria è dettata dalla tragicità delle esperienze.⁵⁰

In spite of such hardships, which lack a quick solution, OMM's output is very rich and keeps playing a very important role in the involvement of migrants settling in the city.

Their theatre production of the classic *Cinderella* tale, staged on 16/18 July 2015 at the Basilica di San Giovanni Maggiore certainly ranks among their most interesting shows. Taking their cue from the 1634 Basile's Neapolitan version and from the famous 1976 opera by Roberto De Simone, OMM musicians have used the Gatta Cenerentola's plot as a template to recount their meeting with refugees from the

⁵⁰ Guarrera, G. - Interview on Swiss radio channel Rete Due. The full interview is available on: www.orchestramultiethnicamediterranea.it/#band . –'OMM needs public money to survive, just like many other art forms. One of our main goals is to raise the orchestra's artistic output and maintain high standards. Our work has ups and downs. We try to turn our problems to our advantage to move the orchestra forward, so when we go on stage we are more motivated. This is the most important thing. To this end we are inspired by the Neapolitan folk tradition, whose caricatures, masks and stories permeate the *bassi* and the Quartieri's *vicoli* (*'Quartieri Spagnoli' is the oldest, mostly working-class neighbourhood in central Naples*), a unique place where cheerfulness is a reaction to the graveness of some experiences.'

North African crisis, as well as other migration stories of travelling and migration-related social redemption⁵¹.

Finally, since 2014 OMM's coordinators have set up two joint projects, directed at Italian teenagers and second generation foreigners: a multi-ethnic choir and a youth orchestra. These projects offered to the local population prove once more the orchestra's commitment to promoting experiences of integration through musical practice and research on traditional repertoires⁵².

3.3.3. Orchestra di Via Padova (OVP) – Milan

The social composition of the Via Padova area in Milan has changed profoundly in recent decades, turning from the 1990's onwards into one of the more multi-ethnic areas in the city and a major point of arrival and settlement for incoming migrants. This caused a significant shift in the neighbourhood's socio-economic structure, which is now greatly influenced by its ethnic and cultural diversity (Verga 2015). The population and the media looked at this transformative process and its resulting new socio-demographic composition almost exclusively from a public safety and urban decay perspective. The creation of Orchestra di Via Padova then is an attempt to confront prejudices against the quarter, with the intention of showing its socio-cultural richness to spark a change in the way people look at the area by promoting a positive perspective on its residents.

Among Italian multi-ethnic orchestras, *L'Orchestra di Via Padova* is one of the more active and long-established ensembles. It started in 2006 with the meeting of eighteen professional musicians from different cultural and musical backgrounds⁵³ and it has been, since its early days, a big permanent social workshop involving many foreign communities living in Milan. Indeed, the orchestra chose its name to

⁵¹ www.natiki.orchestramultiethnicmediterranea.it - retrieved on 25 July 2017.

⁵² www.orchestramultiethnicmediterranea.it retrieved on 25 July 2017.

⁵³ www.orchestradiviapadova.com retrieved on 26 July 2017.

reference via Padova, the most multi-ethnic street in the city and a place of work and exchange for immigrant musicians.

The orchestra is directed by guitarist and composer Massimo Latronico, who describes thus the group's beginnings:

‘Determinante è stato il legame con l’ARCI di Milano, il quale ha favorito l’avvicinamento alle comunità immigrate e ha fornito inoltre uno spazio adeguato per le prove. Trovare i componenti stabili è stato complicato ma, dopo alcuni anni e molte fatiche, possiamo dire con grande soddisfazione che oggi l’Orchestra di Via Padova è diventata un’associazione culturale bandistica indipendente’⁵⁴.

The orchestra features an extended rhythm section, featuring percussionists Abdoulay Ablo Traore from Burkina Faso, Yamil Castillo Otero and Alfredo Munoz Rivas, both from Cuba, and the Italians Marco Roverato on bass and Andrea Migliarini on drums. The brass section includes: Domenico Mamone e Paolo Lopolito on saxophone, Luciano Macchia on trombone and Raffaele Kolher on trumpet and flugelhorn. There is also a string quartet: Kristina Mirkovic from Serbia and Marta Pistocchi on violins, Andon Manushi from Albania on viola and lastly Walter Parisi on cello. As typical of such groups there are many foreign singers, with Tatiana Zazuliak from Ucraina on vocals, Aziz Riahi from Morocco on vocals and oud, Juan Carlos Vega from Peru on vocals and guitar and Francesca Sabatino on lead vocals. Director Massimo Latronico plays electric and acoustic guitars and the bouzouki.

Towards the end of April 2015 I went to Milan to interview Latronico and some of the Orchestra’s migrant players. I realised that many among them had been professional musicians in their own country of origin too, but only a few managed to work in Italy. The contrasting cases of Aziz Riahi from Morocco and Abdoulay Ablo Traore from Burkina Faso are particularly representative. In our interviews, Riahi stressed how he struggled constantly to keep his day job as a warehouse operative in the city outskirts and at the same time find the time to be an effective orchestra member. He told me rather sadly that whilst the first OVP release featured

⁵⁴ Latronico, M. – Personal Interview, Milan, 29 April 2015 – ‘Our relation with the city’s ARCI branch (ARCI is the biggest Italian non-profit cultural association) was instrumental in getting us closer to the immigrant communities and providing a suitable rehearsal space. Finding the right members has been hard, but after a few years of searching hard we can say with great pleasure that today Orchestra di Via Padova has become an independent band cultural association’.

many of his writing contributions – rich in the Arab-Andalusian music he studied closely – in the latest CD he is only a performer, due to time and work constraints.⁵⁵. Traore, who grew up in a *griot* family in Burkina Faso and who has been in Milan since 2002, has founded a cultural association with other Sub-Saharan artists. Through ARCI and other subjects from the associations environment he has been promoting in Lombardy events dedicated to the African arts, as well as percussion lessons and traditional dances⁵⁶.

In this case, certainly luckier than the first, it can be noticed how a musician, in the new context of migration, manages to exercise his profession by adapting it to his country of residence.

Riahi's situation is particularly common in the multi-ethnic orchestras I've researched, whose members often consider music a free time activity, making it harder for the ensembles to maintain unity and keep high standards.

However, OVP is very prolific, having released three CDs of original material. The latest to date, *Acqua*, is of particular interest: it is a concept album inspired by the themes that were central to Expo 2015, an event held in Milan that aroused great interest across the world. *Acqua*'s eleven compositions deal with the issue of world nutrition: they are eleven tales written and composed by different authors, each of whom was inspired by their own culture, their specific musical tradition and, of course, their own taste.

During my ethnographic research I have had the chance to attend one of their concerts, where the richness of their musical style is mirrored by the great variety in the genres covered: funky, blues, Eastern European ballads, Latin rhythms and Italian singer-songwriter songs, all held together by a jazz approach (almost all orchestra members are primarily fluent in the jazz style).

The concert featured songs about travelling and faraway affections, the traditional chanting of *muezzin* Aziz Riahi, the Latin American rhythms and melodies based on a sort of personal mythology by Juan Carlos Vega, Alfredo Munoz and Yamil Castillo Otero and then Abdullay Traorè's solo, where he plays the *balafon* and sings in a Sub-Saharan *griot* style.

⁵⁵ Riahi, A. – Personal Interview, Milan, 29 April 2015.

⁵⁶ Traore, A.A. – Personal Interview, Milan, 29 April 2015.

Collaborations with famous national and international artists enrich the Orchestra performances, contributing to the debate on contemporary and urgent issues and making the Orchestra's ethno-musical research a vibrant and active concept.

3.3.4. Other multi-ethnic Italian orchestras

Let us now continue this survey of multi-ethnic orchestras by reviewing other experiences across the whole of the country, from North to South.

Milan: Orchestra dei Popoli Vittorio Baldoni

The Orchestra dei Popoli Vittorio Baldoni has been performing since 2013 with moderate success. Compared to other orchestras surveyed, which were mostly formed in the early 2000's, they started relatively later.

This orchestra has strong links with the Conservatorio Giuseppe Verdi in Milan: in 2012, that world-famous institution launched a music project aimed at integrating in its structures some Romani musicians. This first encounter between pupils and Romani musicians proved successful, so the foundation *Fondazione Casa dello Spirito e delle Arti Onlus* decided to invest in an extension of this experience, involving children, teenagers and adults of different extractions – some of whom were from disadvantaged backgrounds or circumstances – to let them play with musicians from other Lombardy Conservatories and from selected secondary schools specialized in music courses⁵⁷.

Such a choice highlights the importance given to the meeting between young, talented musicians with no academic background and students and graduates from Lombardy music institutes. The music they perform is composed and arranged by the musicians themselves, under the guidance of the orchestra's directorship.

⁵⁷ www.orchestradeipopoli.it - retrieved on 28 July 2017.

As of 2017 the orchestra includes about twenty-six members, but new members could always join. The ensemble performs both in full or with a smaller line-up. During the school year, the members join various educational activities such as masterclasses and workshops to improve their personal and cultural knowledge; those more talented have the chance of getting academic scholarships⁵⁸. This orchestra has performed at a very significant event: the *Festa della Musica*, held on 21 June 2017 at the Bambino Gesù hospital in Rome. On this occasion Piccola Orchestra di Tor Pignattara and Orchestra dei Popoli Vittorio Baldoni shared the stage, which also featured the special appearance of Pap Yeri Samb and Kaw Sissoko, two of the most popular members of L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio. This event testifies once more how multi-ethnic orchestras are committed to raising awareness on social issues through their unique performances and their activity of musical research.

Turin: Orchestra di Porta Palazzo

Turin is another big Northern city that, in the last fifteen years, has registered a noticeable growth in the number of foreign residents, which in 2017 make up about 15.6% of the whole city population⁵⁹. The meeting point for foreign communities is the Porta Palazzo area, a quintessentially working-class neighbourhood. Its main commercial hub is the historical market, built more than a century ago and currently the biggest open-air market in Europe, where the greatest number of diverse social and cultural identities in the city mingle together. There, it is possible to hear people speak languages and dialects from all across Italy and the world – mainly South America, Eastern Europe and North Africa, whence come the most numerous foreign communities settled in Turin⁶⁰.

It is no coincidence then that within this neighbourhood, which for better or worse is mostly known for hosting foreign communities, a colourful multi-ethnic orchestra should form: Orchestra di Porta Palazzo. The band was formed in 2004 within the *Progetto Periferie* scheme promoted by the Turin municipality and by *Teatro Comunità*, whose main purpose was the renovation of the whole Porta Palazzo area.

⁵⁸ www.orchestradeipopoli.it - retrieved on 28 July 2017.

⁵⁹ www.torinofree.it/2013/11/21/2311/cronaca/torino-multietnica-il-156-della-popolazione-e-straniera.html - retrieved on 30 July 2017.

⁶⁰ www.saporie.com/it-it/il-mercato-di-porta-palazzo-lombelico-multietnico-di-torino.aspx retrieved on 30 July 2017.

This is yet another case of an ensemble supported by local authorities, an artistic project that is part of renovation processes already being undertaken in the neighbourhood.

The Orchestra di Porta Palazzo is a professional music group composed of thirteen members coming from ten countries. The orchestra line-up remained stable until 2009, when they released their first self-titled CD with the Folkclub Ethnosuoni record label⁶¹. The orchestra then had to stop their activities for two consecutive years, due to organisational and financial problems. Some of the musicians eventually regrouped in 2017 with a renewed personnel.

Genoa: Banda di Piazza Caricamento

A few miles south of Turin, in Genoa, the Banda di Piazza Caricamento has been playing music for ten years. It is a multi-ethnic band whose members are all young, under-30s foreigners living in Genoa. Davide Ferrari, the orchestra director, is the president of the cultural association Echo Art, which has been involved on several projects focused on traditional music and research since 1984. Some of their highlights include: the *Festival Musicale del Mediterraneo*, held in Genoa in 1992, and the creation of the section Museo delle Musiche dei Popoli at the Castello d'Albertis Museo delle Culture del Mondo⁶².

Banda members are often invited to participate in meetings and workshops with musicians and music teachers from different cultures and parts of the world, to improve their knowledge and professionalism, as Ferrari told me: 'le giornate dedicate alla formazione servono per tenere sempre presente che la nostra banda nasce come simbolo artistico della convivenza e dell'integrazione'⁶³.

During these ten years of activity the band has made two records, *Babel Sound* and *Il Sesto Continente*, both released by Promo Music, and has held many concerts in Italy and abroad, sharing the stage with several internationally renowned artists⁶⁴.

⁶¹ www.orchestradiportapalazzo.it - retrieved on 28 July 2017.

⁶² www.echoart.org retrieved on 28 July 2017.

⁶³ Ferrari, D. – Personal Interview, Genoa, 24 June 2015 – 'Training days are a chance to remind everyone yet again that the band started with the intention of being a symbol of integration and peaceful co-existence'.

⁶⁴ www.ilsecoloxix.it/p/cultura/2015/02/18/AR8dzaZD-continente_scoperta_caricamento - retrieved on 28 July 2017.

Rome: Med Free Orkestra, Takadum Orchestra, Orchestra delle donne del 41° Parallelo

As already stated at the beginning of this chapter, the capital city of Rome is where the multi-ethnic orchestra phenomenon first started and where world music and artistic initiatives involving migrant musicians continue with great enthusiasm. After the successful experience of L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio numerous other groups began playing, with many unfortunately splitting up after only a few years.

At the time of writing, the main multi-ethnic orchestras still active, apart from those already discussed, are Med Free Orkestra, Takadum Orchestra and Orchestra delle donne del 41° Parallelo.

The Med Free Orkestra (MFO), formed in 2010, is a collective of fifteen professional musicians from five countries. It is directed by trombonist Francesco Fiore who is, coincidentally, the author of a study called *Orchestre e bande multiethniche in Italia*. MFO is distinguished by an extensive brass section that betrays a distinct jazz influence, a trait shared by most band members. Since its beginnings it has also featured many nationally and internationally renowned musicians, actors, journalists and writers, who share and contribute to the message of integration among peoples that the Orchestra champions. The band has been touring in 2017 to promote its third official release⁶⁵.

Takadum Orchestra began as a traditional Northern Africa-Eastern percussions ensemble with instruments such as the *darbuka*, the *riqq*, the *daf*, the *dholla* and the *davul*; subsequently the personnel added harmonic instruments such as brasses, guitars and female vocals, the latter standing out for their distinctive tightness. The orchestra is strongly influenced by Arabic music's modal systems and monophonic structures; its repertoire features many of the traits shared by the traditions of countries on the Mediterranean Sea from East to West⁶⁶.

Takadum is directed by Simone Pulvano and Gabriele Gagliarini. There are fifteen members, each bringing to the group something of their own culture. Many of Takadum's performances feature Ziad Trabelsi (who plays *oud* with L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio) as well as dancers and other masters of traditions from the Middle East.

⁶⁵ www.xl.repubblica.it/articoli/med-free-orkestra-dispensa-di-musica-e-buonumore - retrieved on 28 July 2017.

⁶⁶ www.drammaturgia.fupress.net/recensioni/recensione1.php?id=6214 - retrieved on 28 July 2017.

L'orchestra delle donne del 41° Parallelo, as the name suggests ('The 41° Parallel Women's Orchestra'), is an all-female band that includes musicians, singers and composers. It was formed in 2009 during an education project promoted by the Provincia di Roma (the local administration of the Province of Rome). The Orchestra's repertoire is symbolically inspired by the traditional music of the countries located on the 41° parallel – to name a few, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Armenia, Albania and Greece. The band, composed of twenty members, is directed by Stefano Scatozza and arranges its own material⁶⁷. As further proof of the band's commitment to social responsibility it should be noted that the orchestra's debut at the Teatro Studio - Auditorium Parco della Musica in Rome was sponsored by Amnesty International as part of a campaign to end violence against women, with special appearances by many noteworthy special guests such as Nada and Giovanna Marini.

Puglia: BandaAdriatica

BandAdriatica formed in 2006 in Southern Italy by musicians from the Salento region in Apulia and was directed by Claudio Prima, an *organetto* player. Their music takes its cue from traditional Salento folk music but then incorporates music from countries whose shores face the Adriatic Sea – namely Croatia (specifically the Istrian peninsula) and Albania. Their artistic-musical research was documented in a film, *Rotta per Otranto*, which testifies the band's artistic and cultural journey, and is enriched by collaborations with musicians from Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Istria⁶⁸. In 2017 the band has released its fourth record, in which its influences broaden to include Middle Eastern and Asian countries. In contrast to other multi-ethnic orchestras discussed previously, BandAdriatica's repertoire is not focused on social themes such as integrating migrant musicians or inter-ethnic coexistence in areas with high rates of foreign residents. However, I have decided to include them in this broad overview as the band has taken part to the main events dedicated to Italian multi-ethnic orchestras.

In conclusion, the range of multi-ethnic orchestras operating in Italy is wide and heterogeneous, as are Italian cities and the peninsula itself. Each ensemble seeks its

⁶⁷ www.romecentral.com/event/orchestra-delle-donne-del-41-parallelo - retrieved on 28 July 2017.

⁶⁸ www.blogfoolk.com/2010/08/bandadriatica-maremoto-dvd-rota-per - retrieved on 28 July 2017.

own style and sound and attempts to distinguish itself with distinctive features, artistic output and collaborations.

Through field research I have surveyed orchestras that call themselves ‘multi-ethnic’; such label is used by promoters to underline the diverse origins of their musicians, as well as the variety of music performed. Apart from sharing the ‘multi-ethnic orchestra’ label, most of these groups actively promote integration and dialogue between immigrants and ‘old’ residents in inner city areas. Some orchestras are independent and include migrant musicians, most of them professionals, who share a message of peace and intercultural coexistence; others have institutional origins which implies the formulation of annual projects, targeted at specific neighbourhoods and addressed at musicians from the immigrant communities and those who live in precarious social positions.

3.3.5. Inactive and recently-formed multi-ethnic orchestras

This section will, once more, survey groups moving from North to South, ending again with a band from Sicily. The OrcheXtra Terrestre was another interesting orchestra, composed of fifteen accomplished musicians directed by Corrado Bungaro and based in the city of Trento. This multi-ethnic band formed in 2005 on the initiative of the *Assessorato alla cultura del Comune di Trento* (the Arts council of the Trento municipality) with the purpose of developing cultural exchange by blending Italian folk music with other European and non-European musical traditions found in the Trentino Alto Adige region. The group worked with ethno-linguistic minorities living in the area to integrate their proposals in the repertoire, therefore significantly extending its range, which features chants from the Arabic religious tradition as well as songs from Southern Italy, the Ladin folklore and from the African, Romany and Sinti communities. It was a project that had great social impact and involved schools, purposely-organized workshops and conferences to debate

issues related to identity and intercultural exchange⁶⁹. Unfortunately, for logistical and organisational reasons the orchestra was forced to drop their activities and drastically reduce its line-up. Former members would later form *Quintetto Turchese*, a multi-ethnic ensemble, again directed by Corrado Bungaro⁷⁰.

Back in Rome, the unofficial capital of multi-ethnic music, Orchestra Garbatella Multietnica and Esquilino Young Orchestra were bands with long-term plans aiming to plant roots in their areas, but unfortunately they did not manage to continue their journey in music: the former got together for the June 2012 edition of *Festa della Cultura*, an arts festival held in the historical quarter of Garbatella, but as yet it has been their only public performance; the latter is the first example of a youth theatre orchestra. Esquilino Young Orchestra (EYO) was formed in 2010 on the initiative of the Centro Aggregativo Apollo 11 which, following the success of L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio, has been implementing a scheme that could be easily replicated in other urban contexts to help the weak find their way back into society by making concrete improvements of job and personal opportunities. Thanks to the official support of the *Province of Rome* and a substantial donation from a private body, a three-year-long music and theatre workshop came into being and was attended by a group of about thirty teenagers; they were both Italians and second generation immigrants, particularly residing in the Roman outskirts, that were given thus an opportunity to deal with and voice their social and cultural issues through music.

The actor and poet Moni Ovadia directed both the workshops and the orchestra, with the help of a team of skilled contributors that included musicians, promoters, counsellors and psychologists. In spite of its positive outcome the EYO project was stopped in 2014 after being repeated for three consecutive years. A wealth of audio/video material, documenting this experience, is available on the Associazione Apollo 11 website⁷¹.

Moving southwards, Brigada Internazionale was a band from Naples directed by saxophonist and composer Daniele Sepe. Sepe, an accomplished and successful musician, has displayed a marked interest towards music and musicians arriving in Italy due to mass migration throughout his career – his record ‘Trasmigrazioni’, released in 1994 by *Il Manifesto* featured many foreign musicians living in Naples.

⁶⁹ www.blogfoolk.com/2011/02/orchextra-terrestre-musiche-dellaltro - retrieved on 30 July 2017.

⁷⁰ www.cultura.trentino.it/Appuntamenti/Quintetto-Turchese - retrieved on 30 July 2017.

⁷¹ www.esquilino.com/tag/esquilino-young-orchestra - retrieved on 30 July 2017.

Brigada Internazionale started in 2007 in a musical workshop financed by the Province of Naples and the *Regione Campania*, that climaxed with a concert held at the Teatro Trianon.

Daniele Sepe told me that:

‘con nostra grande sorpresa, le amministrazioni promotrici del laboratorio dichiararono che, dopo il concerto, non era stato previsto nessun futuro impegno, nessuna continuità per l’orchestra. Quindi decidemmo di andare avanti in maniera autonoma, abbiamo autoprodotta un album *Nostra patria è il mondo intero*, come recita una nota canzone anarchica e abbiamo proseguito il nostro lavoro con l’aperta ostilità delle istituzioni’⁷².

Brigada’s social and political battle has been fairly discontinuous, as the band’s transient nature allows for them to regroup only if a particular chance arose. The twelve Brigada musicians are all professionals and boast an extensive list of collaborations. They generally meet for rehearsals only before concerts.

There are other multicultural orchestras similar to Brigada Internazionale, whose social stance is less conspicuous but where professionalism and musical diversity are more prominent features. In such groups, performers, who are often members of other bands, do not get together weekly or monthly as is common in most multi-ethnic orchestras where commitment to social causes is more marked. Rather, these groups are characterised by their ephemeral, occasional nature and a high level of musical proficiency.

Finally, *MusicaIntegra* is the last orchestra surveyed in this section. It was based in Palermo and was directed by musician and composer Mario Crispi, a member of the group *Agricantus*, a constant fixture of the Sicilian and Italian music scene.

The multi-ethnic orchestra *MusicaIntegra* included young teenagers, people from Palermo and second-generation immigrants who attended the Centri di Aggregazione Giovanile located in the peripheral areas of the Sicilian city. The project started in 2012 and shaped as an open, intercultural network. As well as the standard instruments found in orchestras, the instrumentation included instruments made of waste and recycled materials, objects newly employed in a musical framework⁷³. The

⁷² Sepe, D. – Personal Interview, Naples, 28 May 2015 – ‘we were astonished to hear that local authorities, which had financially backed the workshop, would not support any future commitment after the concert, so there would be no continued activity for the Orchestra. We decided to carry on independently, self-producing a record called *Nostra patria è il mondo intero* (‘The whole world is our country’) after the chorus of a famous anarchic song, and we continued performing facing the overt opposition of the institutions’.

⁷³ Crispi, M. – Personal Skype Interview, 6 May 2015.

workshop involved local associations and other parties from the associations environment but unfortunately its activities were discontinued in 2015.

As an extension of this section on currently inactive projects I shall briefly introduce a few orchestras and bands which, on the other hand, have just begun their journey on music.

Banda della Darsena, the first multicultural band from Ravenna, debuted on 25 June 2016 at the *Festival delle Culture di Ravenna* as a kind of concerted jam session. Its personnel includes both professional and amateur musicians of different background, ages and origins⁷⁴.

In 2017, the Festival organized a musical workshop directed by Marco Zanotti with the collaboration of Baye Fara Thiam, a Senegal-born musician and dancer known in Ravenna for his African percussions courses⁷⁵.

In the ‘eternal city’, the band Dunia started officially in 2015 from an idea by ethnomusicologist Antonio Bevacqua, who wished to help recently arrived asylum seekers to settle and integrate. As of August 2017 the group is composed of eight members from West Africa, Afghanistan and Lebanon, as well as three Italian coordinators. Bevacqua told me that members are not professional musicians; talking about their first CD, released in 2016, he said that:

‘le canzoni sono nate spontaneamente, partendo da una linea melodica sulla quale i ragazzi iniziavano a cantare, dando voce ai propri sentimenti. I testi raccontano le storie dolorose e drammatiche che ognuno di loro ha dovuto affrontare per arrivare in Europa, in altri casi parlano della loro condizione di rifugiato in Italia, altre ancora sono canzoni d’amore verso la propria terra’.⁷⁶

The group coordinators arrange the songs by starting from the lyrics and the melody lines as sung by the migrants, later adding percussions and acoustic and electric instruments.

The most interesting effect resulting from singing in group and making music in a context at once multicultural and very delicate as Dunia is the activation of a process of narration, which generates in the musicians an emotional bond, giving them a temporary sense of belonging and a transitory residence in the world (Chambers

⁷⁴ www.festivaldelleculture.org – retrieved on 31 July 2017.

⁷⁵ www.romagnawebtv.it/2016/11/02/blog-un-laboratorio-musicale-per-dare-vita-alla-banda-della-darsena/ - retrieved on 31 July 2017.

⁷⁶ Bevacqua, A. – Personal Phone Interview, 18 July 2017 – ‘the songs have been written spontaneously, starting from melody lines which the members employed to voice their feelings. The lyrics tell of the hardships and the dramatic moments they lived through to get to Europe. In other cases they are about their status as refugees in Italy, but there are also love songs to their native countries’.

2012). Here migrants do not talk about their past but tell new migration stories of diasporas and settling in a new place, allowing their audience to get a different perspective on how life and culture in Italy are perceived.

The last recent experience in this overview, which is as worthy of attention as any described above is the Orchestra Popolare di Via Leuca. It formed in Lecce within an urban regeneration project that had begun in 2014 after a year of musical and anthropological research conducted in the Leuca neighbourhood, where the number of foreign residents has considerably increased.

The final goal of that research was to create an orchestra that would belong to the area and would highlight the residents' ethnical and spiritual diversity: from the consistent Sikh community, which meets in its local temple, to the catholic choir connected to the association Migrantes in Lecce, whose singers come from North and West Africa.

Orchestra Popolare di Via Leuca was conceived by Raffaella Aprile's Papagna association. Aprile, who is a musician, a famous singer and the orchestra artistic director, wanted to bring to light the peculiarities of a welcoming region such as Salento.

Foreign musicians are integrated in the group by meeting the most talented exponents of Salento's musical and choreutic traditions. Regrouping on an identity basis allows different music styles and traditions to mingle whilst preserving each performer's essential qualities⁷⁷.

⁷⁷ www.leccesette.it/dettaglio.asp?id_dett=20646&id_rub=129 - retrieved on 31 July 2017.

3.4. Multi-ethnic choirs: group singing as a vehicle for knowledge and integration

Multi-ethnic choirs began their activities at the same time as multi-ethnic orchestras and bands. Like orchestral groups, choirs originated within associations and cultural circles, whose promoters thought of channelling new approaches for education and integration through singing: by ‘singing together’, or simply ‘being together’ people involved learn a language, grow an interest or meet people, facilitating delicate integration processes in a different social and cultural context.

During my ethnographic research I have had the chance to attend performances by the main multi-ethnic choirs actively gigging in Italy and to interview some of their main musicians.

The condition of being a migrant involves a state of constant movement where starting and arrival points change all the time and where languages, stories and identities shift continuously. Being in a perpetual state of transit makes it impossible to go back home (Chambers, 2003) and this causes a deep ambivalence: on the one hand migrants never feel settled, either in Italy or in their native country; on the other, they feel like they have put their roots firmly in both places.

Participant observation of both groups raised many questions:

- a) what role does music play in these specific and restricted migration contexts?
- b) Why do migrants choose to sing one particular song instead of another?
- c) How does music impact emotionally on single musicians and consequently on mixed groups?

For instance, Venice-based choir “Voci dal Mondo” focuses on migration songs: taking the painful stories of Italian migrants who left the country for new continents as a starting point, the choir explores songs by ‘new migrants’ and their status as global citizens holding many different identities. Being in the choir is a way to redeem a troubled moment of the Italian history; society finds, in contemporary energies, a different way to conceive a new framework for welcoming foreigners.

On the other hand, multi-ethnic choir “Romolo Balzani”’s repertoire focuses on migrants’ heritage, by choosing compositions inspired by specific stories and socio-cultural contexts such as rebel or work songs. Some members of this Roman choir come from Kurdistan or Palestine, where oppressed peoples are still reclaiming territories. Thus, songs subsume an identity element, which reflects the need to

‘make music’ so as to feel closer to one’s own community and put forward a clear political message. Musicians bring their condition of ‘asylum seekers’ to the choir, of forced and painful migration, evoking their desire to return home to their beloved ones.

There are many different stories of migrants, and it is almost impossible to reproduce them all here. Nevertheless, it is possible to report the results of a survey on the main multi-ethnic choirs, which substantiated their nature of working models of aggregation and discovery of the ‘other’.

3.4.1. Choir “Voci dal Mondo” - Venice

Choir “Voci dal Mondo” was formed in 2008 on the initiative of *Servizio Etam – animazione di comunità e territorio delle Politiche Sociali* – a public office which is part of the municipality of Venice - and by a workshop established by residents of the Via Piave area in Mestre, a neighbourhood where urban and social changes caused by mass migration movements are particularly visible.

The municipality of Venice chose Giuseppina Casarin to be in charge of the choir. Casarin is known for her research on popular songs from Italy and the Veneto region, which would then be performed many times in public – more significantly in singer-songwriter Gualtiero Bertelli’s memorable renditions. Casarin is also an accomplished music teacher, who suggested that the choir adopt a method for the oral learning of songs, also in a foreign language. Casarin told me:

‘Quando il comune di Venezia mi ha chiamata per fare questo lavoro con la musica sono stata molto felice di accettare, ero interessata a scoprire la musica dei migranti di oggi. Inizialmente è stato molto difficile coinvolgere le persone, nella prima fase è stato fondamentale collaborare con questi operatori di strada che conoscevano la rete di immigrati, dell’associazione, delle persone che frequentavano il quartiere di via Piave di Mestre’⁷⁸.

⁷⁸ Casarin, G. – Personal Interview, Mestre, 30 September 2015 – ‘I was very happy to be offered this assignment by the Venice municipality. I was interested in discovering contemporary migrants’ music’(…) ‘It was very difficult to involve people at first. In the first phase the collaboration of street workers has been crucial, as they have a first-hand knowledge of the migrant communities, the association and the people in the via Piave area in Mestre’.

The choir has developed greatly since its first meetings, which were attended only by three interested participants: today it boasts about sixty members of all ages, 30% of which are mostly non-EU nationals.

The repertoire is particularly rich and varied and it is distinguished by including folk and traditional songs from all over the world. Giuseppina Casarin spoke to me about her experience as *animatrice*:

‘all’inizio abbiamo lavorato sull’incontro, il canto era l’elemento che serviva a conoscere *gli altri*, ognuno portava la propria canzone e tutti gli altri la imparavano per imitazione. In questo modo tutti cantano tutto. Così anche i primi spettacoli avevano l’obiettivo di comunicare e testimoniare la storia di convivenza possibile tra le persone di diversi paesi’⁷⁹.

Many things have changed along the years, including members and above all methods of material research, as explained by Casarin:

Il coro negli ultimi anni ha sperimentato modi diversi di parlare e di cantare alla città. Siamo alla ricerca di una forma sempre nuova per cantare a tutti i suoi cittadini. A fronte di ciò abbiamo sviluppato gli ultimi progetti performativi nei luoghi periferici di Venezia, quartieri difficili e percepiti dai cittadini come non sicuri e degradati.

Il coro, oltre a vivere l’aspetto della coralità come gruppo, ha messo in atto nuovi modi di andare in scena sfruttando il contesto urbano. Un lavoro teatrale in cui le persone si misurano e cantano e stanno in scena come presenza consapevole all’interno dello spazio cittadino. Siamo andati a cantare in mezzo alla strada per esempio, oppure sui balconi dei palazzi storici o nei parchi pubblici. I risultati raggiunti con questo progetto sono molto emozionanti⁸⁰.

The work that the choir has been performing steadily and passionately is of a very high level and also quite original, especially considering that its members are mostly amateurs joined by very few professionals.

Most of the singers are females, and those from Asian countries such as Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have had to go through a process of emancipation to join this project,

⁷⁹ Casarin, G - *ibid.* – ‘at first we worked on meeting each other, and singing was the medium needed to get to know *the others*: each member brought their own song and the others learned it by imitating it. This way everybody sang everything. The first shows were focused on communicating and testifying how coexistence between people from different countries could be possible’.

⁸⁰ Casarin, G - *ibid.* – ‘In later years the choir has experimented with different ways to talk to and sing to the city. We’re constantly exploring new ways to sing to the citizens. That’s why the latest performative projects have been developed in peripheral Venice areas, difficult neighbourhoods that citizens regard as dangerous and run-down.

The choir, as well as living the core experience of singing in group, has implemented new ways to stage a show by exploiting the urban framework. This theatrical approach makes people sing and be on stage with great awareness of their urban surroundings. For example, we performed right in the middle of a street, or on the balconies of historical buildings or in public parks. What we achieved with this project is very emotional’.

as their communities, and particularly their husbands' families, hold in low esteem a woman who sings⁸¹. In such cases, it could be argued that migration is a necessary stage leading towards personal autonomy and freedom to pursue one's passion, especially when gender reasons make such steps unachievable in the country of origin.

The choir plays also a very important social role by helping those in need, and at times the group has provided legal assistance to members that had issues with their permits.

Finally, the choral workshop "Voci dal Mondo" can be considered a valid example of integration. In Casarin's words, 'nel canto si integra tutti quanti, e tutti sono alla pari: la badante, per esempio, è uguale alla signora veneziana che viene per passare il tempo. Il sentimento di uguaglianza è diffuso, e la pratica musicale aiuta le persone ad allontanarle dalla loro condizione difficilissima di lavoro, li aiuta ad evadere dalla realtà'⁸².

Yet again, this choir is another successful experience where musical practices are an effective vehicle for debate, meetings, integration and solidarity.

⁸¹ From personal interviews conducted during the seminar "Polifonie in Viva Voce 18", "Polifonie Migranti a Venezia", at Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 10 November 2014

⁸² Casarin, G. (2015) *ibid* – 'singing unites everyone, making everybody absolutely equal: for example, a carer is exactly on the same level as a Venetian lady who comes in to pass the time. This feeling of equality spreads among participants and the musical practice helps them to forget the hardships of their jobs for a while, to escape reality'.

3.4.2. Multi-ethnic choir “Romolo Balzani” - Rome

This choir was formed in 2007 following the termination of a multi-ethnic children’s choir experience called *Se...sta Voce* which had been conceived by teachers Attilio di Sanza and Susanna Serpe at an elementary school in the Casilino area on the outskirts of Rome. Its primary aim had been to facilitate communication between Italian children and the growing number of foreign children. The choir’s activities helped its young foreign members to learn Italian and better integrate in school classes. Considering their excellent results, the organizers thought about creating a choir for adults, starting with the parents of the children from *Se...sta voce*.

Sara Modigliani, creator and director of the multi-ethnic choirs “Romolo Balzani” is an interpreter and researcher of the Italian folk revival and the traditional Roman song. She is a founding member of the Circolo Gianni Bosio and of the “Scuola di Musica di Testaccio”, where she has been a teacher for many years.

I met her at the Città dell’altra economia in Rome, where the choir was performing as part of an event that featured the Rete delle Scuole Migranti (www.scuolemigranti.org), and she told me about her experience in music after many years in the field:

Il coro è un’offerta sul territorio, chiunque abbia voglia di cantare e condividere il progetto può partecipare senza selezioni, né protagonismi o competizioni. L’idea di fondo del laboratorio è che non ci interessano la bellezza e la purezza delle voci, i cori di professionisti cercano solitamente una perfezione estetica, qui invece le voci sono tutte diverse. Ogni canzone è legata a una precisa persona che ce l’ha insegnata, alla sua storia. Molti elementi sono tornati a casa, altri continuano a suonare con noi ogni mercoledì, altri ancora o si sono allontanati dal coro, ma noi continuiamo a cantare le loro canzoni.

Alcuni elementi del coro si esibiscono da anni sulla metropolitana di Roma o negli angoli delle strade chiedendo un’offerta, poi ci sono alcuni rifugiati politici curdi che sono arrivati da poco e pur non parlando l’italiano, sono riusciti ad insegnare a tutti la propria canzone. C’è anche qualcuno che grazie al coro è riuscito a sviluppare una rete di conoscenze e a trovare una occupazione nell’ambito in cui aveva studiato⁸³.

⁸³ Modigliani, S. – Personal Interview, Rome, 6 June 2015 – ‘This choir is an offer to the territory, so anyone who wants to sing and be part of the project can join us. There are no selections, competitions or people seeking the limelight. This workshop’s basic ethic is that we’re not interested in the purity or the abstract beauty of the voices. Professional choirs usually look for aesthetic perfection, but voices here are all different. Every song belongs to the specific person who teaches it to the rest of the group and his/her personal background. Many members have eventually gone back home; others still play with us every Wednesday; others have left the group but we’re still singing their songs.

The latter case mentioned by Modigliani is Sushmita Sultana, a singer and music graduate from India who opened a little music school in Torpignattara where she teaches Indian dancing and the songs and poems of Rabindranat Tagore to children⁸⁴. At the time of writing Sultana is co-director of multi-ethnic choirs “Romolo Balzani” with Roxana Ene, a young Romanian singer formerly in *Se...sta Voce*.

For Roxana, and especially for her mother Sorina, joining the workshop has been very important in their personal path of integration, and has helped them to settle in their new city:

‘noi portiamo al gruppo qualcosa del nostro paese d’origine per trovare le somiglianze tra la cultura rumena e la nuova cultura. Grazie al Coro è stato possibile consolidare i rapporti interpersonali, è un centro di aggregazione molto forte. Per me cantare con il gruppo è un esercizio zen, si sta bene, ci divertiamo e si evade per alcune ore dalla routine stressante’⁸⁵.

The multi-ethnic choirs “Romolo Balzani” is characterised by its research on political, work and protest songs from across the world. The repertoire is strongly politicized, as the choir’s daily commitment to social issues includes welcoming political refugees and giving financial support to migrants in need.

The choral workshop has a strong connection to the Circolo Gianni Bosio, which is completing a research on musical expressivity and life stories of musicians and others from migrant communities. The project *Roma Forestiera* started in 2009 on the initiative of historian and Americanist Alessandro Portelli with the intention of monitoring, recording, archiving and spreading the music of migrants who live in Rome and Italy. Portelli and Modigliani went to schools, streets and mosques to discover and record new music originally from many European and non-European countries. The research led to the creation of a rich sound archive and to the release of a collection of thematic discs and other publishing projects⁸⁶.

Some of them have been performing for years on the Metro (the Roman underground train service) or have been busking on street corners. There are Kurd political refugees who have arrived recently and in spite of not speaking Italian they managed to teach all of us their song. There is even someone who thanks to the choir managed to build a network of contacts and find an occupation in their own field.’

⁸⁴ Sultana, S. – Personal Interview, Rome, 6 June 2015.

⁸⁵ Ene, S. – Personal Interview, Rome 6 June 2015 – ‘we bring to the group something of our native country, shining light on similitudes between Romanian culture and this new culture. Thanks to the choir we have strengthened personal relationships, as this is a strongly aggregative unit. To me, singing with the group is like Zen practice, it feels good, we have fun and we escape for a few hours from our stressful routine’.

⁸⁶ www.circologiannibosio.it/archivio/fondo-roma-forestiera - retrieved on 2 August 2017.

In conclusion, the multi-ethnic choir “Romolo Balzani” is a place where people can gather, research and work on migrants’ musical cultures and heritage. Listening to their stories reveals life hardships and the nature of the distinctly unsympathetic relations they form in their working environment. People have found in the choir a welcoming space where experiences of migration, marginality and prejudice converge and can be shared with others. The songs occasionally bring people back to their native places; other times they point towards the direction to go; as with the Sorina Ene, the Romanian lady, they can also be likened to Zen practice, to fight stress and feelings of loneliness.

Italy has been, and still is, a nation of migrants, so the music of those arriving in modern times may help to re-evaluate migration from different points of view such as that of those who leave, those who stay and those who go back home. Now that Italy has become a multicultural arrival point for people to go to and start their lives anew it is important to reflect on its history.

3.5. Loans, transits, transformations

In big European cities, famed for being cosmopolitan, multicultural and more or less tolerant towards ethnic minorities, it is possible to encounter several instances of new music groups that started thanks to contacts, exchanges and debates between migrant communities and resident musicians.

It is important to emphasise that urban foreign communities, tightly structured and now deeply rooted in all major Western capitals, formed in the decades following the end of nation states’ colonial empires; migrant musicians therefore generally tend to bind on identity bases.

In the 1980’s and 1990’s new musical genres came into being from such meetings. It is worth remembering how in Britain an Indo-Pakistani genre known as *bhangra* mixed with sub-sections of British pop music such as rock and electronica; how *räi*, which started in Algeria, became much richer in sounds when it arrived in French cities and mixed with French hip-hop; bands such as Zebda in Toulouse, Mano

Negra and Orchestre National de Barbès in Paris or Asian Dub Foundation in London. These examples, each in their own way, accompany political initiatives aimed at bringing about change (Martin, 2003: 41). Not only did these artists create all-new mixtures of styles using their own roots: they also revealed their existence, recounting their tale of identity (G. Béhague, cit. in Martin, 2003: 42) and showing their contribution to modernity (which has often been opposed for social and racial motives).

The analysis of the many diasporas (mainly from Africa or Asia) towards richer countries and former Western colonial powers shows how many musicians, by virtue of their international success, have become bona fide identity ‘icons’ (Agamennone, 2010): the long ascent of Cesaria Évora, who went from being a humble rambling singer in her native Cape Verde’s small bars to becoming a worldwide internationally renowned star proves this point; or maybe the personal vicissitudes of Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, a *sufi* singer, who almost came to represent Pakistan’s national and cultural perspectives (Baud, 1996: 259-274) and who managed to distil, from his traditional devotion, high-quality fusion experiments which brought him world fame. There are plenty of examples of new musical genres that were born from the meeting of changing cultures in the chaotic hotbed of Western cities, where sometime conflicting different musical structures coexist together. To list them all here is almost impossible; nevertheless, an analysis could be attempted on what differentiates the tangle of musical combinations that take place in multi-ethnic orchestras.

As already stated, multi-ethnic orchestras are generally composed of musicians with varied and heterogeneous backgrounds, in terms of geography and musical education.

A quote from Mario Tronco seems quite appropriate to shed light on their approach to music-making:

‘ogni musicista porta nelle nostre opere la sua cultura, la sua lingua. Si canta infatti in arabo, inglese, spagnolo, tedesco, portoghese, *wolof*, italiano. La nostra musica è frutto delle proposte dei musicisti e intrisa di elementi che provengono dal *reggae*, dalla musica classica, dal *pop* e dal *jazz*, la nostra musica è piena di riferimenti alle altre culture.’⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Tronco, M. speaking at the *XX Seminario Internazionale di Etnomusicologia*, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 30 January 2015 – ‘all musicians bring to our work their culture and language. Indeed, we sing in Arabic, English, Spanish, German, Portuguese, Wolof and Italian. Our music is the result of all musicians’ suggestions and it is infused with elements from reggae, classical music, pop and jazz. Our music is rich in references to other cultures’.

It is a basic description, but one which could be applied to most multi-ethnic groups. The process described by Tronco could be easily associated to typical ‘world music’ processes, as Martin Stokes observed: ‘musical encounters are orchestrated by prominent rock and pop stars: Peter Gabriel, Brian Eno, Robert Fripp, Transglobal Underground, Natacha Atlas and others. Though billed as exchanges and fusion, they graft exotic sounds onto a western rock and pop musical infrastructure’ (Stokes, 2007: 8).

The processes of negotiation and exchange between musicians of different origins undertaken in these new migration contexts, and the musical arrangements consciously elaborated by the directors are not that far removed from those sonic combinations already explored by the ‘godfathers’ of world music.

The music of multi-ethnic orchestras, which takes its cue from the meeting of styles and characters of different origins, and its harmonic concatenation, are governed by the dominance of Western tonality – such as that found in jazz, rock or electronica – which lends itself to the integration of ‘exotic’ instruments and music, making the final product entertaining and suited to Western audiences, long fascinated by the exoticism of ‘music from the rest of the world’.

By employing such distinctive features it becomes easier for migrant musicians to integrate in the groups: they are generally familiar with such proceedings, being used to playing in international contexts.

The concept of *urban ethnic music*, as analysed by scholar Adelaida Reyes-Schramm (1979) seems particularly appropriate to attempt a general description of the music performed by multi-ethnic orchestras, to emphasise the influence of socio-cultural urban contexts and their inherent cultural diversity on the music performed. It is a musical *mélange* that contains elements of *jazz*, *salsa*, *cumbia*, *reggae* and other similar rhythms which mostly took hold in big cities, where it is easier to notice the big flow of people. (Reyes-Schramm, 1979).

3.6. 'Music-meeting' in multi-ethnic orchestras

The true innovation introduced by multi-ethnic orchestras is not strictly to do with the music they perform but rather to the meaning of 'music-meeting' and the resulting connection and integration among musicians.

What strongly stands out in these multi-ethnic groups is how conscious instances of 'musical hybridization' can take place in a much quicker way than in other frameworks. It may not be at all unusual to witness Albanian musicians becoming more familiar with Bengali music structures, or a Cuban pianist performing with a professional *oud* player from Morocco.

An 'hybridization eulogy' takes shape, as musicians do not simply stick to playing the music of their native country: the mixture of sounds and the use of instruments foreign to their cultures directly and consciously affect their performances.

The term 'hybridization' or 'métissage' has been processed by many scholars in relation to musical crossovers happening as a result of the meeting of different ethnic groups (Amselle 1999; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Frith 2000; Martin 2003). Some post-colonial intellectuals such as Homi K. Bhabha or Robert Young identify cultural hybridization and creolization as the results of a multitude of fusions generated by exchange and power relationships between the West and the rest of the world (Africa, Asia, native Americans, Pacific Islands). In this prospective observation, hybridization and creolization are some of the many consequences of globalisation, generating hybrid cultures and identities that were born in the historical framework of colonial powers (Amselle, 2017).

The great explorations and colonisations have certainly quickened the pace for cultures getting in contact and mixing with each other, but it is likely that these processes were already taking place in the pre-colonial period, albeit in a much more reduced and slower manner.

The concept of hybridization presupposes the existence of 'pure' and static cultures and traditions, unchanged by the passing of time. As Simon Frith suggests, 'in local contexts of mobility and migration, tradition is always a matter of invention and reinvention' (Frith, 2000). In the current hyper-connected and mass media-influenced world there is not a single music culture which has been immune to external influences; at the same time, "migrant musicians at the moment that they decide to travel refresh their references" (Côte-Real, 2010).

It would be more appropriate to abandon the concept of ‘musical hybridization’ to adopt instead that of ‘musical meeting’ or maybe, as again suggested by Amselle (2017) that of ‘connection between cultures’, considering the constant revitalization of cultures and of musical traditions: “musical traditions are only preserved by constant innovation” (Frith, 2000: 311).

Along with a perspective of ‘celebrated hybrid music’ (Guilbault, 1997) that praises *mélange* and musical fusion, single musicians in multi-ethnic orchestras try to assert their musical identity, as in the musical background towards which they feel a sense of belonging, thus emphasizing the alleged authenticity of their culture of origin and, by extension, the authenticity of the meeting of different music worlds, both on stage and in recording studios.

The assertion of single identities, when considering the dimension of this new migration framework has an important role in society; myths and stories from one’s culture are shared with the others so that migrants’ heritage may be preserved, articulated and expressed musically. Through the juxtaposition of different styles and musical identities, ‘playing music’ becomes an important means for maintaining and supporting an intercultural society. Simon Frith suggests a way to evaluate this process:

Under certain circumstances, then, music becomes a source of collective consciousness which promotes group cohesion and social activities that in turn have political consequences.

Music articulates a way of being -in- society both representationally (in its subject matter) and materially (in its lived-out relationship between musicians and between musicians and audience). This is a process of idealization both in formal terms (the way in which music provides a narrative, in an experience of wholeness and completion) and a matter of staging, in events in which solidarity is made physical (Frith, 2000: 317).

Music – especially folk music - is frequently chosen to represent forms and identities of cultural groups, even more so when these groups include ethnically different foreigners that find themselves in a place they barely know.

In a context such as Italy, where communities of foreigners are very fragmented, it becomes difficult for migrants themselves to be publicly represented in a way which would not take into account their origins and nationality (Corte-Real, 2010). Musical practice then, such as community and culture celebrations promoted in cities, becomes part of a strategy that favours social cohesion among different cultural groups in an attempt to reduce, and at best solve social tensions.

In a more restricted context such as that of multi-ethnic orchestras, where different musical and artistic cultures find a means to expression, the main catalyst to establish relations between different individuals is ‘world music’, the result of the meeting of peoples on the almost ethereal basis of a journey through the spirals of sound. As different as these characters are, what unites them is the hope for a better world and even more the cultural phenomenon that sustains the very basic human need to perform music, beyond languages, styles and systems.

World music enacts a ‘celebratory narrative that sees musical fusion as cultural signs of an action that conveys the desire of cultural respect, tolerance and integration’ (Feld, 2011). An ideology foundation that can hardly be split from the very concept of ‘world music’ and that, at a basic level, puts at the forefront the desire for brotherhood among peoples, for dialogue and solidarity.

Orchestras, bands and multi-ethnic choirs are part of this prospective vision, as even the simple circulation of music and musicians from all parts of the world reinforces the idea that all humans belong to the same planet; this is why the primary commitment should be towards peaceful sharing of the same land and culture integration, imagining a world without borders, in a renewed global *melting pot* fuelled by a forward-thinking musical language offering new chances for meetings and utopian dreams.

In conclusion, after surveying fifteen years of multi-ethnic orchestras experiences I would argue that the so-called ‘New Italy’ has not only become reality in schools and workplaces but also in contexts of aggregation related to these groups. That of multi-ethnic orchestras is a musical phenomenon that has accompanied the great social changes that have taken place in the country and which has substantiated a ‘harmonious diversity’ aiming to go beyond the traditional concepts of tolerance and integration to ultimately overcome them.

Picture1. L' Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio
(promotional picture, www.orchestrapiazzavittorio.it, 2 May 2014).



Picture 2. The Magic Flute *Flauto Magico secondo l'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio*
(promotional picture, www.orchestrapiazzavittorio.it, 30 January 2015).



Picture 3. Piccola Orchestra di Tor Pignattara performing at “Festival delle Colline”, Villa Medicea, Poggio a Caiano, Florence, 5 July 2016 (photo by Layla Dari).



Picture 4. Piccola Orchestra di Tor Pignattara, concerto for the event “Better Days, la musica dei nuovi italiani”, Rome, 2 June 2017 (archive material, www.piccolaorchestratorpignattara.it, 20 June 2017).



Picture 5. OMM, Orchestra Multietnica Mediterranea performing at Palazzo delle Arti, Naples, 26 February 2016
(archive material, www.orchestramultieticamediterranea.it, 9 July 2017).



Picture 6. OMM, Orchestra Multietnica Mediterranea performing at Domus Ars, Naples, 15 April 2016 (photo by Layla Dari).



Picture 7. Orchestra di Via Padova performing in Milan, 30 April 2015
(photo by Massimiliano Lenti, www.banditpictures.com, 15 January 2017).



Picture 8. Banda di Piazza Caricamento, Genoa
(promotional picture, www.echoart.org/sito/banda, 8 April 2015).



Picture 9. Orchestra dei Popoli Vittorio Baldoni performing at Auditorium, Milan, 11 March 2015
(archive material, www.facebook.com/orchestrateipopoli/, 11 March 2017).



Picture 10. Orchestra popolare di Via Leuca
(promotional picture, www.rigenerazioneurbanalecce.it/home/index.php/papagna/, 11 November 2017).



Picture 11. Multi- ethnic choir “Voci dal Mondo” from Venice and Mestre (promotional picture, www.corovocidalmondo.wordpress.com, 20 September 2017).



Picture 12. Multi- ethnic choir “Voci dal Mondo” performing at Mirano, 23 September 2016 (picture by Saraluna Zuin, <https://www.facebook.com/corovocidalmondo.ve/>, 10 June 2017).



Picture 13. Multi- ethnic choir “Romolo Balzani” performing at Città dell’altra Economia, Rome, 29 March 2014
(archive material, www.facebook.com/groups/coroadulto/, 21 March 2017).



Picture 14. Multi- ethnic choir “Romolo Balzani” performing at Casa Internazionale delle Donne, Rome, 16 February 2017
(photo press, www.internazionale.it, 2 March 2017).



Chapter 4

The Portugal Experience: music-meeting in Lisbon

This chapter presents the findings of a six-month research I conducted in Lisbon thanks to the Pegaso scholarship, a programme sponsored by Regione Toscana – and co-financed by the European Social Fund – committed to the support of PhD projects that examine internationally relevant subjects. The research was conducted between May and December 2016 at the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa (NOVA) – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas* and was supervised by professor Maria São José Côrte-Real; during the same period, again at NOVA, I also followed closely the activities of the *Instituto de Etnomusicologia – Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança* (INET-md).

This opportunity gave me the chance to examine some of the multicultural phenomena that have been taking place in the fertile context of Lisbon, seeking to draw comparisons to similar Italian instances. The present study takes its cue from the framework of contemporary migration towards Portugal and specifically Lisbon: to this end, social and intercultural policies implemented in the country in recent decades have been analysed.

Some of the main musical experiences surveyed here bear remarkable similarities to Italian multi-ethnic orchestras: that is the case of Orquestra Todos, which was modelled on L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio, and Orquestra Transcultural Latinidade, whose aim is to join together the diverse music worlds which characterise the city.

As regards cultural policies, I have analysed practices related to social inclusion and integration of foreign communities in the territory as exemplified by Orquestra Geração, which is supported by the prestigious Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and whose stated aims include imparting specific educational music programmes to both second-generation immigrants and Portuguese children. I have also dealt with important and urgent matters such as 'music citizenship' and I have reviewed important theoretical frameworks such as Lusophony, assessing the meeting of different music made possible by group identity.

4.1. Contemporary migration in Portugal - a summary

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Portugal was a land of emigration: significant transatlantic migratory flows were directed towards Brazil, Venezuela and, later, Northern America. By contrast, between the 1950's and the 1960's Portuguese labour became widely requested in Central European countries such as Germany and France (Rocha-Trinidade, 1995). Portugal had also been greatly affected by internal migration, with consistent numbers of people moving from inner rural areas to the seaside and the big cities, which were significantly wealthier and offered a better quality of life.

According to statistics, in the 1960's the number of foreign residents in Portugal was almost non-existent, amounting to less than 30.000, which represented 0.3% of the total population (Fonseca and others, 2011).

The second half of the 1970's saw significant changes, as the collapse of the authoritarian regime accelerated the process of independence by African colonies. This is when the first migratory flows were registered: Portuguese who lived in ex-colonies were forced to move back to Portugal; they were joined by many native Africans from Cape Verde, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and a few Indians (the small state of Goa had been under the dominion of Portugal for almost 500 years before being militarily annexed by India in 1961 – Fonseca, 2002).

Even though migrations were initially slow and gradual, from the second half of the 1980's Portugal was affected by increasing flows that became more intense, especially in the capital city of Lisbon, which quickly became attractive to many foreign nationals. This was a consequence of economic growth, as Portugal joined the European Economic Community in 1986 and a period of relative political stability ensued between 1987 and 1995; indeed, that was when substantial investments were made in infrastructure, and foreign capital started circulating (Esteves, 1991).

The job market growth, which led to the need for unskilled labour, resulted in the clear increase of new arrivals in the 1990's, which vastly outnumbered those leaving at the same time. According to figures released by *Diagnóstico da População imigrante em Portugal 2013* (Report on immigrant population in Portugal 2013) and by *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (Immigration and Borders Service), foreign

nationals in 1996 were 175.000, with 46.6% coming from Africa, 28.4% from Europe and 14.3% from South America.

As these numbers show, most of the immigrants that arrived since the start of the 1980's came from African countries or PALOP (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa* – 'Portuguese-speaking African countries'). This can be explained by the cultural and linguistic ties between Portugal and its former African colonies, which underwent a process of decolonisation that started in the 1970's.

Furthermore, towards the end of the 1990's, Portugal saw the arrival of many migrants from Eastern Europe. Mostly, these were Ukrainian, Russian and Romanian nationals that could move more freely thanks to less restrictive European policies; at the same time, immigrants from Brazil also started settling in in consistent numbers. Most of these new arrivals were unskilled workers: female labour generally found employment in housekeeping jobs.

Successive and more diverse migratory flows brought about new challenges and issues, especially as regards to integration in Portuguese society, linguistic difficulties and the rise of undocumented immigration. Extensive campaigns to regularize migrant workers were launched¹: the government approved a law proposal in 2001, the 4/2001 (*Decreto Lei 4/2001 de 10 de Janeiro, Condições de entrada, permanência, saída e afastamento de estrangeiros do território português*²), which granted regularization to those who could prove that they had been hired with a valid and stable working contract. Also, in July 2003 Portugal and Brazil signed an agreement (*Acordo ente a República Federativa do Brasil e a República Portuguesa sobre Facilitação de Circulação de Pessoas*), also called 'Lula Agreement' (after former Brazil's president), which gave residence cards to about 20.000 lawfully employed Brazilian labourers (Baldwin-Edwards and Kraler, 2009). Later amendments integrating and reinforcing the aforementioned DL 4/2001 include DR 6/2004 (*Decreto Regulamentar 6/2004 de 26 de Abril*), which inaugurated the last big regularization campaign, making visa application processes available to workers

¹ The first 'special' regularization campaign took place in 1992-1993. Only non-EU nationals who could prove that they had stayed in Portugal for a specified number of months could apply for a visa. A second 'special' campaign took place in 1996 and lasted for six months: applicants were mostly foreign nationals in regular employment who could prove their knowledge of Portuguese. However, only since decree 4/2001 was passed into law did regularization processes become connected to jobs and a regular employment contract, a crucial requirement in forthcoming campaigns (Baldwin-Edwards and Kraler 2009).

² The full text can be accessed on:
www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=305&tabela=leis.

who had been resident for at least a year and had paid taxes into the system during the three months preceding their application.

According to data provided by *Diagnóstico da População Imigrante em Portugal*, almost 184.000 foreign workers were regularized in a few years: in 2005 the biggest and most structured communities of regular immigrants in Portugal were those from Brazil, followed by Ukrainians and Cape Verdeans; also notable was the slow but continued growth of Asian nationals from India, China, Pakistan and Bangladesh (*Diagnóstico da População Imigrante em Portugal 2013*: 33). The number of regularized foreigners kept increasing until it reached the total of 454.191 people in 2009, due to family reunifications.

On the other hand, in the years between 2010-2013 the number of Portugal's foreign residents decreased, as a symptom of the economic crisis but also for the naturalization of a consistent number of citizens who met the requirements of the *Lei da Nacionalidade – Lei Orgânica n 2/2006* approved on 17 April (*Quarta alteração à Lei n 37/81, de 3 de Outubro/ Lei da Nacionalidade*), which will be surveyed in the next paragraph (*Diagnóstico da População Imigrante em Portugal 2013*: 34).

Lisbon's foreign residents number has tripled in less than two decades. Indeed, a remarkable process of 'suburbanization' took place between 1991 and 2001, which led to foreign nationals moving to the city's outer districts. This phenomenon caused the exponential growth of the suburbs, where *bairros de habitação social* – housing developments, or council homes – were built, making it the third biggest metropolitan-urban region for size and number of residents in the Iberian peninsula; as will be shown in the next paragraphs, such big urban conglomerations, often scarred by decay and considerable social tensions, may be host to musical practices-related social activities promoted by important institutions such as the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

Between 2000 and 2001 the opposite phenomenon took place in Lisbon, and the city was newly populated by foreign nationals that left the suburbs to move to the city centre, especially to the older, central neighbourhoods, encouraged by the significant growth of the tourism sector, the third sector in general and a bigger housing availability (Fonseca and others, 2011).

Lisbon is mostly inhabited by older native Portuguese, who share their city with several different immigrant communities whose roots, cultures, religions and ways of life are richly diverse. The biggest community is that formed by Cape Verde

nationals, followed by those from Africa, South America (particularly Brazil), Eastern Europe and Asia. The Portuguese capital is an extraordinary meeting point for different cultures and in the last three decades it has become a richly multicultural and cosmopolitan city.

Currently, ‘new Lisboners’ who come from distinct geographical and cultural origins influence the urban landscape in different ways: by engendering a housing crisis in disadvantaged areas, where the poorest ethnic minorities are concentrated; by introducing architecture typical of their native lands (noticeable in places of worship, home layout, courtyards, window decorations, gardens); by the presence of ethnic markets; by tastes and perfumes found in the city and the sound of foreign languages that can be heard in streets and squares together with the many different kinds of music and other forms of artistic and cultural expression from all across the world (Malheiros, 2000).

Thanks to immigration, Lisbon is effectively a multicultural society now, where diversity exists and – apparently pacifically – co-exists with the native culture, even though, as argued by Maria Lucinda Fonseca, the process of interculturality enhancement and integration needs to make significant progress (Fonseca and others, 2011: 16).

4.2. The adoption of “Nova Lei da Nacionalidade” (Lei Ôrgânica 2/2006 de 17 de Abril)

The adoption of the law *Nova Lei da Nacionalidade* (New Nationality Law) represented a significant step forward towards the integration of migrants in the country. It was approved by the Portuguese parliament on 16 February 2006 and was described as ‘a law which radically alters earlier laws in regard to the attribution and acquisition of Portuguese citizenship by immigrants and their children’³. This law, proposed by then Socialist Prime Minister José Sócrates Carvalho Pinto de Sousa, was approved by a great majority of the 230 members of the Portuguese parliament.

³ www.ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/portuguese-citizenship-the-new-nationality-law-of-2006 - retrieved on 28 October 2017.

The law was passed with the support of the governing *Partido Socialista* (Socialist Party), the opposition party *Partido Social Democrata* (Social Democratic Party) and the *Coligação Democrática Unitária* (Unitary Democratic Coalition, which included the Communist Party, the Green Party and the Democratic Intervention movement), while members of the *Bloco de Esquerda* (Left Bloc) abstained, appealing for more flexible regulations, as did the centre-right *Centro Democrático e Social – Partido Popular* (CDS – People’s Party) which called for more restrictions.

During the 1970’s and the 1980’s, the issue of immigrants’ national identity was not considered particularly urgent by the State, as many of the new citizens coming from former colonies could rightfully claim Portuguese citizenship, a legacy of the years preceding the process of decolonization. In later years, as migratory flows from Brazil, Eastern Europe and Asia increased and foreign communities became more structured, the issue was newly debated, as migrants started planning longer stays for themselves and their families. From 2005, the *Assembleia da República* (Assembly of the Republic) began debating on the right to Portuguese citizenship and the need for a new law to regulate the naturalisation of immigrants and their descendants.

Thanks to this new law, citizenship would then be granted both to children of Portuguese citizens who were born abroad but wished to be recognised as Portuguese citizens (*jus sanguinis*) and to second or third generation immigrants (*jus soli*), albeit with restrictions. Specifically, some requisites were made mandatory for children born on Portuguese soil from foreign nationals: one of their parents would need to have been residing in Portugal for at least five years; the reason for their parents’ stay in Portugal could not be explained by their performing a job assigned by their native country, as is the case for foreign diplomats; lastly, these children would have to state their wish to become Portuguese citizens. Third generation immigrants, meaning children of foreign nationals who were actually born in Portugal, would be given Portuguese citizenship by the *jus soli* birthright.

Not only did the 2006 law represent a deep alteration of Portugal’s judicial system: it was also a “*correção de injustiças*” (correction of injustices) and an excellent contribution to “*reforço da coesão social*” (strengthening social cohesion) by extending the *jus soli* right to the children or grandchildren of those born on Portuguese soil, facilitating the acquisition of Portuguese citizenship (Healy, 2011: 63).

As noted by scholar Claire Healy,

The 2006 nationality law introduced provisions into the processes of attribution and acquisition of Portuguese national citizenship that are largely more egalitarian, and was consequently recognised with the highest score in terms of access to nationality in the *Migrant Integration Policy Index III* for 2010, in comparison with 31 countries in Europe and North America. (Healy 2011: 7)

Nationality defines the identity of a country and of its citizens, who fully enjoy the rights recognised by the State but also have public duties. Rights can be of a civic nature, such as personal freedom or being equal before the law; political, such as the right to vote or the opportunity to hold public office; and social, such as the right to work and the right to public healthcare. Duties include loyalty to the State, which in some countries may include compulsory military service. Citizenship guarantees and preserves an important sphere of collective life such as, indeed, social and civil rights. In this perspective, naturalisation of new foreign citizens can be considered an excellent example of integration and social inclusion (Healy, 2011).

The 2006 Nationality Act is proof of a reduction in the implementation of the *jus sanguinis* birthright, a current trend shared by other Western Europe countries: most of all, the preferential treatment of *imigrantes étnicos* (ethnic immigrants), meaning foreigners from lusophone countries considered culturally Portuguese due to colonial ties, was abolished and replaced by equal treatment for all citizens (Healy, 2011). This principle of equality is therefore extended to all citizens, Europeans or otherwise, who therefore hold the right to receive a passport after having legally resided in Portugal for a minimum of six years (prior to 2006 it would have been ten years for non-EU nationals and four for EU nationals).

Although the *Lei da Nacionalidade* is currently in force in Portugal, in 2017 the Assembly debated on whether to revise it. Law changes were put forward by centre-left parties aiming to loosen some of the rules that balance bureaucratic restrictions to the *jus soli*. At the time of writing the debate is still ongoing, with fierce stances taken by all sides. The *Bloco de Esquerda*, for example, takes exception to mooted simplification decrees, proposing instead the introduction of instant citizenship for all citizens born on Portuguese soil, which would result in the full adoption of the *jus soli* birthright. The *Centro Democrático e Social – Partido Popular* considers this reform to go against Portuguese traditions and to be incompatible with what other European countries are doing at this difficult stage of international politics⁴.

⁴ www.ilpost.it/2017/06/16/cittadinanza-portogallo - retrieved on 3 September 2017.

Lately, many European countries have started examining once more the issue of citizenship, and as I have just reported, the debate in Portugal is mostly on how to streamline the process for those who were born in the country. The enactment of the *Lei da Nacionalidade* certainly represents a development for public Portuguese politics, an important step forward towards raising awareness of its multi-ethnic, multicultural nature. This legislation has facilitated the integration and social inclusion of immigrants, granting the same rights to all citizens – be they EU or non-EU nationals, lusophones or otherwise – so they could acquire Portuguese citizenship, both symbolically and legally.

4.3. Migration management and recent cultural policies in Lisbon

In Lisbon, the *Direção Municipal de Cultura (DMC)* (‘Municipal Directorship of Culture’) is in charge of cultural policies coordination and the organization of cultural events in the city (events promotion, management of public libraries and themed museums).

Projects dedicated to immigrant communities were only set up in the 2000’s, as awareness of cultural diversity increased in more recent times. However, as early as in the late 1970’s, the *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (CML)* had implemented the first policies focused on the recognition of the cultural identities of African immigrants from Portugal’s former Muslim colonies (Fonseca and others, 2011). Portugal is a traditionally Catholic country which has a positive appreciation of freedom of worship: at the time local councils indeed supported religious minorities in their appeals for the building of new places of worship. In 1979, then-mayor Aquilino Ribeiro Machado authorised the building of the first big city mosque, the *Mesquita Central de Lisboa*, which was inaugurated on 29 March 1985; in 1987 the local council gave permission to the Hindu community to build the *Complexo Cultural e Social da Comunidade (Templo Radha Krishna)*; finally, in spite of the Jewish

community's relatively small size, it too got its own place of worship, the Synagogue Shaaré Tikvá, founded in 1904.

To sum up, it could be said that notwithstanding the problem of religious diversity, immigrants in Lisbon acquired a prominent role in Portugal's political discourse from the second half of the 1990's because of a housing crisis. Many African families still lived in difficult and poverty-stricken circumstances, in historical decaying city quarters and in distant outskirts where actual *favelas* started appearing. Throughout the 1990's and in the first decade of 2000, *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa's* policies focused on solving this emergency, on improving the economy and social integration by collaborating with the *Ministério da Educação* ('Ministry of Education') to ensure that second and third generation immigrants, including irregular migrants, could further their education (Fonseca and others, 2011). These specific actions were included in the *Plano Estratégico de Lisboa* (PEL – 'Lisbon Strategic Plan'), approved in 1992 during mayor Jorge Sampaio's first administration, with the intention of fighting the 'ghettoization' of African communities thanks to several instances of urban development and regeneration and an approach aiming to 'think the city in a different way' which was supported by initiatives that promoted its 'internationalization' (Public discourse at *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa*, 1992: 24 in Pereira 2012: 71).

In 1994, Lisbon was nominated European Capital of Culture; then in 1998 it hosted the EXPO '98 between 22 May – 30 September, whose title was *Os Oceanos: um património para o futuro* ('Oceans: an asset for the future'). This world's fair was characterised by initiatives inspired by the lives of Portuguese seamen; it was attended by eleven million visitors and its five thousand music events made it the biggest music festival in human history⁵. These two pivotal events facilitated and strengthened the idea that urban renewal could be connected to practices of cultural production that would include cultural diversity: they were initiatives that promoted Lisbon as a cosmopolitan city on the international stage.

The creation of *Conselho Municipal das Comunidades Imigrantes e das Minorias Étnicas* (CMCIME – 'Municipal Council for Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Minorities'), established in 1993 during Sampaio's time in office, testified the convergence of policies and efforts conducted to achieve social cohesion and integration of foreign communities and ethnic minorities. The Council's aim is to

⁵ it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Expo_1998 – retrieved on 5 September 2017.

promote and ensure the participation of foreign communities to the planning of city policies: for the most representative associations, it is a form of recognition of their right to political representation and to ‘be heard’ (Fonseca and others, 2011). The *Centro de Recursos Multiculturais* (‘Centre of Multicultural Resources’) was founded in 1997 during João Soares’s first term. It is a meeting point for foreigners, with its own library, an exhibition space and budget training courses.

Then in 2005 the *Centro Local de Apoio à Integração de Imigrantes (CLAII* – ‘Local Centre for the Support to the Integration of Immigrants’) was founded thanks to an agreement between the *Câmara Municipal* and the *Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural (ACIDI* – ‘High Office for Immigration and Intercultural Exchange’). It is an all-purpose support centre offering immigrants advice on reception and integration as well as assistance on various matters such as regularizations, family reunifications, social housing, public safety and healthcare⁶.

In 2007 the history of local immigrants’ integration saw important advancements with the *Partido Socialista*’s general election success and the re-election of António Costa⁷ as Lisbon mayor, who advanced initiatives focused on intercultural dialogue and the promotion of co-existing cultural diversities during both of his terms (Fonseca and others, 2011). Among the first changes, the *Conselho Municipal das Comunidades Imigrantes e das Minorias Étnicas (CMCIME)* became the *Conselho Municipal para a Interculturalidade e Cidadania (CMIC)* (‘Municipal Council for Interculturality and Citizenship’) with the aim to promote intercultural dialogue between local communities, joining several associations and volunteers working on the ground⁸. Since its inception, the *Conselho* has become an important platform for the conception and production of cultural events.

The *Fórum Municipal da Interculturalidade* (Municipal Forum for Interculturality) is also part of *CMIC*. It is a space whose aim is to foster debate and research to increase knowledge and appraisal for practices performed by relevant social actors,

⁶ www.cm-lisboa.pt/viver/intervencao-social/interculturalidade/centro-local-de-apoio-a-integracao-de-imigrantes-claii - retrieved on 5 September 2017.

⁷ Antonio Costa was elected as Prime Minister of Portugal on 26 November 2015. He was also elected as Secretary-General of the Portuguese Socialist Party in 2014 and was Lisbon mayor from 2007 to 2015.

⁸ www.cm-lisboa.pt/viver/intervencao-social/interculturalidade/conselho-municipal-para-a-interculturalidade-e-a-cidadania-cmic – retrieved on 5 September 2017.

to promote dialogue on immigration, diversity and interculturality, ensuring the involvement of communities based in the Lisbon area⁹.

In conclusion, it can be safely stated that *CMIC*, since its inception, has increased the participation of immigrant communities to civic life in Lisbon, recognising the diversity of all cultures in the territory. Moreover, its importance can be assessed by its ability to trigger debates about cultural strategies for the capital, focusing on participated politics and a constructive dialogue between governmental actors and local residents. Lisbon therefore becomes a cosmopolitan city, a place open to transits and flows of different cultures and experiences. The council's activity has helped the assessment of cultural diversity as an opportunity for learning on an administrative and institutional level, not as an issue or a barrier preventing the peaceful co-existence of communities of different origins.

4.4. Festival Todos - Caminhada de Culturas: multiculturalism and urban renewal

The event which, more than others, represents Lisbon's cultural policies and is regarded as being the 'quintessential multicultural event' (Fonseca and others, 2011) is *Festival Todos – Caminhada de Culturas*.

Festival Todos started in 2009 during Antonio Costa's administration on the initiative of the *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa* and the *Academia de Produtores Culturais*: the latter is a charity that promotes the training of promoters working in the culture sector through the implementation and support of social and artistic projects¹⁰. The greatest concern for these two institutions was to create an event which would shed more light on some particularly run-down areas in the city and promote dialogue between immigrants and local residents.

Even though the Festival's first edition was held in different parts of the city, most of the events took place in the old neighbourhood of *Mouraria*. *Mouraria* was founded

⁹ www.cm-lisboa.pt/viver/intervencao-social/interculturalidade/forum-municipal-da-interculturalidade-fmint - retrieved on 5 September 2017.

¹⁰ www.festivaltodos.com – retrieved on 28 August 2017.

in 1147 after the Christian *reconquista* of Lisbon – the name *Mouraria* indicates the ghetto built for *os mouros* (the Moors), a term used for Muslims, generally Berbers, which settled in great swathes in the Iberian peninsula – and lies next to more recent districts such as Largo do Intendente: these are urban areas which locals consider dangerous, violent and unsavoury due to the significant presence of *prostitutas* and *malandros* (‘prostitutes and criminals’) (Menezes, 2009: 306).

The old *Mouraria* had virtually been left unaltered for hundreds of years until the first half of the 20th century, when the area was regenerated after interventions of *higienização* and *embelezamento* (sanitization and embellishment) which led to an improvement of citizens’ ratings (Menezes, 2009: 306)¹¹. The arrival and subsequent settlement of diverse and heterogeneous immigrant groups during the 1970’s resulted in the reshaping of the city’s geography (Pereira, 2012). This phenomenon contributed to reinforcing the idea of *Mouraria* as a multi-ethnic and multicultural neighbourhood ‘onde se cruzam pessoas, práticas, músicas, artefactos, roupas e comidas diferentes’¹², as Menezes recalls, ‘uma realidade inclusivamente reivindicada como também fazendo parte do património local, designadamente medieval: quando do convívio entre mouros (muçulmanos), cristãos e gentes que vinham de toda parte para usufruir do pujante comércio que ali se desenvolvia’¹³ (Menezes, 2011: 2 cit. in Pereira 2012: 15). Today, walking across this typical neighbourhood it is possible to encounter many aspects of a more traditional way of life which is still very common in its narrow streets: washing lines hanging from the courtyards’ windows, children playing, sardines roasted in the street and *Santos Populares* processions on special days (Menezes, 2013: 393). Its winding streets, where such typical snapshots come to life, serve as backdrop for *fado*: it is in this area that this music, which is now highly representative of the whole city, was originally sung and played.

This area, which is now crowded with tourists and subject to gentrification, has become the meeting point for Africans, Indians, Chinese and Brazilians. *Fado*’s evocative imagery – fishmongers, small corner bars, workmen idling about –

¹¹ On *Mouraria*’s regeneration cf. MERLUCCI, Menezes (2009), *A Praça do Martim Moniz: Etnografando Lógicas Socioculturais de Inscrição da Praça no Mapa Social de Lisboa*”, in *Horizontes Antropológicos*, 32, pp.301-328.

¹² ‘Where you can come across different people, activities, music, crafts, clothes and food’.

¹³ ‘An environment claimed as local heritage dating from the middle ages: specifically, from the time when the moors (Muslims) coexisted with Christians and with people of different origins and religions who all came to this neighbourhood for its bustling trade’.

coexists with Chinese haberdasheries, African hairdressers and Indian shops; these sharp contrasts are mirrored by Lisboners' perception of the area, which they associate regard as 'traditional', 'popular' and 'multi-ethnic' but also 'decaying' and 'dangerous' (Menezes, 2013: 393). It is within this unique and fascinating neighbourhood that the first edition of *Festival Todos* took place. It was conceived as an artistic and cultural project aiming to intervene on specific city areas by promoting the meeting of artists, local residents and naturally the audience, in a 'marginalised' city area where different cultures cross each others' paths (Pereira, 2012).

The first edition of *Festival Todos - Caminhada de Culturas* was directed by Miguel Abreu and started with a challenge: to make Largo do Intendente 'accessible' to the city. This square, virtually never visited by Lisboners until António Costa's administration, was considered very dangerous and inhabited by drug addicts, prostitutes and the homeless.¹⁴

Many urban renewal schemes were carried out during the Costa administration. They were first identified in the document *Estratégias para a Cultura em Lisboa* (Culture Strategies in Lisbon), this was an important instrument which included some strategic interventions for the city. As Costa said: 'para fazer de Lisboa uma capital aberta, central, cosmopolita, vivida quotidianamente na sua memória e na sua contemporaneidade. [...] Uma cidade inspirada na visão da cultura será sempre uma cidade melhor'¹⁵ (Antonio Costa cit. in Pereira, 2012: 75). Such culture policies, as remarked by scholar Raquel Pereira, signals the importance of a triad constituted by artistic/cultural/intercultural activities, a connection which processes the idea that culture and creativity are indispensable for the economy and for urban development. The city is seen as a space which values cultural diversity and promotes intercultural dialogue, changing the urban space through these priorities.

The first edition achieved important international results. The Fundação Gulbenkian awarded the *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (CML)* a special accolade, for its

¹⁴ The Costa administration intervened in a major way to put this area back on the map – for example, the mayoral offices were moved to the road adjacent to the dangerous Largo do Intendente. This also resulted in an increased police presence and the progressive 'renovation' of the neighbourhood, resulting in the modern appearance of the area, which now looks clean, tidy and visited by many tourists: since the first edition of *Festival Todos*, many initiatives and musical events have taken place there. However, much criticism has been levelled at Costa's policies, with some citizens claiming that social issues related to this neighbourhood have only been swept under the carpet as they haven't been dealt with but only temporarily stored away - cf. Pereira 2012.

¹⁵ 'Lisbon would be a capital city open, central, cosmopolitan, lived every day in its memory and its contemporaneity. [...] A city inspired by a cultural vision is always going to be a better city'.

‘melhores práticas autárquicas em integração de imigrantes [revelando-se] ...o projeto *Todos – Caminhada de Culturas 2009* uma iniciativa que visa, acima de tudo, lutar contra o estigma e a exclusão frequentemente associados ao Eixo da Avenida Almirante Reis, Mouraria e Martim Moniz’¹⁶ (Public discourse at *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa* 2011: 9, in Pereira 2012: 74).

Moreover, the city of Lisbon is invited to participate in the *Intercultural Cities Programme*¹⁷, which allows *Festival Todos* to receive financial support necessary to the development of a project whose objectives are as much ambitious as they are important.

The *Festival Todos* had already been conceived and created in 2008 after the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, whose main goal was to enhance communication among cultures to reinforce the respect of diversity, improve the coexistence within contemporary societies and promote an active European citizenship. Therefore, this was an attempt to build a space where it would be possible to celebrate Lisbon’s cultural diversity in relation to immigration and promote interaction between immigrants and native citizens. Contextually, the project *Lisboa Encruzilhada de Mundos* (“Lisbon World Crossroads”) was established. This was a cooperation agreement between the president of the *Câmara Municipal* and the councillors of the non-aligned *Movimento Cidadãos por Lisboa* (‘Movement of Citizens for Lisbon’)¹⁸ which subsequently led to the creation of an autonomous structure, Gabinete, that would respond directly to the mayor (Pereira, 2012: 72).

During the 2016 edition of *Festival Todos* I met Manuela Júdice, who is the coordinator of *Gabinete Lisboa Encruzilhada de Mundos* at the *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa* and is the representative of cultural and community associations at the

¹⁶ ‘Best autarchic practices fostering migrants’ integration, revealing the project *Todos – Caminhada de Culturas 2009* as an initiative aiming to fight the stigmatization and social exclusion often associated to the axis that runs from Avenida Almirante Reis through to Mouraria and Martim Moniz.’

¹⁷ A European Council Programme which supports the establishment of local strategies for the management of diversity and integration of migrants and minorities. The programme gives local authorities regulations to implement policies for forward-thinking intercultural integration, as well as instruments of analysis and evaluation.

¹⁸ www.cidadaosporlisboa.pt – retrieved on 28 August 2017.

Conselho Municipal para a Interculturalidade (Municipal Council for the Interculturality)¹⁹.

Júdice strongly remarked that the Festival is not just like any other intercultural event but it is an invitation to walk – hence the name *Caminhada de Culturas*, literally ‘A walk across cultures’ – and explore the oldest working-class neighbourhood in Lisbon and its many features, especially the interactions between different cultures coexisting in a district teeming with ‘Portuguese and foreign traditions’. Júdice firmly believes that the Portuguese need to meet other foreigners that live here, or integration won’t be possible²⁰.

The Festival’s first two editions were organized in the ancient neighbourhood of *Mouraria* and its adjacent areas, but organizers later decided to set it in a different location every other three editions. Júdice is very proud of this distinctive choice, whereby every three years participants are invited to discover unusual places. The organization’s challenge is to bring the public to different areas, so that each time visitors can re-evaluate a different neighbourhood and discover its hidden places. It becomes a travelling festival indeed, where different places in the neighbourhood are designated for shows and hidden corners take on another perspective thanks to the eyes and the bodies of artists that come from all across the world to perform. Thus, the rediscovery of places is accompanied by intercultural dialogue and meeting of people through different artistic forms.

The festival takes place every year and lasts four days, during which exhibitions, ballets, theatre plays, circus shows and music concerts alternate with workshops, food stalls and debates on art, history and architecture: all events are completely free of charge.

Júdice commented on how one of the Festival’s most important achievements was to make citizens come together for four days where they would be all equal, the rich and the poor, the Lisboners and the foreigners who are effectively the ‘new Lisboners’²¹.

It is a festival for local citizens then (tourist presence accounts for very small numbers, as I personally attested in the 2016 edition), which aims to overcome vertical social gaps – distant social classes – and horizontal – lifestyle and gender. It

¹⁹ In 2009 Júdice was one of the *Movimento Cidadãos por Lisboa* municipal councillors and was also responsible for *Relações Internacionais da Cidade*. She also created and established the *Gabinete Lisboa Encruzilhada de Mundos*.

²⁰ Júdice M. – Personal Interview, Lisbon, 11 September 2016.

²¹ *ibid.*

is a big event whose aspiration is to foster the meeting of ‘new Lisboners’, both locals and migrants, and be open to all, or ‘todos’ indeed.

4.5.1. Orquestra Todos: the adoption of the multi-ethnic orchestra ‘Italian model’

Orquestra Todos is a multi-ethnic music project inspired by L’Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio (OPV). For this reason I regard it as one of the most interesting items worth examining in detail to emerge during my research in Portugal.

As Orchestra Todos had ceased performing in 2013 I did not have the chance to witness their performance during my six-month research in Lisbon. Thus, I resolved to visit the places where it started, to reconstruct its history, meet the main characters and examine the important features that made its existence possible in order to understand the reasons behind its temporary break.

Orquestra Todos is a multi-ethnic orchestra that started within an institutional framework, as it was conceived for *Festival Todos – Caminhada de Culturas*, an initiative, promoted by the *Câmara de Lisboa/Gabinete Lisboa Encruzilhada de Mundos* and the *Academia de Produtores Culturais* that is deeply-rooted in the city. The joint efforts of these organizations, along with the important collaboration of the authoritative, internationally-renowned Fundação Gulbenkian, has resulted in the promotion and full financial support for the creation of the orchestra and its activities.

Thanks to a specific programme called PGDH – *Programa Gulbenkian de Desenvolvimento Humano* (Gulbenkian Programme of Human Development), whose main purpose was to foster the social inclusion of vulnerable citizens, the Fundação Gulbenkian has financed the first year of Orquestra Todos’s activity, including the recording and release of their debut album, *Intendente*²².

Initially, Orquestra Todos included fourteen musicians from different countries such as Cape Verde, India, Italy, Spain, Brazil, Romania and Portugal; they were directed

²² www.gulbenkian.pt/project/orquestra-todos – retrieved on 26 August 2017.

by conductors Mario Tronco and Pino Pecorelli, who came from the OPV experience in Rome. Giacomo Scalisi, an Italian music promoter who moved to Lisbon in the 1990's followed the project closely and brought OPV to Lisbon, facilitating contacts with *Festival Todos's* organizers. This band introduction is taken from their press release:

Orquestra Todos, nasceu no Sport Clube do Intendente em Lisboa, atravessa e funde vários mundos musicais e sonoros de múltiplas origens culturais. Este é um projeto do Festival Todos, Caminhada de Culturas, festival enraizado nos bairros do Martim Moniz e Mouraria que se caracteriza pela busca de uma programação de natureza intercultural para a cidade de Lisboa. É a partir dos concertos de Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio no Largo do Intendente, que surge com força e entusiasmo, a ideia de replicar aqui uma formação composta por lisboetas de todas as origens culturais, musicais, linguísticas...Juntar pessoas que fazem músicas a partir de diferentes instrumentos, diferentes tradições e universos e com elas inventar um som próprio e novo, que ecoa pela primeira vez no coração mais antigo do bairro, torna-se um objetivo comum. A partir de um convite de Giacomo Scalisi, Mario Tronco, o maestro da Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio que levantou um projeto desta natureza numa cidade como Roma, juntamente com Pino Pecorelli, é o responsável por esta nova Orquestra para Lisboa, também ela, do mundo. O seu som é uma mistura singular de sonoridade que dialoga constantemente com todas as raízes culturais e musicais da cidade de Lisboa e da sua Lusofonia (Band brochure, 2011; cf. image 1)²³.

As the brochure clearly states, the Italian model of multi-ethnic orchestra, or more precisely, OPV's model, already reproduced in Italy by many other orchestras that formed later, was consciously adopted and integrated in a completely different context, with the Italian conductors' active contribution.

This is the first case of an Italian-style multi-ethnic orchestra exported abroad, which confirms my first hypothesis: multi-ethnic orchestras are an Italian phenomenon featuring distinct elements. Specifically: the heterogeneity of musicians' origins; its social intervention roots, focused on intervening in selected areas – with the contribution of local public institutions; lastly, the nature of their distinctive, original sound, which is the result of conscious hybridization of music genres which retain their own features whilst fusing with each other.

²³ 'Orquestra Todos, formed at Sport Club di Intendente in Lisbon, crosses and blends different sounds and music of multiple cultural origins. It is a project sponsored by Festival Todos, Caminhada de Culturas, a festival rooted in the areas Martim Moniz and Mouraria, which is characterised by its pursuit of implementing an intercultural programme in Lisbon. The concerts held by L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio in Largo do Intendente gave strength and enthusiasm to those wishing to form a local group who would be similarly composed of Lisboners of all cultural, musical and linguistic origins...uniting people that make music with different instruments, that come from different traditions and backgrounds but that got together with a shared goal to create an original new sound that resonates for the first time in the heart of the city's historical quarters. Giacomo Scalisi invited Mario Tronco who is L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio's director together with Pino Pecorelli; they are in charge of leading this new orchestra, which will represent a Lisbon of the world. Orquestra Todos's sound is an original blend of different music and cultures that constantly interact with the cultural and musical roots of Lisbon and its Lusophony'.

Orchestra Todos debuted on 11 September 2011 at *Festival Todos*, later playing at Teatro São Luís and at Fundação Gulbenkian's *Garage* on 18 December. Their debut CD, *Intendente*, was presented at the Fundação Gulbenkian on 20 July 2012. The release of their CD has facilitated the promotion of the project on a national and international level, allowing them to perform in prestigious world music festivals such as *Festival de Músicas do Mundo* in Sines (Portugal), *Roccella Jazz Festival* (Italy) and the University of Lisbon within the celebrations of *Dia da Europa – Concerto para uma Europa Feliz* ('Europe Day – Concert for a happy Europe'), in Lisbon again on the *Dia Mundial do Refugiado* (Refugee International Day), and then in the 2012 edition of *Festival Todos*.

In Júdice's view, the employment of OPV's model in Lisbon has prompted all those involved to choose the best elements to celebrate cultural diversity in a cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic city, resulting in a paradigm of music-meeting capable of producing a distinctive blend of sounds and styles that fuses different music currently heard locally²⁴.

What are the main differences between L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio and Orquestra Todos? How did Italian promoters and musicians operate in a different context? In the next paragraph I shall examine the events that shaped this Portuguese project.

4.5.2. From L' Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio to Orquestra Todos (OT)

In the first edition of *Festival Todos*, OPV performed in Largo do Intendente, a place that festival promoters thought was in need of regeneration and should open up to the city once again, having long been neglected. Giacomo Scalisi, who was already in contact with conductor Tronco, invited L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio by virtue of its being a successful artistic statement on contemporary migration, an operation aiming to reduce human and geographical marginalisation, fostering interculturality and a

²⁴ Júdice, 2016 – *ibid.*

new concept of citizenship²⁵. As a performative event, it clearly connected with the themes dealt with by *Festival Todos*.

The Roman orchestra had already performed in Lisbon in 2008 at *Centro Cultural de Belém (CCB)*, an important city institution, during *CCB Fora de Si* – a music, dance and theatre festival held in CCB's gardens and exteriors²⁶. This invitation was backed by Giacomo Scalisi, at the time one of CCB's promoters, who recalls that the eponymous documentary charting the group's history was screened with great success in occasion of OPV's concert²⁷.

Such positive audience reaction encouraged promoters to organise another OPV concert, this time in Largo do Intendente, a place characterised by a marked multi-ethnicity which made it look very similar to Rome's Piazza Vittorio.

Scalisi recalls the day's events:

Fino a cinque minuti prima dell'inizio del concerto non c'era nessuna presenza in piazza. Appena ha iniziato a suonare l'OPV la piazza si era affollata in poco tempo, c'erano circa mille e cinquecento - duemila persone. Per motivi di sicurezza abbiamo dovuto garantire la presenza di poliziotti in borghese, circa uno ogni quattro persone del pubblico, per far sì che tutti fossero tranquilli. La maggior parte del pubblico arrivava da altri quartieri della città ma c'erano anche immigrati, gli abitanti effettivi del quartiere stesso incuriositi dall'evento, c'erano persone affacciate alle finestre, gente anziana che si fermava ad ascoltare. In quel momento ho avuto la sensazione che stava accadendo qualcosa di molto interessante e di unico in quella piazza.²⁸

Manuela Júdice, later recalling the event, said that after the success of OPV's concert many in her environment believed that a similar orchestra should be started in Lisbon, a group constituted by and for Lisbon's citizens, old and new, who would bring to the project their own music style and traditions²⁹.

Scalisi summoned Tronco and Pino Pecorelli; the latter would assist the Portuguese production very closely in later stages. The hiring of Francesco Valente proved invaluable during the process of selecting musicians available at the time. Valente, an Italian bass player who moved to Lisbon in the second half of the 1990's, had extensive experience in performing with groups that fuse different styles and

²⁵ Scalisi, G. – Personal Interview, Lisbon, 9 December 2016.

²⁶ www.ccb.pt/Default/pt/CCBForadeSi - retrieved on 6 September 2017.

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ 'Until five minutes before the start of the show there was no audience at all. But as soon as OPV started playing the square filled quickly, as there were about 1.500 or 2.000 people. For safety reasons we had to guarantee the presence of plain-clothes officers, maybe one every four people, so as to reassure everybody. Most of those attending came from other city neighbourhoods, but there were intrigued immigrants as well, who are the actual local residents, as well as people in houses facing the square who watched from their windows and elders passing by who stopped to listen. I had the feeling that something very interesting and unique was taking place in that square.' – *ibid.*

²⁹ Júdice, 2016 – *ibid.*

languages. Thanks to his skills, his interest towards multicultural environments³⁰ and his fluent Portuguese, he took on a primary role in Orquestra Todos: he had the task of finding and assembling the musicians that Tronco and the others were looking for, becoming the main intermediary between the Italian directors and the other orchestra members.

After a long search for musicians – who were called through contacts with the local Cape Verdean community, or were met during their performances at *Casa do Fado* or their collaborations with the Fundação Gulbenkian – candidates were invited to the screening of the documentary *L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio* at the *Museo do Fado*, and were introduced to the project elaborated by the Italian directors.

Auditions started at the *Sport Clube Intendente*, a local sports association deeply-rooted in the neighbourhood, where a rehearsal space had been set up for the soon-to-be Orquestra Todos. Valente recalls that auditions lasted for several days and that most of the musicians who came forward were not selected³¹. It should be noted that Tronco, as with OPV, had clear ideas and an effective artistic plan: he was looking for members who possessed particular features and had had varied music experiences. Scalisi remarked that:

I musicisti non sono stati scelti in base a caratteristiche tecniche ma sono stati privilegiati i professionisti che sapevano suonare insieme agli altri, che sapevano comunicare, che erano capaci di mettersi in discussione, musicalmente flessibili. Stavamo cercando persone con storie diverse, percorsi musicali differenti ma allo stesso tempo capaci di lavorare insieme. Bisogna saper mostrare parte della propria conoscenza e a volte anche saper rinunciare al processo creativo, è importante proporre qualcosa senza voler prevalere e riuscire a dare spazio alle proposte degli altri³².

The main purpose was to integrate musicians from different ethnic, national and musical backgrounds, with different approaches to playing and singing as well as their overall performing style. The directors also requested that street musicians be

³⁰ Valente is also a member of Terrakota, recognised worldwide as Portugal's first world music band; he also worked as a promoter for the now inactive Tora Tora Big Band, a group that included several Cape Verdean and Brazilian musicians. Today Valente is in Orquestra Transcultural Latinidade, which shall be discussed in 4.5.2. Valente is a Ciências Musicais (Music Sciences) graduate Ciências Musicais and is currently enrolled in a Ph.D course in Ethnomusicology at the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*.

³¹ Valente, F. – Personal Interview, Lisbon, 15 November 2016.

³² 'Musicians were not chosen according to technical skills: rather, priority was given to professionals who knew how to play and communicate with others, were capable of questioning what they were doing and being musically flexible' (...) 'we were looking for people with different stories, different musical backgrounds but at the same time willing to work together. It is important to show your knowledge but also know when to take a step back in the creative process, it is important to suggest something without imposing it on the others, to give room to other musicians' suggestions - 'Scalisi, 2016 - *ibid*

involved, clearly recalling OPV's experience. To this end, Tronco specifically selected Ali Regep, a Roma singer of Turkish heritage who used to perform in the city centre. As Valente explained:

Tronco ha visto Ali suonare per le piazze e lo ha voluto a tutti i costi nell'orchestra. Era già nelle sue intenzioni integrare musicisti di strada, come aveva fatto a Roma, per ottenere una varietà il più possibile differente per nazionalità e preparazione musicale. Io stesso sono andato a cercare musicisti nelle strade, nelle stazioni delle metropolitane e nei vari negozi etnici del quartiere della Mouraria³³.

Valente went to *Mouraria* in search of an 'Indian voice' he had heard of. That voice belonged to Rubi Machado, a talented singer from former Portuguese colony Goa, who had been raised in Mozambique and who was working in a jewellers run by her husband at the time Orchestra Todos was being assembled. Machado never had any formal singing training and is totally self-taught. In Lisbon, she performs at local Indian wedding ceremonies and her repertoire is made of what she calls 'traditional Indian music', which she studied despite having never lived in India. She speaks excellent Hindi and two other regional Indian languages³⁴.

Rubi Machado and Ali Regep joined twelve other professionals, used to performing in different groups and travelling around the world. These were both migrants and native Portuguese, all based in the Lisbon area.

Let's take a look at the original Orquestra Todos's personnel.

The brass section was composed by two Europeans: Dan Hewson, from England, on trombone and Johannes Krieger, from Germany, on trumpet, both professional musicians with a jazz background who had been living in Portugal for a few years. They had both been performing with groups in the city which sometimes included Valente, who then invited them to join the orchestra. João Gomes played keyboards: he is a professional Portuguese musician who was a member of Cool Hipnoise, a very well-known act in Portugal which formed in the mid-90's and that played a blend of styles such as reggae, soul, funk and Afrobeat³⁵.

The rhythm section included Marcelo Araújo, Gueladjo Sanè and Joaquim Teles. Araújo is a drummer from Brazil who arrived in Portugal when he was only one year old. He grew up in a musical house – his father was a musician – and would later

³³ 'Tronco had seen Ali perform in the street and he wanted him in the orchestra at all costs. He had already decided to include street musicians, as he had done in Rome, to represent the widest spectrum of nationalities and musical skills. I went personally looking for musicians in the streets, in underground stations and in *Mouraria*'s ethnic shops' Valente, 2016 - *ibid*

³⁴ From www.publico.pt/local-lisboa/jornal//esta-orquestra-que-e-um-mundo-tem-o-som-da-nova-lisboa-22925366 – retrieved on 8 September 2017.

³⁵ From www.pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cool_Hipnoise – retrieved on 8 September 2017.

study at the *Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa*. Sanè, on African percussions, is from Guinea-Bissau but arrived in Portugal in 1996 and has a long career as a professional musician. He learnt to play percussions when he was a child and would become a specialist in later years, joining different artistic projects, especially musicians from PALOP countries, as well as holding percussion courses in Lisbon. Teles, a Portuguese drummer and percussionist with a background in classical music and jazz, has performed with several groups and has worked on music for movies, TV series and theatre shows (Pereira, 2012)

The string section included Marc Plannells, a Catalan who plays the sitar (a plucked string instrument from Northern India), the oud (an Arabic lute), the saz (a Turkish lute) and the rabab (an Afghan bowed string instrument). His musical background is the result of his various travels across the world, during which he would occasionally stay in different countries for longer periods to study and expand his knowledge on various instruments. He has been living in Portugal since 2008 and is a member of the world music Terrakota along with his friend and colleague Valente.

Múcio Sá, from Brazil, played classical and electric guitar and had studied at the University of Bahia. Upon his arrival in Portugal, in 1991, he discovered the music of Portugal's former African colonies and fado, and started studying Portuguese guitar techniques. He regards himself as an eclectic musician: his CV boasts collaborations with artists of various nationalities whom he played with as an instrumentalist, composer and music producer³⁶.

Also playing classical guitar was Danilo Lopes Da Silva, from Cape Verde, who arrived in Lisbon in 2000 to train as an IT expert at university before also starting to gig as a musician. He got his music education in his native country, where he learnt the traditional techniques of morna (a Cape Verdean music genre) and bossanova (a Brazilian music genre).

As well as Rubi Machado and Ali Regep, the rich vocal section included Max Lisboa (whose real name is Rominsion Diogo dos Santos) and Susana Travassos. Lisboa, who also plays classical guitar, studied music in Brazil, where he had the chance to learn the rhythms and the vocals of the native peoples in the country's inner areas. He has been living in Lisbon since 2004, where he performs in the city's tourist and crowded streets and is part of a theatre company. He is also a composer and the

³⁶ <http://mucio.blogspot.co.uk/> – retrieved on 8 September 2017.

orchestra benefited from his skills as their debut album *Intendente* features two of his songs³⁷.

Travassos is Portuguese instead, and had studied at the Conservatory in Faro, but as soon as she moved to the capital she started studying jazz singing and going to music clubs to attend performances of fado players and Brazilian musicians. She described her first solo record as a fusion of different styles, from fado to flamenco through jazz, blues and bossanova (Travassos in Pereira, 2012: 59).

OT members regard themselves as eclectic musicians, for their willingness to adapt to different surroundings and play different genres with musicians of different nationalities and music backgrounds, whose respective professional practice comes from multiple contexts on a musical, cultural, social and economic level.

The only instance where integration within the orchestra didn't work as smoothly as planned and presented some difficulties was in Ali Regep's case. It was mostly a linguistic issue, as Regep didn't speak either Portuguese or English: to solve the problem, the organisation summoned an interpreter from the Romanian embassy in Lisbon. Júdice recalls that this attempt wasn't at all successful, as even the interpreter couldn't understand Regep, who spoke a Roma dialect mixed with standard Romanian: this made it very hard for musicians and conductors to understand him³⁸. Indeed, Regep is a Roma, one of the most disadvantaged ethnic minorities in Romania who enjoy a particularly low social and economic status. He also had alcohol issues and it was difficult to contact him for rehearsals. Júdice says that thanks to the subsidies obtained by *Festival Todos* they managed to find him a flat, as until then he had been sleeping rough: then it became easier to have him at rehearsals and help him. After a short time though he left his new abode too, as he couldn't and wouldn't stay in just one place³⁹.

Regep's difficulties didn't only stem from languages or his character: he also found it difficult to play with the other performers. Recalls Valente:

Ali cantava la sua canzone perfettamente e basta, non sapeva fare altro; sono stati gli altri musicisti a doversi adattare a lui, al suo modo di cantare, l'orchestra ha costruito un intero brano a partire dalla canzone di Ali. Secondo il mio punto di vista questa operazione rappresenta un autentico *mélange* musicale in quanto tutta l'orchestra ha seguito Ali, si è adattata alla sua tonalità al suo modo di cantare

³⁷ www.publico.pt/local-lisboa/jornal//esta-orquestra-que-e-um-mundo-tem-o-som-da-nova-lisboa-22925366 – retrieved on 8 September 2017.

³⁸ Júdice, 2016 – *ibid.*

³⁹ *ibid.*

e, anche se spesso lui sbagliava le quadrature, andava fuori tono per intendersi, gli altri riuscivano ad andargli dietro⁴⁰.

The process of adaptation, in this case unidirectional, was certainly facilitated by the other musicians' skills and their solid training in jazz, which helped them to understand how to jam and join together different instruments and musical phrasings. According to Valente, different music styles meet when performers are willing to adapt and listen to each other: 'se questo processo riesce gli esiti sono molto positivi in quanto si crea un'amicizia a livello umano, ma anche un vero e proprio dialogo musicale'⁴¹.

This dynamic is quite common in multi-ethnic orchestras, where musicians who typically perform in rock, jazz or world music contexts meet less versatile musicians who usually operate in greatly different frameworks from those found in Western countries, and whose musical background is that of their country of origin. Far from being an issue, this can be turned into a chance for members to grow artistically and learn new styles, rhythms and music genres. Friendly relations established in these circumstances should not be underestimated, as newly created social bonds can be particularly helpful to foreigners who experience difficulties in adapting to their new surroundings.

Back to Orquestra Todos, their repertoire was developed following members' suggestions. Their sole release so far contains two original compositions by Max Lisboa arranged by the group in a 'multi-ethnic' style, a song culled from the vast Bollywood repertoire sung by Rubi Machado, a song by Ali Regep, and other original material written by guitarist Múcio Sá. The repertoire also features homages to several countries' music traditions, from the Cape Verdean *morna* to Brazilian *bossanova* and also Neapolitan music, arranged in the style of Portuguese *fado*.

As can be easily noticed, Tronco employed once more the approach he sketched out in his Piazza Vittorio experience, whose initial intent was to set up a musical and cultural workshop where sounds with multiple identities (national, of residence or ethnic) and different lifestyles could be assembled. The director himself said so in an

⁴⁰ 'He could sing his song perfectly but that was all, he couldn't do anything else' (...) 'the others were forced to adapt to him, to his style of singing. The orchestra wrote an entire piece starting from Ali's song' (...) 'an authentic music mélange, as the whole orchestra had to follow Ali, adjust to his pitch and to his singing style, but even though he would often be out of tune the others managed to play along' - Valente, 2016 – *ibid*.

⁴¹ 'if this process succeeds then the outcome is very positive, friendships are forged and a true musical dialogue is established' - *ibid*.

interview with the online newspaper Publico.pt: ‘Temos músicos muito diferentes, uma liberdade absoluta, que aproveitámos para fazer um repertório muito diverso, que pode parecer não ter ligação, mas que é o som desta cidade. É o som da nova Lisboa: indiana, africana, sul-americana’⁴².

Tronco is wary of labelling the group’s music as ‘world music’ or similar ethnic categories typically associated with multi-ethnic orchestras. He believes that the music played by Orquestra Todos – like L’Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio before – is not world music but rather Lisbon music, caught at a specific moment in time, which features the people that happen to be there at that time and the current musical diversity resulting from transnational mobility. Scalisi confirmed this view, adding that:

Far suonare quattordici musicisti di diverse provenienze può essere molto facile, ma non era questo ciò che ci interessava. Per noi era importante lavorare sull’identità musicale dell’orchestra per costruirne un linguaggio proprio, costruire un alfabeto musicale che potesse appartenere a quei quattordici elementi in quel preciso momento, in quel preciso luogo, in quell’anno a Lisbona⁴³.

Indeed, Orchestra Todos differs from OPV in the music character that distinguishes migrant musicians in the two countries: the influence of the lusophone world, from Brazil to the islands in Cape Verde and India, is particularly prominent in Orchestra Todos. Valente aptly adds that contrarily to Rome or Italy in general, it is not easy to find good oud players here, as there is a different kind of immigration⁴⁴.

These remarks allow me to point out that when assembling a multi-ethnic orchestra, as I previously mentioned, it is necessary to take into account the context of the city or the wider territory and the dialogue with the musicians involved that are part of the local foreign communities. L’ Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio was founded to represent the people living in the area surrounding the square, as well as Rome as a whole and immigration in the early 2000’s, similarly to other Italian multi-ethnic orchestras which quickly spread all over the Italian peninsula.

⁴² ‘We have very different musicians [and enjoy] total freedom, which we take advantage of to perform a varied repertoire, which may appear totally unconnected but is the sound of this city. It is the sound of the new Lisbon: Indian, African, South American.’ www.publico.pt/local-lisboa/jornal/esta-orquestra-que-e-um-mundo-tem-o-som-da-nova-lisboa-22925366 – retrieved 8 September 2017.

⁴³ ‘It can be very easy to have fourteen musicians from different countries performing together, but that is not what we wanted. We were more interested in working on the orchestra’s musical identity to develop an original musical language that belonged to those fourteen musicians at that specific moment, in that place and year in Lisbon’ – Scalisi, 2016 – *ibid*.

⁴⁴ Valente, 2016 – *ibid*.

Just like they had in Rome, Pecorelli and Tronco had a very significant say in the music writing and the group organisation in Lisbon. According to Valente:

A Mario piaceva mettere negli ingredienti compositivi molto del suo stile *pop*, per esempio. Si era creata una forte gerarchia, come una specie di dipendenza dai maestri, i quali prendevano le decisioni più importanti e quando loro erano in Italia difficilmente siamo riusciti a radunare i musicisti per le prove⁴⁵.

After a year in Portugal the Italian conductors returned to Rome. Pecorelli came back to Lisbon several times to help with the project and try to move it forward, but after a while he could not guarantee his presence anymore, so attempts were made to select a new director, with little success.

After their last concerts in 2012, Orquestra Todos stopped its activities. The organisers claim to have been unable to find another director capable of running such a group and moreover, despite enjoying initially a good run of performances, the orchestra did not become financially independent. Valente explained that:

Non avevamo più ingaggi per suonare, è difficile e molto costoso mantenere un'orchestra così numerosa senza eventi o concerti in programma. Molti musicisti professionisti avevano altri impegni e suonavano in altre formazioni. Ognuno doveva pensare a guadagnarsi da vivere e ha dato la priorità ad altri lavori o ad altri gruppi⁴⁶.

After all, council contributions and funds coming from the Fundação Gulbenkian's programme *Desenvolvimento Humano* had only been planned to cover the first year and the release of their CD, aiming to encourage the orchestra to gain financial independence.

According to Pino Pecorelli:

Per un'orchestra avere un maestro che fa avanti e indietro da Roma non è una cosa semplice, io volevo che l'orchestra imparasse a gestirsi da sola, o che fosse trovato un altro *leader*. Ma i musicisti non riuscivano a incontrarsi per provare quando non c'ero, erano molto impegnati, qualcuno abbandonò il progetto per fare un altro lavoro. Complice anche la crisi economica che investì Lisbona e il Portogallo proprio durante quel periodo. Della crisi finanziaria dell'Occidente, come ben sappiamo, ne hanno risentito maggiormente i paesi dell'Europa del Sud.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ 'Mario enjoyed adding his pop sensibility to the compositions. A definite hierarchical order was established, a sort of dependence on the directors who took the important decisions. When they were in Italy it was very hard to assemble musicians for rehearsals' - *ibid*.

⁴⁶ 'we didn't have any gigs and it's difficult and very expensive to sustain such a big orchestra without any events or concerts scheduled. Many professional musicians were engaged elsewhere or played with other groups. They all had to think about making a living so they gave priority to other jobs or bands' - *ibid*.

⁴⁷ 'it's not easy for an orchestra to have a director who travels back and forth between Lisbon and Rome. I wanted the orchestra to learn how to run itself, or to find another *leader*. But musicians didn't get together when I wasn't there, they were all very busy and some of them quit the group to start

The combination of these factors – economic, financial and managerial – not only prompted many musicians to leave the orchestra, it made them leave Portugal altogether, to move to wealthier countries.

Scalisi reflected on the social understanding of the project instead:

Quando sono finiti i finanziamenti pubblici si è conclusa anche l'attività del gruppo. Questo principalmente perché tra i componenti è mancata la coscienza politica e sociale del progetto. Questa orchestra è qualcosa di più di un gruppo in cui suoni e poi te ne vai, è un progetto politico e culturale sulla città di Lisbona e i componenti stessi non hanno saputo abbracciare questa visione. I musicisti, si sa, hanno bisogno di soldi e per loro era faticoso continuare ad incontrarsi senza avere un ingaggio. Noi non siamo riusciti a garantire loro uno stipendio fisso⁴⁸.

As already seen when analysing Italian groups, orchestras that manage to continue their activities are those where awareness of social issues is more prominent. That is not to say that this only happens because musicians are more committed to political or social causes: the activation of workshops and social initiatives targeted at the territory makes it easier for orchestra promoters to get access to public funds.

Musicians' professional practices derive from multiple contexts on musical, cultural, social and economic levels. In many cases, their mobility is an inescapable consequence of the difficult socio-economic state of their native country (Kiwani and Meinhof, 2011); there are different kinds of migration, but all identify the status of a migrant musician. In many contexts a professional rift takes place, whereby musicians branch out into non-musical working fields, which happens frequently in Italian multi-ethnic orchestras, too. Therefore, in Kiwani and Meinhof's words, it could be said that multi-ethnic orchestras 'not only connect horizontally a wide variety of spaces across countries of origin, settlement and beyond, they also link individuals vertically across a range of artistic, institutional and professional contexts [...] in order to describe the multi-layered nature of migrant artists' skills' (Kiwani and Meinhof, 2011: 6).

other jobs. The economic crisis that hit Lisbon and Portugal at the time was a big factor. As we all know, the Western economic crisis hit Southern European countries the hardest' – Pecorelli, P. – Personal Skype Interview, 22 April 2015.

⁴⁸ 'When public funding ceased the group stopped their activity. This was mainly because members lacked a political or a social vision towards the group. This orchestra is not like any other band where you just come, play music and then leave: it is a political and cultural project involving the city of Lisbon, and members themselves were unable to commit to this concept. It is well known that musicians need money to get by and it was hard for them to keep meeting for rehearsals without any scheduled concerts. We could not guarantee them a stable salary'. Scalisi, 2016 – *ibid*.

The greatest merit of Orquestra Todos has been to gather and show these different figures: immigrant musicians holding Portuguese citizenship or a visa, and Portuguese musicians, either Lisbon-based or not, among whom there are both professionals and amateurs with other jobs, all of them coming from different musical backgrounds. These are musicians who represent the sound of the city and its contemporary changes, who directly testify and participate in the re-evaluation and urban transformation carried out in the Intendente area, which is today steadily crossed by tourists and where gentrification processes are currently taking place.

In 2017, the orchestra was reformed after a four-year break. Tronco and Pecorelli came back to Lisbon and, together with Scalisi and Valente, called some of the old members and sought other available migrant musicians. The personnel was different in that it reflected once more the results of migration processes affecting Portugal's capital. The new Orquestra Todos's debut, as customary, took place at *Festival Todos 2017* on 8 September.

4.6. “Good practices”: music and migration in Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian’s cultural programmes

The Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian is among the most prestigious institutions in Portugal, an organization which distinguished itself for its marked sensibility towards good cultural practices, both locally and abroad. As we have seen, the *Programa Gulbenkian Desenvolvimento Humano* supported the Orquestra Todos's first year of activity, but it also branched out into a much broader range of initiatives, aimed at fostering and encouraging integration processes of more vulnerable and marginalised categories, exposed to poverty and social marginalisation⁴⁹. That is why the orchestra is promoted and supported as a social intervention project, not just as a musical act. This approach is part of a wider institutional multicultural rhetoric, whose aim is to consider art as a critical instrument by which to communicate and

⁴⁹ www.gulbenkian.pt/iniciativas/desenvolvimento-humano9/programa-gulbenkian-desenvolvimento-humano – retrieved on 11 September 2017.

intervene in the difficult process of integrating cultural differences in contemporary society.

Under the catalyst of multiculturalism and interculturality, the Fundação Gulbenkian has promoted important programmes such as *O Fórum Cultural O Estado do Mundo* 2006-2007 (Cultural Forum on the World's State), the *Programa Gulbenkian Distância e Proximidade* 2008 (Gulbenkian Programme on Distance and Proximity) and the *Programa Gulbenkian Próximo Futuro* 2009- 20011 (Gulbenkian Programme for the Coming Future)⁵⁰. These are interconnected initiatives, which through the years have willingly given room to international artistic creations dealing with the subject of artistic mobility, currently regarded as a proper lifestyle by many people, especially in a cosmopolitan city setting.

The Fundação Gulbenkian has thus become a European platform which connects, promotes and supports different international cultural operations. Believing in the principle that intercultural strategies can solve social conflicts, it has strived to build bridges between different cultures, to facilitate communication and create new possible frameworks of coexistence between different ethnic and cultural groups. According to António Pinto Ribeiro, a former Gulbenkian coordinator, these good examples of cultural bridging should be supported in a continued and permanent way. The current artistic heritage is arguably the result of a process of diasporas within cultures, whose outcomes should be treasured by contemporary societies among their riches. Therefore, it is necessary that institutions support good practices fostering interculturality and political programmes capable of championing a 'near future' which cannot ignore multiculturalism (Pinto Ribeiro in Pereira, 2012).

This framework should include an authoritative educational music project promoted and supported by the Fundação Gulbenkian which may include the establishment of one or more symphonic orchestras modelled upon a Venezuelan paradigm as suggested by José Antonio Abreu. The Orquestra Geração (Generation Orchestra) has, during its existence, significantly contributed to changing the lifestyle of many people, particularly children and teenagers, and indirectly their families.

⁵⁰ For more information on the programmes: <http://www.proximofuturo.gulbenkian.pt/proximo-futuro>.

4.6.1. Music education and social commitment: *Orquestra Geração*

Projecto Geração/Oportunidade is a music education project developed within a school environment – specifically in elementary and lower-secondary schools – which aims to implement the Venezuelan programme *El Sistema*. Since 1975 this music education model, created by José Antonio Abreu, has been promoting the collective practice of music through the establishment of symphonic orchestras and choirs as the means for community organization and development. It is a form of public, extensive music education offering free courses to anyone, whatever the applicants' social background. Most of the young musicians involved in *El Sistema* come from economically and socially disadvantaged households, proving the theory that, by committing to the study of music, children can escape the nihilistic surroundings of run-down urban neighbourhoods and poverty. *El Sistema* proved to be a successful programme both for music education and for the meaning that music takes on within such environments, where it becomes an important route towards social and intellectual redemption.

Following the success and the proven effectiveness of *El Sistema*, several countries introduced policies aiming to reproduce and imitate the scheme (sistemaglobal.org). While Sistema Europe coordinates activities on a European Level, Portugal started the *Projecto Geração/Oportunidade* in 2007, which was then implemented by many schools in the country.

Initially, the *Projeto Geração/Oportunidade* was run on a trial basis in an elementary school in the Casal da Boba neighbourhood in the municipality of Amadora, aiming to prevent early school leaving in a deprived area described as a 'ghetto'. Casal da Boba is a working class neighbourhood whose residents, mainly of African heritage, are mostly employed in manual labour and white collar jobs; 50% of the community is aged between 10-24. According to Maria Isabel Elvas, these young Lisboners are blighted by 'poor education, family instability, unemployment, low incomes and lack documentation, factors that reinforce a trend towards social exclusion' (Elvas, 2010: 273). Amadora is very close to Lisbon. It hosts a great number of housing projects built in the early 1990's, which is when immigration reached high percentages in Portugal and especially in areas adjacent to the capital. Casal da Boba is mainly

inhabited by citizens originally from Cape Verde and other lusophone African countries, but there are also native Portuguese, too.

When, in 2005, the municipality of Amadora decided to promote the *Projecto Geração/Oportunidade*, it was strongly supported by the Fundação Gulbenkian and by ACIDI (*Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural*). The main intervention strategies identified were very important macro-areas such as training, education, health, employment, legal assistance and of course leisure. With these tenets firmly established, Orquestra Geração became a pilot scheme in 2007 and, at the same time, many school groupings from other cities, mainly located within Lisbon's province, decided to adopt the *El Sistema* which was followed, directed and monitored by Venezuelan specialists under the responsibility of Portugal's *Escola de Música do Conservatório Nacional* (Elvas, 2010: 273).

I had the chance to interview dr. Hugo Seabra, one of *Programa Gulbenkian de Desenvolvimento Humano*'s coordinators, who also followed the progress of the two branches of Orquestra Geração active in the municipality of Amadora (the first is composed of children while the second, more advanced, of teenagers). Seabra told me that orchestras can be very big and include up to thirty or forty members, so people abandoning the programme during the years had a scarce impact. Children are mostly of foreign heritage, generally African, but there are also many native Portuguese and a small group of Asians. Seabra stressed how the project Orquestra Geração managed to involve pupils: 'students choose to learn classical music and to join the orchestra instead to choose (*sic*) to play football, and this is formidable!'⁵¹. According to Seabra, being part of the orchestra helped children develop a number of so-called 'soft skills': 'they learn to be punctual, to have individual trainer, how to carry on with a violin, for example, how to respect the others and a leadership of a conductor'⁵². Finally, he emphasized how this experience had factually changed the lives of some children and their families for the better: a passion for music and group development represented useful tools to safeguard the lives of minors living in difficult predicaments.

Orquestra Geração performs every year in the biggest and better-equipped theatre in the city which is owned by the Fundação Gulbenkian and this, concludes Seabra, gives even more relevance to the project, to all the young musicians involved and

⁵¹ Seabra, H. – Personal Interview, Lisbon 26 July 2016.

⁵² *ibid.*

their families, who leave their ‘ghettos’ to come listen to good music in one of Lisbon’s most prestigious venues⁵³. The repertoire includes classical music and some popular Caribbean genres such as salsa, merengue and mambo, which are also choreographed by the children themselves.

The *Projecto Geração/Oportunidade* celebrates its tenth decade in the school year 2017/2018. Since its inception, its activities have been adopted in many schools located in Lisbon and Coimbra, achieving many results and showing the relevance of social intervention through music, so much so that the orchestra was invited to many high-profile events by local and international institutions to attest the programme’s success. In 2010, for example, the project received the *Prémio Nacional de Professores* of the *Ministério da Educação* and in the years 2013 and 2014 the European Union praised it as one of the best social support projects⁵⁴.

The Orquestra Geração is not just a standard multi-ethnic orchestra comparable to those examined in previous sections of this thesis. Nevertheless, its inclusion is justified by its primary aim of helping its young members, who meet within this context and come from different cultural backgrounds and nationalities and find support for their integration process. Once more, music becomes a catalyst for lives and experiences.

In conclusion, to mention scholar Maria Isabel Elvas, ‘music presents itself as an important element of identity formation and in the construction of citizenship in contexts where multiplying cultural agents transform social reality’ (Elvas, 2010: 274).

As argued in this section, the main objective of this project is to foster social inclusion through music. This purpose is part of really complex discourses such as, for example, the ability to plan different models of conscientious citizenship through musical practice, an issue which I have had to deal with multiple times even when examining ‘proper’ multi-ethnic orchestras.

⁵³ *ibid.*

⁵⁴ <http://quinteparallele.net/2017/02/08/el-sistema-ovvero-come-hanno-rivoluzionato-la-musica-in-venezuela/> - retrieved on 14 September 2017, as reported on www.orquestra.geracao.aml.pt/historia - retrieved on 13 September 2017. *El Sistema* was introduced in Italy by the late director Claudio Abbado in 2010. At the time of writing, fifteen urban centres and more than eighty schools have applied to the project.

4.7. Music and migration: the “musical citizenship” concept

Only recently has the expression “musical citizenship” entered contemporary ethno-anthropology literature, finding currency in studies on music and migration⁵⁵. In the last forty years, the links between sustained people mobility and musical practices, which have often been associated to international wars or to deals and diplomatic decisions between countries and nations (Côrte-Real, 2016) have majorly influenced ethno-anthropological studies. For ethnomusicology, the study of all musical phenomena related to the observation of social, aesthetical and performative factors that influence and reveal strategies aiming at the social inclusion, integration and social adaption of people in transit, allows a better understanding of the processes of transnational identity development, and therefore to the conception of new citizenship models. Arguably, the examination of the mediating role of music – in building and shaping identities, in the nature of migrant communities and their shared memory, in the experiences of intercultural exchange – clearly reveals how international mobility strongly calls into question the concept of citizenship, meant as a feeling of belonging to one nation (Côrte-Real, 2010).

Some scholars (Morris, 2004, Allsup, 2010) have connected the issue of ‘music citizenship’ to the specific sector of music education; if seen through this lens, the teaching of music can be considered a useful expedient by which to re-shape the sociocultural identity of new generations in a determined context and in a school framework, rating music as one of the most accessible and alluring cultural activities for the young (Morris, 2004).

*Gustavo Dudamel, maybe maestro Abreu’s most famous pupil, reflected that ‘El Sistema non è una fabbrica di musicisti. El Sistema crea cittadini. Il problema non è creare cultura in un Paese dove è grande il divario tra la classe abbiente e quella povera, il problema è portare la cultura in un mondo dove non esistono più valori, neanche quello della bellezza. E non è una questione limitata al Venezuela’*⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ More generally, on the matter of citizenship in critical evaluations carried out in ethno-anthropological studies, cf. Laza (2014, ed. by).

⁵⁶ ‘*El Sistema* is not a musician-producing factory. *El Sistema* creates citizens. The problem is not creating culture in a country with a great divide between the rich and the poor, the problem is bringing culture in a world where there are no values anymore, not even beauty. This issue is not limited to Venezuela’ www.quinteparallele.net/2017/02/08/el-sistema-ovvero-come-hanno-rivoluzionato-la-musica-in-venezuela/ – retrieved on 19 September 2017.

Music education is particularly suited to bringing up active and aware citizens; this has been proved extensively in societies which, for a very long time, have been both multi-ethnic and multicultural such as those found in Brazil and parts of Central and North America. On this subject, scholar Randall Everett Allsup, writing about music education in North America and Northern Europe opined that:

performing music, sharing music, composing music, learning and teaching it – music seems to invoke ideas of citizenship in its very engagement, in its profound ties to communal culture and the deeply personal ways it figures in the lives of each of us. Music carries some capacity to separate and bring together, and in doing so, its power charges us as a *civic* educators, not simply music educators, to cultivate its engagement responsibility. I suggest that alongside national citizenship and newer conceptions of global citizenship there might be such a things as *musical citizenship*, at least with regard to classroom communities (Allsup, 2010: 10).

The offer of free public music education can be an effective vehicle to the establishment of an aware, active and inclusive citizenship. Indeed, the very term ‘citizenship’ conjures up a sense of belonging, of being a member or part of a community, a way to identify ‘with and within the world’. This approach is particularly widespread in the wealthy Northern European countries, where societies are founded upon equality and solidarity and a commitment to conveying a sort of pan-national ethos (Allsup, 2010), particularly in school environments where the focus is specifically on the future of the country, to celebrate cultural diversity and rear cosmopolitan and conscious citizens.

In some recent ethno-anthropological studies the concept of musical citizenship is extended to matters which are beyond pedagogy and music education. For example, the ethnomusicologist Martin Stokes said, in one of his lectures at the Institute of Musical Research (IMR) in London: ‘Music, I will argue, has for a long time been entangled with debates about citizenship and citizenly identities’⁵⁷. According to Stokes, the link between different musical practices and different forms of citizenship emerges with great urgency in the contexts of contemporary global metropolis, where international mobility, which is strictly connected to mass migrations, is less evident. In these circumstances there are ‘growing ranks of non – (and post) – citizens’⁵⁸ such as immigrants, who reclaim daily their ‘legal rights and political participation’. Therefore, the issue of supporting ‘social equality and

⁵⁷ Stokes, M. – in IMR Distinguished Lecture Series 2017: “The Musical Citizen”, audio available on www.the-imr.uk/media – retrieved on 3 July 2017.

⁵⁸ Stokes, M. – in IMR Distinguished Lecture Series 2017: “The Musical Citizen”, audio available on www.the-imr.uk/media – retrieved on 3 July 2017.

evolution of citizenship'⁵⁹ becomes somewhat a matter of urgency. As also stated by Thomas Turino, 'participatory music making and dance are among a variety of activities that can be potent resources for social change and provide alternative models for citizenship' (Turino, 2016: 304). In such framework, music is not limited to a role of pure entertainment: it also becomes a social resource, a soundtrack to political movements to deploy consciously to help achieve strategic objectives⁶⁰.

Back to multi-ethnic orchestras, it can be easily assessed how musical practices played a central role in shaping what Stokes calls 'cultural citizenship', meaning a model of citizenship moulded by cultural differences (ethnic origins, belonging, identity) which propose pacific co-existence in a new context. Migrant musicians wishing to settle in new societies want to go through stronger processes which ultimately would lead them to obtaining citizenship of the place where they reside.

As seen in the third chapter, promoters and cultural associations that work with multi-ethnic orchestras frequently give support to musicians with the bureaucratic process of getting an Italian visa; the value of such solidarity should not be underestimated. In this context, the pioneering experience of L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio proves once more its worth, as it contributed to creating stable and well-paid jobs, helping migrant musicians with their regularization process that allowed them to feel fully integrated within society, even though they not have acquired full citizenship yet.

The Orquestra Todos is different from other Italian orchestras in that its members had already been Portuguese citizens for a long time, with the significant exception of Ali Regep. Despite the organizers' best intentions, Regep did not integrate, either within the Lisbon city environment or with the other musicians.

At the other end of the spectrum, the experience of Brazilian guitarist Gustavo Roriz is significant in that he tells of how being a musician was an excellent passport to starting a new life in Portugal:

[...] Until I received a call from singer Fernando Girão, whom I had recorded with a few months earlier. [...] He clearly was very excited on the phone, because he had found a way for me to stay in Portugal: Article 87, paragraph g): which provided that persons involved in sports and the arts could

⁵⁹ Stokes, M. – in IMR Distinguished Lecture Series 2017: "The Musical Citizen", audio available on www.the-imr.uk/media – retrieved on 3 July 2017.

⁶⁰ The primary role of music as an instrument for political and social struggle has been analysed in depth by authors such as Buchanan 2006; Mc Donald 2013, Schultz 2013; Turino 2000.

make a direct application for residence, as long as they represented some relevance to the country⁶¹. But what importance could I have for Portugal? [...] I made a folder with my graduate degree diploma in popular music at UNICAMP in Campinas, São Paulo, and joined reference letters from everyone I had worked with as a musician or music teacher. Once I had gathered all the paperwork, I went to SEF (Immigrant Service) and managed to get the application for residence. [...] I almost had to wait a year until I finally received a letter in my house stating that my application for residence had been granted (Roriz, 2010: 271).

Gustavo Roriz said he was very satisfied with his lifestyle choice, especially on a professional level. In 2008 he has performed with one of the most popular Portuguese bands, *Madredeus* with the discographic project *Madredeu & A Banda Cósmica*, and has attended the master in Ethnomusicology at *Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (FCSH)* at the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, and now he feels totally integrated in society, remarking that he was granted his new passport thanks to his profession as musician (Roriz, 2010).

Professional musicians generally lead a life which is, by its very nature, in a state of constant motion, as they move much more frequently than other professionals; they operate in very dynamic environments, where they are compelled to constantly exchange ideas in order to extend their knowledge. For these reasons, they often reflect on both their sense of belonging to places that welcome them and on their national identity; by their very nature, they become promoters of musical hybridization processes, which they see as incentives to keep moving and renewing their own cultural and musical references (Côrte-Real, 2016). It becomes highly relevant to pay attention to the political use of music, then. Music has always been effective in shaping identities, emotions and national feelings, and in this context it can become a tool employed to spread a socially positive message. For multi-ethnic orchestras, the praising of ‘métissage’ represents a possible model of meeting and confrontation among ‘new citizens’ who, despite having roots in different contexts, continue to assert their own cultural and musical background, producing relevant art which portrays an emblematic sonic picture of contemporary, cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic Western cities.

⁶¹ Roriz refers to the decree ‘Decreto-Lei n.º 244/98 de 8 de Agosto’, whose article 87, letter g), on the ‘Dispensa de visto de residência’, states: “Cuja actividade no domínio científico, cultural ou económico seja considerada de interesse fundamental para o País”.

4.8. Other instances of intercultural exchanges in Lisbon

4.8.1. *Sons da Lusofonia*: musical union, identity and colonial past

In Portugal, the exploitation of mixed cultures and of musical hybridization has been widely identified with the employment and the spread of ‘Lusophony’. Lusophony is a linguistic, political, economic and cultural concept used by journalists, politicians, promoters and musicians to refer to the cultural identity associated to countries where Portuguese is spoken, and to other Portuguese-speaking areas scattered across the world. So, linguistic association is a founding principle of Lusophony, and in this sense it could be compared to ‘Francophonie’, which takes its name after the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* (IOF), founded in 1970 and including 70 member states and 200 million French speakers. (www.francophonie.org).

To this end, the *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* (CPLP) (Community of Portuguese Language Countries - www.cplp.org) was founded in 1996. This intergovernmental institution, whose members include nine states, attests the global spread of Portuguese (it is currently the seventh most spoken language, with more than 250 million speakers) and acknowledges that the language and certain cultural traits represent unifying elements for very distant peoples (Vanspauwen, 2010: 15)⁶². Immigrant Portuguese-speaking communities based in Lisbon are, as it could be imagined, very structured and numerous. Specifically, migrant musicians living in Lisbon, both professionals and amateurs, mostly come from Portuguese-speaking African countries (PALOP), and uninterruptedly moved there from the 1960’s through the following decades, during the independence process of former colonies (Vanspauwen, 2010).

In the city, several associations promoting cultural and artistic activities employ the ‘Lusophony’ label to group together the vast cultural output of Portuguese-speaking

⁶² CPLP member countries include: Brazil, Angola, Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, East Timor and of course Portugal.

migrants⁶³. Among these associations, the *Associação Sons da Lusofonia* ranked as one of the most important. It is a charity founded in 1996 by Portuguese saxophonist Carlos Martins, who studied at Conservatório Nacional and played with several migrant musicians mostly from African countries throughout his career. His personal commitment towards raising awareness of difficulties experienced by Portuguese-speaking migrants in Lisbon was a significant influence on his musical output (Vanspauwen, 2010: 50). The association's main objective is to contribute to the cultural cooperation between Portugal and lusophone countries through the promotion and the development of a cultural identity based on shared traditions and projected towards the future. The association supports 'comprehensive interventions that ally social intervention and global education to music and interaction between communities, people and art'⁶⁴.

In 1995, Carlos Martins assembled several professional musicians from the nine lusophone countries to form the *Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia* (OSL), a musical project which in its shows featured different artists of international fame. The music made by OSL was described as being:

Influenciada pela corrente tradicional de cada país ou etnia, acrescentando-lhe modernos arranjos, de forma a permitir uma maior acessibilidade às antigas tradições e cultura por parte das plateias contemporâneas. O espetáculo da OSL assenta nas memórias ancestrais das culturas do espaço lusófono, trabalhando os idiomas musicais de cada cultura, numa perspetiva ficcionada do futuro, dentro e fora deste espaço⁶⁵.

OSL's musical events aim to celebrate intercultural meeting, a true *miscigenação* (a crossing of ethnicities) that reflects the image of a lusophone world whose founding values are respect and tolerance among peoples.

Comparatively, it can be safely said that the theoretical discourse characterising the *Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia* is very similar to the narrative underpinning Italian multi-ethnic orchestras, which mostly side with artistic projects aiming to represent contemporary Italy as a system with a clear multi-ethnic and multicultural

⁶³ For an in-depth study of Lusophone music in Lisbon, cf. Vanspauwen 2010.

⁶⁴ www.sonsdalusofonia.com - retrieved on 25 September 2017. The Associação Sons da Lusofonia is supported by Câmara Municipal de Lisboa through the programme EGEAC – Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural, by the Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural (ACIDI) and by Comissão para a Cidadania e Igualdade de Género.

⁶⁵ 'Influenced by the traditional music of each country and ethnic group and enriched by modern arrangements, to allow audiences to better enjoy ancient traditions and cultures. OSL shows are inspired by the ancestral memories of lusophone cultures. The sounds from each culture are explored with a forward-looking approach, in and out of its own space'. www.sonsdalusofonia.com - retrieved on 25 September 2017.

component. But the Italian context is very different from the Portuguese, as Italy never had a colonial history comparable to Portugal's and its consequent lusophone expansion. The legacy of Portugal's colonial past survives in the idea of 'lusophony', which has been described as 'a postcolonial recharger of old losses' (*Côte-Real, 2016: 103*), and the shared language brings about new and different hybridizations.

According to Carlos Martins, the very term 'lusophony' inherently lays the grounds for interculturality in Lisbon: despite the shared language, lusophone cultures are undeniably widely heterogeneous. As a musician and promoter, he wanted to broaden this outlook by encompassing cosmopolitanism – non-lusophone as well – to promote cultural diversity through the human and artistic capital of foreign communities residing in Lisbon (Vanspauwen, 2016). The *Festival Lisboa Mistura* is worth mentioning as one of the most successful instances of such approach. This interesting three-day musical initiative that has been animating the city centre since 2006 is an annual event dedicated to Lisbon's urban communities. Its musical programmes are distinguished by their *world* character, as local musicians originally from lusophone countries perform with international artists from Mediterranean or Latin America countries⁶⁶.

The analysis of lusophone's transnational cultural flows offers new frameworks for the understanding of the constitution of identity structures – here strongly referencing Portuguese culture – in relation to musical practices. It becomes necessary to investigate artistic-cultural policies in order to understand how initiatives promoted by cultural enterprises such as *Sons da Lusofonia* may foster a new de-colonial vision of these phenomena (Vanspauwen, 2016) capable, through the retrieval of collective memory, of promoting new challenges in support of intercultural co-existence.

⁶⁶ www.sonsdalusofonia.com - retrieved on 25 September 2015.

4.5.2. *Orquestra Transcultural Latinidade*: a meeting experience promoted by Italian musicians

The most common music meetings taking place in Lisbon are those between professionals tied to each other by identity elements – such as musicians that come from former Portuguese colonies or other lusophone countries who have long moved to Europe. There may also be other continental musicians, including many Italians, in pursuit of the multicultural Lisbon described as:

Una città molto aperta e accogliente in cui il *mélange* musicale e culturale è favorito dal linguaggio universale che le è proprio. Qui ci sono infatti molte situazioni che favoriscono l'incontro tra musicisti di tutto il mondo ed è facile scambiarsi esperienze tra colleghi e amici⁶⁷.

Orquestra Transcultural Latinidade started from a group of Italian and Argentinian musicians who moved to Lisbon in February 2016 to perform in an artistic residency at the Largo Café Intendente, a pivotal place attended by artists of all kinds and origins. The trio is composed of Argentinian singer-guitarist and band leader Nicolás Farruggia and two Italians, namely percussionist Timoteo Gringani and accordionist Alberto Beccucci; along the years, they also progressively involved other Lisbon-based professionals with different musical experiences to interpret the diverse sounds of the city.

Despite its recent formation, *Orquestra Transcultural Latinidade* has already a wealth of performances in its history, both in the capital and in other minor cities, especially within festivals dedicated to world music. The opening night of *Festival Todos 2016* was one of these, which I had the chance to attend. The set list alternated original material and covers; Farruggia, who is also the main composer, sang mostly in Brazilian Portuguese, with a few songs in Spanish. They also played a *fado* that told the stories of the new Lisboners: it was written and sung by the Spanish singer Mili Vizcaíno Jaén and Gustavo Roriz (whose experience is recounted in 4.7). They were joined, among others, by jazz saxophonist Diogo Picão, trombonist Diogo Duque and bass player Francesco Valente (from *Orquestra Todos* – cf. 4.5.2).

The varied origins of musicians who collaborate with the *Orquestra*, most of whom are from lusophone countries, fully justify the presence of the word ‘transcultural’ in

⁶⁷ ‘A very open and welcoming city, whose musical and cultural *mélange* is fostered by its innate universal language. There are several environments where musicians from all corners of the world can get together, and it’s easy to exchange experiences between colleagues and friends’. Farruggia, N. – Personal Interview, Lisbon, 10 September 2016.

their name, along with their stated aim of mixing different musical languages. Most of the performers come from a jazz background – and there is plenty of room for jazz improvisations within the performances – but almost all of the songs bear the hallmarks of Southern American music, specifically the urban sounds of *bossanova* and Brazilian *samba* or Argentinian *tango*, mixed with music originally from Angola and the isles of Cape Verde.

Farruggia elaborated on why the group self-consciously retained the label ‘transcultural’:

Con questo progetto intendiamo proporre una *mistura* dei vari stili musicali, trovando i punti in comune tra le diverse culture da noi esplorate, vogliamo andare oltre l’accostamento dei vari generi musicali e creare una vera e propria fusione degli elementi, questo significa per noi *transculturale*. Il fado da noi proposto viene orchestrato come se fosse un tango, senza però perdere le caratteristiche musicali proprie. Un altro esempio è rappresentato da Gustavo Roriz, uno dei nostri colleghi, che porta sul palco la *viola caipira* – strumento tipico brasiliano – e la suona con la tecnica della chitarra portoghese, questo di per sé è già *transculturale*⁶⁸.

The concept of ‘transculturality’ as it emerged in recent studies and on various interdisciplinary debates about migration, was analysed in depth by German philosopher Wolfgang Welsch (1999; 2017) in an attempt to offer a new model of mutual cultural interaction. According to Welsch, the traditional idea of culture, characterised by social homogenization, ethnic consolidation and intercultural boundaries (Welsch, 2017: 31) is inadequate to confront the increasingly complex multiple cultural interconnections in contemporary globalization processes. In a multicultural context which involves the whole ecumene and where there are multiple exchanges, connections and interactions, the idea that different cultural systems, which have always fed on hybridizations and exchanges, may be closed to intercommunication, is increasingly unacceptable (Tumino, 2011). ‘Transcultural identities comprehend a cosmopolitan side, but also a side of local affiliation [...] Not separation, but exchange and interaction’ (Welsch, 2017: 46). This explains the proposal for an innovative model of multidirectional cultural exchange, whereby ethnic belonging and the main features of the community to which people choose to

⁶⁸ ‘Our aim is to perform a mixture of different music genres, seeking the common ground among the different cultures we explore. We want to go over the simple juxtaposition of different music genres to create a proper fusion of elements. That is what *transcultural* means to us. The fado we play is orchestrated as if it were a tango, without losing any of its proper features. Another example is that of Gustavo Roriz, one of our colleagues, who brings on stage the *viola caipira*- a typical Brazilian instrument – but plays it with a Portuguese guitar technique. This in itself is *transcultural*’ - *ibid*.

belong remain stable, as nonetheless it feeds on exchanges and connections with other cultural systems.

My understanding of how migrant musicians act and what kind of music they want to perform in Lisbon's urban context was undoubtedly improved by my joining multicultural music initiatives in the course of the ethnographic research presented here. It is worth reminding how the newly formed *Orquestra Transcultural Latinidade* openly references Italian multi-ethnic orchestras. As seen in previous sections, it is an orchestra promoted by Italian musicians composed of a collective of mostly foreign-born, migrant professional musicians integrated within a multicultural musical context whose CVs include other projects. In *Orquestra Latinidade*, the social intervention aspect that characterises most of the Italian experiences is absent, since members have long been residing in Portugal and are perfectly integrated within the country. The reference to Italian orchestras is explained by their intention to establish a group identity and by the music-meeting framework in which they operate: defining themselves as 'multi-ethnic' or 'transcultural' would mean that they're willing to open up to new musical styles which is in itself a challenge, for it involves welcoming and integrating what each migrant musician can bring to the group and, starting from these elements, elaborating their own original language. In conclusion, what identifies the *Orquestra Transcultural Latinidade* project – and what links it once more to past Italian experiences – is the group's initial aim, which is to form a city orchestra capable of mixing the sounds of multicultural Lisbon, to create a new artistic language which interprets and identifies with the city where these sounds can be heard.

This ethnographic research, which took six months, yielded several results, leaving me at the same time with a feeling of slight uneasiness, triggered by doubts on which approach might better suit the analysis of a number of key issues, such as the in-depth survey of a specific musical scene. It is, apparently, a feeling very common among scholars who leave the territory where they have conducted their research wishing to make significant contributions to the study of the subject they have investigated.

There are two major final reflections that could be inferred.

The first is the process of adoption and of partial adaptation of the Italian model of multi-ethnic orchestra, typified by *Orquestra Todos* and its state-supported music project, where the basic tenet of multiculturalism is employed to integrate cultural

differences by establishing and supporting a city orchestra composed of migrant musicians from a 'disadvantaged' urban space. From a political and cultural perspective Lisbon is a very welcoming framework, open to newcomers that, no matter how short their stay, can easily get close to a fascinating reality, multi-faceted and rich in colour and taste. A perfect landscape to develop, albeit with varying results, a musical project related to and inspired by L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio, capable of capturing the current, evolving reality, represented by a patchwork of citizens whose identities are heterogeneous and transnational. In this sense, focusing on musical practices is a great advantage for the comprehension and analysis of issues related to transnational mobility and contemporary intercultural processes.

The second reflection concerns musicians, their actions and the way they approach exchanging and sharing their craft when meeting with others. Notwithstanding the fact that they find themselves in a migratory condition, they interact with Lisbon in a way that frames the city as a Babel-like entity, where musical and cultural *mélanges* are fostered by music's nature of universal language. Although this image may appear unrealistic, that is what emerges frequently from dialogues with characters that inhabit such an extraordinarily multi-faceted music scene, an image which fits perfectly the 'world music' frame which musicians belong to. After all, the new global and transnational dimension of people encounters has undeniably had a positive outcome, as people move and get in contact with each other much more easily, opening inroads for music and benefitting from unprecedented opportunities to experience different musical contexts, widening the discourse on the diversity of human cultures and utopic projects which get started thanks to the meeting of different peoples.

Picture 1. Band Brochure, *Todos* 2011

(www.festivaltodos.com/paginas/5/orquestra-todos, 7 October 2016).



Orquestra Todos

A Orquestra Todos, que nasceu no Sport Clube do Intendente em Lisboa, atravessa e funde vários mundos musicais e sonoros de múltiplas origens culturais. Este é um projeto do Festival *Todos, Caminhada de Culturas*, festival enraizado nos bairros do Martim Moniz e Mouraria que se caracteriza pela busca de uma programação de natureza intercultural para a cidade de Lisboa. É a partir dos concertos da *Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio* no Largo do Intendente, que surge com força e entusiasmo, a ideia de replicar aqui uma formação composta por lisboetas de todas as origens culturais, musicais, linguísticas... Juntar pessoas que fazem música a partir de diferentes instrumentos, diferentes tradições e universos e com elas inventar um som próprio e novo, que ecoa pela primeira vez no coração mais antigo do bairro, torna-se um objetivo comum.

A partir de um convite de Giacomo Scalisì, Mario Tronco, o maestro da *Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio* que levantou um projeto desta natureza numa cidade cosmopolita como Roma, juntamente com Pino Pecorelli, é o responsável por esta nova Orquestra para uma Lisboa, também ela, do mundo. O seu som é uma mistura singular de sonoridades que dialoga constantemente com todas as raízes culturais e musicais da cidade de Lisboa e da sua Lusofonia.

Eis, o seu primeiro disco.

A Orquestra Todos estreou no dia 11 de setembro 2011 no Festival Todos | Largo do Intendente | Lisboa

Os concertos da Orquestra Todos:

02 de outubro 2011

Teatro São Luiz | Lisboa

18 de dezembro 2011

Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian | Lisboa



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Picture 2. *Orquestra Todos*

(cover photo of *Intendente*, www.festivaltodos.com/paginas/5/orquestra-todos, 7 October 2016).



Picture 3. Promotional flyer of *Orquestra Todos*, concert at *Garage*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian

(www.festivaltodos.com, 8 October 2017).



Picture 4. *Orquestra Geração*, concert at Auditorium, Fundação Gulbelkian (promotional picture, www.orquestra.geracao.aml.pt, 20 October 2017).



Picture 5. *Orquestra Geração* performing at Auditorium, Fundação Gulbelkian, 18 July 2016 (photo by Layla Dari).



Picture 6. *Sons da Lusofonia* performing in Lisbon
(archive material, www.sonsdalusofonia.com, 16 December 2017).



Picture 7. *Orquestra Transcultural Latinidade*, rehearsal at Largo Cafè Intendente, 7 September 2016, Lisbon (photo by Layla Dari).



Picture 8. *Orquestra Transcultural Latinidade* performing at *Festival Todos*, 8 September 2016, Jardim do Torel, Lisbon (archive material www.festivaltodos.com, 20 October 2017).

