



UNIVERSIDADE CATÓLICA PORTUGUESA

CULTURAL HYBRIDISATION IN LISBON'S MUSICAL PROJECTS: A EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE ON MULTICULTURAL AND INTERCULTURAL POLICIES

Dissertation to Universidade Católica Portuguesa to obtain a
Master's Degree in Culture Studies (Management of the Arts
and Culture)

By

Arthur Félix Molard

Faculdade de Ciências Humanas

February 2024



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Under the supervision of Professor Joana Oliveira de
Almeida Bacelar Moura and Professor Pedro Miguel
Meio-Tostão Roxo

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RESUMO

A presente dissertação explora políticas multiculturais e interculturais em Lisboa, examinando perspectivas locais e europeias. Aborda, em específico, as diretrizes que contestam a ideia de que a diversidade cultural tem impacto negativo na sociedade, e investiga a influência dessas políticas no processo contínuo de hibridização cultural nos coletivos musicais sediados em Lisboa. O diálogo existente entre os setores da sociedade (com foco no governo, nos formuladores de políticas e na sociedade civil) permite-me analisar este impacto, contrastando o hibridismo cultural e a hibridização da criação musical em dois projetos musicais coletivos no contexto intercultural de Lisboa: a Orquestra TODOS e o Krusty Fondant.

Esta discussão, principalmente articulada pelo Conselho da Europa – organização intergovernamental para os Direitos Humanos – coloca em perspectiva o surgimento de políticas multiculturais e interculturais em cidades europeias e a sua reflexão sobre diversidade cultural, integração, inclusão, hibridização cultural e cidadania no projeto europeu. Analiso a mudança das preocupações políticas (materializadas em discursos e ações) sobre diversidade cultural, inclusão e abertura (figurativa e física) em Portugal, analisando os relatórios, estratégias, ferramentas e pesquisas conduzidas pelo Conselho da Europa e pela Câmara Municipal de Lisboa e tentar compreender os seus efeitos nos projetos musicais coletivos em Lisboa. Realizo trabalho de campo na análise dos meus estudos de casos usando uma metodologia etnográfica focada em observação de campo e entrevistas ‘responsivas’ aos membros dos referidos projetos musicais. Deste modo, pretendo tornar mais clara e compreensível a atual integração de projetos musicais coletivos e híbridos na paisagem cultural de Lisboa.

Palavras-chave: diversidade cultural, hibridismo, interculturalismo, multiculturalismo, projeto musical, identidade.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores multicultural and intercultural policies in Lisbon, examining both local and European perspectives. Specifically, it addresses the guidelines that counter the notion that cultural diversity negatively impacts society, and it delves into the influence of these policies on the ongoing process of cultural hybridisation within collective musical projects based in Lisbon. The existing dialogue between the sectors of society (focusing on the government, policy makers and the civil society) enables me to analyse these impacts by contrasting cultural hybridity and hybridisation of music creation in two collective musical projects in the intercultural context of Lisbon: the Orquestra TODOS and Krusty Fondant.

This discussion, mainly articulated by the intergovernmental organisation for Human Rights Council of Europe, puts in perspective the emergence of multicultural and intercultural policies in European cities and their pondering around cultural diversity, integration, inclusivity, cultural hybridisation and citizenship in the European project. I analyse the changes of the political concerns (discourses and actions) on cultural diversity, inclusivity and openness (figurative and physical) of Portugal, analysing the reports, strategies, tools and research conducted by the Council of Europe and by the Lisbon Municipality (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa) and try to grasp their effects in collective musical projects in Lisbon. I conduct field work in the analysis of my case studies using an ethnographic methodology focused on field observation and ‘responsive’ interviewing of members of the aforementioned musical projects. I therefore aim to enlighten the current integration of collective hybrid musical projects in Lisbon’s cultural landscape.

Keywords: cultural diversity, hybridity, interculturalism, multiculturalism, music projects, identity.

DEDICATION

To Marisa, thanks for your help in correcting my English and for incidentally having taught me the language.

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EDITORIAL AND ORTHOGRAPHIC STANDARDS

At times, the word orchestra is rendered as “orquestra” due to its correspondence with the Portuguese orthography.

I have transcribed the interviews *verbatim* from oral discussions, only correcting grammatical mistakes and reformulating as little as possible for the sake of clarity. Therefore, some sentences, terms or expressions can appear crude or inappropriate in an academic context.

I write in British English but have kept quotes and transcripts (from written interviews) in their original forms, some authors and interlocutors writing in American English.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

KF – Krusty Fondant

OT – Orquestra TODOS

OPV – Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio

TODOS – TODOS - Caminhada de Culturas, formerly called Festival TODOS, sometimes spelled Todos

APC – Academia de Produtores Culturais

EU – European Union

AML – Área Metropolitana de Lisboa (Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)

CoE – Council of Europe

ICC – Intercultural cities network or programme

SEF – Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (Foreigners and Borders Service)

CSOs – Civil Society Organisations

EGEAC – Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural

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INTRODUCTION

The acceleration of globalisation has exerted a profound influence on the European cultural landscape, shaping the manner in which individuals engage, communicate, collaborate and create collectively. Globalisation has facilitated the spread of cultural products, practises, symbols across national and cultural borders. This phenomenon has strengthened the relationship between diversity and creativity, allowing for new conceptions of creative processes to arise. While the emergence of a homogenising global popular culture is discernible, cultures are also subject to constant change, thereby challenging traditional notions of a national culture. For example, instances of cultural hybridity and recent conceptions of cultural identity pinpoint the necessity for Western societies to address and implement multicultural principles in their policies. Indeed, the European Union (EU) has historically sought to promote a European cultural identity. However, as claimed by the anthropologist Eric Wolf, Europe is not a “fixed” or “stable” cultural entity.¹ Instead, the historical exchanges (attributable to colonisation and globalisation) that have occurred between Europe and other cultures and societies have shaped it into a dynamic and ever-changing identity, rather than a static one. The anthropologists José Gabriel Pereira Bastos and Susana Pereira Bastos even emphasise Zygmunt Bauman’s “liquid society,” when considering the consensus on a supra-nationality of identities within the academic community, or “cosmopolitan identities” that convey the idea of the non-ethnic character of national identities (Bastos and Bastos 2007, 6).

These new cultural dynamics have prompted the EU and the Council of Europe (CoE) to imagine cultural policies that will support cultural diversity while also sustaining transnational cultural exchanges and projects. Atonsich emphasises the inevitability of the future of a widely diverse world culture as well as the mutual influence minorities and majorities have on each other: “diversity is not only something ‘carried’ by minorities which leaves the majority group untouched; but in a future which demographic projections anticipate being even more diverse, diversity itself might become the mainstream” (2016, 470). Yet, the challenge remains in the paradoxical protection of national and regional cultures while fostering social and cultural inclusion and therefore the necessity to permit a

¹ Nonetheless, Wolf’s book “Europe and the People Without History” (1982) has been criticised for its eurocentric and reductive view on European history when depicting the agency of non-Europeans.

cultural landscape where the mutation of cultures is politically and socially accepted and not repressed, as demonstrated by Bhabha's theory of cultural hybridity.

This paradox, between national and hybrid culture, brings to the table relevant discussions about power and knowledge, hegemonic groups and debates on difference that were revealed during the cultural turn.² Indeed, in the late 20th century, reflecting about identity, representation, and power, scholars like Michel Foucault or Pierre Bourdieu began to examine culture and its role in shaping both individual and collective identities, scrutinising how culture could be harnessed to either reinforce or contest prevailing structures of power. The ethnomusicologist Pedro Roxo, considering the hermeneutics associated with the cultural turn, and its intersection with contexts of post-colonialism, hybridity and resistance, suggests that our understanding of identities in the “globalised and mediatised world system of liberal democratic capitalism” (2016, 6, my translation) has shifted towards what he refers to as a new academic consensus. This consensus often places a strong emphasis on concepts like “third space” and “fluid identities,” giving heightened visibility to these notions of difference and hybridity (*idem*).

It is in this contextualising framework of “power struggle” (Lentz 2017, 201) that collective musical projects such as the case studies of this dissertation, namely the Orquestra TODOS (OT) and Krusty Fondant (KF), navigate the complexities of their individual (members') and collective identities. Intercultural projects such as the OT and KF benefit from employing diplomatic tact and fostering an inclusive dialogue. In this context, the dominant culture is encouraged to be conscious and critical in its actions, avoiding inadvertently stifling the minority culture within the broader discourse (Chin 1989, 175).

The investigation focuses on two case studies: 1) Krusty Fondant, a Lisbon-based collective of musicians from various cultural backgrounds, that will exemplify the grassroots (bottom-up) musical project; 2) the Orquestra TODOS, a top-down musical project created for the TODOS - Caminhada de Culturas, an annual festival happening in the AML, financed by the Municipality of Lisbon (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, hereinafter “CML”), and composed by musicians from various cultural backgrounds.

² The cultural turn, prominent in late 20th-century academia, marked a shift towards understanding culture's role in enforcing meaning – articulated by “symbols” – and knowledge about the world, as seen in the online page of the encyclopaedia Britannica on Clifford Geertz. However, it's important to note that there were several iterations of the cultural turn, as highlighted by Doris Bachmann-Medick (2016), including the interpretative turn (considering culture as text) or the postcolonial turn (which stresses the acknowledgment and negotiation of cultural difference).

This dissertation aims to examine the process of creation and cultural dynamics of KF and the OT in Lisbon. It seeks to understand how the hybridisation of collective and individual identities in the city is influenced by the overarching European consensus on multicultural and intercultural policies, implemented by the EU, Portugal, and the municipality of Lisbon, contemplating the potential implications of a politics of hybridity. This presents a dual research problem, as it questions both the hybridity of collective projects and the potential impact of hybridity on Lisbon's cultural policies. Additionally, recognising the awareness within civil society and governmental bodies regarding the integrative potential of musical activities in an intercultural society (Zapata-Barrero 2013, Gomarasca 2013, Council of Europe 2008), the dissertation assesses the support provided to the case studies, encompassing financial, administrative, integrative aspects and representativity.

Looking at cultures and communities, I consider first the “community of sense” (Rancière 2009), the motives for belonging to a community, the community's rationale and its mainspring. Secondly, I look at cultures from a “community of practice” perspective (Schiavio et al. 2019), close to Bourdieu's understanding of culture as practice.

Nonetheless, my analysis is limited to the scale of the two collective musical projects (the OT and KF), stakeholders of broader communities, which give a rooted and concrete perspective to “sense” and “practice.” To do so, I analyse the foundational events, the “group formation and social closure” as well as the group dissolution (Lentz 2017, 201). These events are fundamentally based on a negotiation of differences and similarities (common interests, objectives, traits etc.) in order to bridge these differences and “bond over aesthetic imaginary” (Rancière 2009). Finally, an organised or disorganised structure of the groups emerges, visible in their missions and values, the attribution of roles to the members and their correlated hierarchy (which constitute other materials to analyse).

Schiavio et al. (2019) consider the “community of practice,” the agency of the communities' members, their capability to deal with identities formation (collective and individual) and to create an intercultural moment, seen as “a paradoxical situation where one adopts universalising (identifying commonalities) and particularising (acknowledging distinctions) practices” (Marotta 2014, 8-9). To do so, the culturally diverse musical project nurture an intercultural dialogue to varying degrees, enhanced by what the sociologist Zapata-Barrero terms as “positive interaction” in his constructivist approach to diversity,

stressing that individuals are “capable agents” to be considered “not only in terms of their rights, but in terms of what they can do and achieve” (2012, 27).

Another constructivist approach explains that the learning process occurs when the subject is “participating in and contributing to the practices of the local community” (Cobb and Yackel 1996). Hence, personal communicational skills and know-how like intersubjectivity, cultural humility, constructive identification of a common thread in the “‘reciprocity’ between the psychological and the social” (Packer and Goicoechea 2000) and the possession of “tacit knowledge” (van Steden 2020) are required for adaptation, hybridisation, integration and creativity. The materials considered for the analysis of my case studies include moments of music production, composition and arrangement (for instance, the choice to select some parts at the expense of others, emphasising concerns of representation of cultures), repertoires construction, performances and rehearsals. This will be analysed drawing on the musicologist Richard Perks’ research methods (2021) in the interplay of cultural identities to formulate a collective identity, that is finally shaped into a voice, an outcome, a music product.

However, I will not cover extensively the reception, consumption and engagement of real, specific audiences, limiting my analysis to the processes of creation, from the prism of the cultural theorist and not of the ethnomusicologist. An analysis of the audiences and of the reception would be very relevant for making sense of the community around the collective musical projects and their fans, but, as the projects are modest-sized, collecting material concerning this matter would not be feasible in the scope of this work.

European and national cultural policies and initiatives, policies on immigration and hospitality, along with international trade treaties, impact global cultural flows and migration, fostering cultural diversification and hybridisation, especially in urban areas. As a result, the acceleration of globalisation and the construction of Europe, influenced by transnational institutions like the EU and the CoE, is transforming European cultures, such as Lisbon’s cultural landscape. This dissertation focuses on the urban core of Lisbon and the *Área Metropolitana de Lisboa* (Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, abbreviated AML).

It is worth outlining that multiculturalism and interculturalism are both political ideologies that have been developed at the EU (mainly with the European Commission) and at European (mostly through the CoE) levels. For instance, the Intercultural cities programme (ICC) launched in 2008 – a relevant tool to handle diversity in European urban

centres as in Lisbon's case – is a “joint programme between the Council of Europe and the European Commission” (European Commission n.d.a.). It is now managed by the CoE only. Therefore, because both Europe and the EU are influential stakeholders in Lisbon, this dissertation considers both entities rather than focusing solely on one of them.

Investigating these phenomena from a cultural standpoint allows me to gain a better understanding of the complex ways in which cultural practices and politics intersect and shape our individual and collective identities. The research conducted on the diversity advantage³ (Wood and Landry 2008, Ipsos MORI 2011, Zapata-Barrero 2013), highlights the need for European policy makers and cities to continue to learn how to counter the argument that cultural diversity has a negative impact on society. Another vital element in shaping identities within the framework of cultural diversity in Europe, especially for minorities, is the premise of an existing democratic framework, enabling the establishment of a civil society (Gomarasca 2013, Appadurai 2006). In his extensive work on the subject, Arjun Appadurai, considers the civil society as “movements for grassroots globalization” (2006, 130) or “grassroots coalitions” (2006, 41) which suggests a bottom-up approach where local initiatives and collaborations play a significant role in shaping global dynamics. Indeed, civil society is central to the debate over cultural diversity and hybridity, providing a forum for debate and frequently being at the forefront of inclusive dialogue. Because one of their primary missions is to represent and promote cultural diversity, the organisations constitutive of the civil society (CSOs) are frequently associated with minorities or marginalised communities. Promoting cultural diversity enriches societies (socially and culturally but also economically), safeguards heritages from cultural homogenisation and protects human rights. Doing so, ideally (perhaps even in a utopian perspective), governments and supranational organisations must maintain a dialogue with the CSOs (as CSOs may raise sociocultural issues) and revise their policies, practises and institutions accordingly. Keeping a critical approach to sociocultural policies in European nations and in Lisbon (Portugal), I admit that the promptness of socio-demographic changes characterising our contemporary cities makes structural policies review extremely complex.

The current integration of collective hybrid musical projects in Lisbon's cultural landscape (such as the OT and KF), marked by challenges and opportunities, warrants

³ The concept of ‘diversity advantage’ belies societies’ negative perception of cultural diversity emphasising its positive impact like its creative potential.

scrutiny in the critical examination of assertions of interculturalism by Portuguese governmental and municipal bodies, including the CML. I assert that there is a gap between the promotion – by the CML – of an intercultural policy in Lisbon and the actual and effective inclusion of cultural subjects in the city’s cultural landscape. More specifically, I investigate the CML’s discourse articulated around interculturalism, its application in terms of measures and policies and its impact on music collectives composed of musicians from various cultural backgrounds. The predicament that has motivated my research is to determine how the multicultural and intercultural policies at the Lisbon and European levels affect the hybridity of music creation in Lisbon music collectives.

The two case studies are situated within the realm of jazz and improvised music studies. Despite the fact that the music produced and performed by the collectives may not strictly adhere to the genre of jazz, numerous members within the collectives, including KF’s bassist Olivier de Jong or one of the OT’s guitarists Múcio Sá, possess a sound background in jazz music, or have been significantly influenced by jazz and improvised music. Furthermore, the collectives’ repertoires are structured to allow for improvisation, with some compositions featuring designated sections specifically dedicated to improvisation (solo).

I had the privilege to talk with Raquel Mendes Pereira, author of the master’s degree dissertation “Música e Narrativas da Multiculturalidade numa Orquestra de ‘Todos’” (2012) that extensively analyses the OT during the year following its creation, when multicultural policies were the watchword in Lisbon. I sought her insight on the OT and requested information about her recommendations regarding the avenues opened by her research. She identified the relevance of migration and mobility, transnationalism, to reflect with art intervention policies and immigration policies, to be potential directions for my research. Hence, I intended to consider these topics in order to broaden the scope of Dr. Pereira’s dissertation and further the research conducted on the OT and cultural policies in Lisbon.

This dissertation, situated within the field of cultural studies rather than anthropology, centres on the intersection of collective music creation and politics. The sociologist Tia DeNora binds music and cultural studies by demonstrating musical processing and music composition as political actions. The mode of music arrangement chosen by musicians has a social ramification. DeNora elaborates, citing Theodor W. Adorno:

As a mode of arrangement, a way of fashioning material into ‘parts’ and ‘wholes’, musical composition was always and inevitably social: music was, in other words, not

merely analogous to social organization but, rather, demonstrated modes of handling, ways of ordering (musical) reality. (2008, 148-149)

She says that choosing some “sonic materials” will inevitably represent some parts while sacrificing others (idem, 149). This consideration has an impact on music collectives’ representation of individual identities. Another issue raised by Adorno and addressed by DeNora in her essay affects both the creativity of creative sector workers evolving in “predetermined” social settings, which are influenced by hegemonic groups: “[music] ‘material’ is itself a crystallisation of the creative impulse, an element socially predetermined through the consciousness of man” (idem, 150). In this context, the dissertation delves into concepts of agency, capability, and hybridity to explore the potential paths of identity construction of the cultural subjects. To grasp the topic from my perspective and in accordance with Tia DeNora’s socio-musical analysis, I analyse “musical material” situated in specific “social experience[s]” and understand music not “as an object to be read, but as a medium with which things are accomplished in social life, and a medium that itself takes shape in relation to other materials, conventions, resources and constraints” (idem, 158).

Here is some more information about myself to help understand the potential influences that could bias my research. I am writing from the perspective of a Western white male, French from French ancestors, born and raised in the Paris suburbs until the age of 18. I come from a middle-class family; I have had no religious education; I am an atheist. Although I am not politically active, my political beliefs are influenced by leftist ideas, values and principles. I later moved to Québec to study Business Administration (with a minor in Entrepreneurship and Small and Medium Enterprise Management) at Université Laval, and then to Lisbon in 2021 to pursue this master’s degree in culture studies (Management of Arts and Culture) at Universidade Católica Portuguesa. I am eager to work in the music sector, specifically in music production and event production. I have received musical education (having attended a music academy, been a member of a choir, and having practised piano and guitar from the age of two to sixteen) and have maintained a regular music practise since then: djing, writing lyrics, and singing. Furthermore, I am a music *aficionado*, much like my father, who took me to concerts and listens to a wide range of music types and genres, which has shaped my personality; I am alert to new releases as much as I appreciate records from the past, which I search for. This last self-observation places me outside of Lisbon’s music collectives. However, as Ien Ang has pointed out:

[...] the cultural studies analyst recognizes that she is an inhabitant of the city in the first place, not just a visitor: her quest for knowledge is propelled by being situated at some point *inside* global cultural complexity – there is no point outside from which a total overview can be had. (2008, 244)

This awareness combined with my cultural background and the theory examined in the dissertation on hybridity makes me a complex cultural subject, entwined in several cultural perceptions and thus possibly adequately positioned to touch upon negotiating cultural matters. As an immigrant by choice with weak cultural ties to my homeland, I may be biased when it comes to the importance of cultures embracing their hybridisation. To summarise, I am not completely an outsider of the AML music scenes or of music practice, but I am also not an insider, as I am not a musician nor a *lisboeta*.

As a final note, I would like to stress the current conjuncture of the music collectives as my field observation was unfolding. In one case, KF was gradually dismantling for internal reasons detailed in its analytical chapter (5), reducing their common events and thus opportunities for field observation. In the second case, the OT had few concerts scheduled during the study period, making field observation rare. This dissertation analyses two collective musical projects from a culture studies perspective, thus rendering crucial the preliminary stages of analysis, involving the presentation and contextualisation of each case study and its constituent members, and therefore contributing to its extended length.

This dissertation is structured into two parts. The first part addresses the state of the art in cultural studies, focusing on theoretical foundations of multiculturalism, interculturalism, and hybridity in European urban contexts. It progressively contextualises the theory from broader European perspectives to the specific case of Lisbon. This way, Part I really aims at setting the scene to contextualise the ethnography of Part II. Thus, Part II builds on these insights by employing a practical method grounded in ethnographic research and discourse and identitarian representation analysis. This part delves into the fieldwork analysis of the two case studies, the OT and KF, examining how these music collectives operate within the context explored in Part I.

Part I establishes the theoretical foundation for the subsequent case studies analysis. Chapter 1 presents the methodology used and its relevance for the subject. The methods of Part I are mainly based on literature review and critical discourse analysis, while those of Part II comprise the ethnography I conducted, based on field work observation, participant observation and interviewing. Chapter 2 introduces notions of multiculturalism and

interculturalism. It analyses multicultural and intercultural policies in Europe starting with the examination of these concepts within the EU's framework, offering insights on cultural diversity and cultural identities. The chapter shifts its focus to examine the complex dynamics of migration and immigration in both Portugal and the broader EU before analysing the evolution of multicultural and intercultural policies in Lisbon, providing localised insights into their development. Chapter 3 explores the concept of hybridity within the context of postcolonialism and the salient role of differences. Furthermore, it delves into cultural hybridisation before intersecting it with multiculturalism and interculturalism to introduce the innovative concept of hybridity as a novel and nuanced approach to the complex realm of cultural diversity.

Part II is dedicated to the in-depth analysis of the case studies of KF and the OT, both operating within the intricate milieu of hybridity. Chapter 4 initiates this part, presenting the hybrid subject, shedding light on community studies and their implications within music communities before offering a theoretical look at musical collectivities and laying the groundwork for a more detailed examination. Chapter 5 provides a comprehensive historical overview of KF, mission and values, the roles of its members, repertoires, releases, and notable performances. Additionally, this chapter explores the intercultural practices that shape the hybrid sphere of music creation within KF. Chapter 6 mirrors the structure of Chapter 5 but focuses to a meticulous presentation and analysis of the OT. The field work conclusion serves as a comparative analysis, returning to the social, political and cultural environment in which KF and the OT function. It delves into the similarities and distinctions in their processes of creation. Moreover, it examines the broader political and cultural context, emphasising the crucial role of civil society in nurturing musical collectivities and their pivotal contributions to social and cultural inclusion.

PART I – Methods and concepts

Chapter 1. Methodology

This dissertation is embedded in cultural studies and requires field research methods in order to achieve the research objectives. The interdisciplinary nature of cultural studies necessitates the theoretical exploration of numerous analytical frameworks, untangling current issues and theories and applying research methods and practices. During my research, I progressed from the context to the methods and theory, thinking about the area of music scenes in Lisbon, pondering the issues arising from cultural diversity and realising the appropriate research method to address the problem identified. As acknowledged by scholars within the field, the methodologies used in cultural studies are frequently borrowed from other disciplines (Pickering 2008, McGuigan 1997). Cultural studies, as outlined by historian and cultural sciences theorist Ien Ang, involves challenging socially constructed boundaries. Ang emphasises the discipline’s contestation of the “apparent naturalness” of categories like class, gender, and race that frame and regulate social life (2008, 227). Cultural studies, characterised by a refusal to treat culture and society as separate entities, holds an epistemological dimension in relation to society, emphasising the interconnectedness of these concepts (Ang 2008). This dissertation intends to take a critical look at these “socially constructed boundaries,” to question practises, norms, and boundaries, as well as the epistemology of cultural studies and critical analysis.

Whatever theme is addressed, the cultural studies analyst’s penchant is to emphasize the context-specific, multidimensional, and contingent, in short, complex nature of the subject matter, and a corresponding effort to represent and do justice to that complexity. (idem, 227-228)

Cultural studies demands the representation of the “complex nature of the subject matter.” However, its endeavour is not only epistemological “but also political” according to the words of Ien Ang (2008, 228). According to this interpretation, the collective musical projects under consideration here are envisioned in their “context-specific, multidimensional, and contingent [...] nature” (idem), and the narrative construction of this dissertation is concerned with epistemological and political endeavours.

The assertion made by Tia DeNora of viewing music as a medium rather than a textual

object solidifies my reasoning for conducting ethnographic research⁴ to address my case studies: examining the process of music creation *in situ*, as opposed to analysing the case studies' music as text, will enhance the methodological grounding of this research. On the one hand, ethnography is descriptive, practical, and all-encompassing: it is well suited to the analysis of the previously mentioned musical projects. On the other hand, textual analysis is required to draw a parallel with ethnography. Indeed, the political discourse under analysis is constituted by textual sources. I thereby analyse the intercultural policies in Portugal and Europe and the social application of intercultural dialogue – illustrated by practical perspectives of musicians in Lisbon. These approaches to cultural analysis are pertinent to my topic, as they offer insights into the dynamics of the music sector through the lens of cultural studies. The integration of ethnographic observation and textual analysis allows for a comprehensive examination and analysis of both the creative sector and governmental-decisional poles. To support this method, I chose to compare my two case studies KF and the OT, at first glance similar in their intercultural setting and opposed in their constitutive acts. Sunstein and Chiseri-Strater emphasise that “through the individual we come to understand the culture, and through the culture, we come to understand the individual” (qtd. in Saldaña 2011, 5), underscoring the significance of investigating individuals, particularly in contrast to quantitative research. Therefore, the decision to undertake qualitative research was straightforward: discussing hybridity in an intercultural context necessitates exemplifying individually contextualised and subjective experiences, emphasised by testimonies, that could be gathered during one-to-one interviews. Schiavio et al. justify in their article “Negotiating individuality and collectivity in community music. A qualitative case study” (2018): “Interviews were chosen as the main methodological procedure because they allow us to explore the subjective experiences of the facilitators not only as individuals, but also as part of a community of practice (see Zahavi, 2001),” which I consider highly relevant for my own research. This could be exacerbated by the statement that in the discussion on hybridity and hybrid subjects, individuals are considered as cultural subjects in order to understand communitarian dynamics. Therefore, subjectivities can only be understood in a qualitative approach.

⁴ Johnny Saldaña defines ethnography as “the observation and documentation of social life in order to render an account of a group’s culture,” encompassing “both the process of long-term fieldwork and the final (most often) written product” (2011, 4-5). This dissertation aligns with ethnography as a written product reporting on the conducted fieldwork.

Conducting qualitative research, I was concerned about my interviewing practices. According to the sociologist Herbert J. Rubin and to the political scientist Irene S. Rubin (2005), the interpretive constructionist approach to qualitative research – to which I am referring – consists of observations and depth interviews in which “interpretive constructionists look for the specific and detailed and try to build an understanding based on those specifics” (Rubin and Rubin 2005, 28). Rubin and Rubin present “responsive interviewing,” a method of interviewing that combines principles from critical theory, feminist theory, postmodernist theory and interpretive constructionist theory. Based on this approach, the interviewer must follow ethical obligations such as accuracy, fairness, “the responsibility to keep any promises made in order to get the interview, and the commitment to not harm the interviewees” (idem, 35). The ethical constraints of an ethnographer are confirmed by the anthropologists Johannes Fabian and Vincent de Rooij:

Working with people for extended periods means creating non-trivial social relations with them, getting to know them and showing them respect. A conscientious ethnographer will always do everything possible to avoid harming the interests of his interlocutors in the field, and try to make sure that participants will in some way appreciate or benefit from the results of his research. (2008, 624)

The responsive interviewing approach also cautions the researcher against allowing cultural assumptions to interfere with the understanding of the interviewee’s statement, and to remain “self-aware examining his or her own biases and expectations that might influence the interviewee” (idem, 30), bringing attention to the significance of the positionality formulated before. Finally, rather than the anthropologist Clifford Geertz’s final quote, which states that the researcher is “telling [his, her, their] own version of their [the interviewee’s] understandings,” I prefer feminist theory, which states that “...the interviewer and interviewee should try to build a relationship in which they share the responsibility for finding the words and concepts in which ideas can be expressed and lives described...” (idem, 27), extending the claim to all interviewees of all genders.

The decision to use an ethnographic method arose from a desire to gain a better understanding of the cultural dynamics between the members of the collectives under study. Inspired by Pedro Roxo’s ethnographic tools used in his PhD thesis (2016, 56), field work observations (following the musicians during rehearsals, concerts, meetings), participant-observations (making of a video with KF), attending audio and visual recordings, semi-structured interviews, and unstructured, informal conversations were all part of the practical

methods used. The more relevant parts of the interviews are available in the Appendices. I translated and transcribed personally the interviews *verbatim*.⁵ I went to several weekly general meetings (six in total, from January to March 2023) of the members of the collective KF, where they discussed and shared current affairs, proposed and organised future projects, concerts, jams or festivals. I attended concerts, jams and a festival organised by members of the collective, the making of a music video at their studio, rehearsals and other meetings. Regarding the OT, I attended two musical performances. The first one occurred in Mação (Beira Baixa) and materialised as a concert for the opening day of the Feira Mostra 2023.⁶ The one in Santa Clara (Lisboa) took place within the framework of the TODOS festival.⁷ Preceding the Mação concert, the OT rehearsed twice at a studio in Arroios, which I also attended. I have published videos of my field work on my personal YouTube channel “Rua Productions,” excerpts from several performances of the two music projects (or sometimes some of their members’).

The interviews were prepared using insights from Rubin and Rubin regarding interviewing practices, Mendes Pereira’s approach to conducting interviews with the OT’s members, advice from my co-supervisor Pedro Roxo, and continuous self-reflection on personal guidelines before each interview. This process involved adjusting the questions to meet the specific needs of each interview, as my field work progressed.

This ethnography, however, is limited in that it is not an autoethnography. I am not a musician and cannot experience music from the perspective of a jam player, group member of these music collectivities and bands, composer or arranger. During the field work, I was mainly an observer, but in some moments, I had the opportunity to take part of the action. I undertook participant observation during one afternoon at the studio of KF, during which we shot a music video for the promotion of their original composition “Kalimba.”⁸ Participant

⁵ I welcome the reader to write to me on my email (Arthur.molard@hotmail.fr) for accessing to the full versions of the interviews. The methodology employed in selecting interview excerpts for inclusion in the dissertation is straightforward. Relevant passages utilised in the body of the dissertation are provided in the Appendices, along with the corresponding context in which they were articulated by the interviewee. Specifically, when citing a musician within the main text, both the quotation and the specific section of the interview transcript containing the quote can be found in the Appendices for reference.

⁶ This link includes clips from the Concert of the Orquestra TODOS at the Feira Mostra de Mação (June 28th, 2023a): <https://youtu.be/-9zbfInT03I>.

⁷ Excerpts from the The Orquestra TODOS’s performance in Ameixoeira for the TODOS festival (2023f): https://youtube.com/shorts/x_cxEqNO_6M?feature=share.

⁸ This link includes the raw shots of this afternoon, shooting the video clip of their original composition, “Kalimba,” in March 2023b: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qDIFpo84teo>. This clip has not been released because the collective, on a *hiatus* at the time, has finally dissolved.

observation is important from an anthropologist point of view as it allows to understand more profoundly the chemistries of the objects of study. In this regard, I tried to remain critical throughout my analysis in order to mitigate the bias such a practice would give rise to. In essence, Clifford Geertz elucidates that participant observation enables a deeper integration in observed community, creating connections with the members and “thereby enabling the development of more in-depth descriptions” (qtd. in Roxo 2016, 62), specifically within the domains of ethnomusicology and anthropology. In light of this ethnography, my dissertation steers to an analysis of the case studies grounded in culture studies by delving into collective and individual dynamics, identity formation, interactions, learning processes and cultural knowledge, common ground elaboration and processes of creation.

To support my argument, I decided to interrogate three essential perspectives present in the articulation of policies (multicultural and intercultural in my case) in a democracy: public craftsmen, researchers and practitioners (van Steden 2020). In this way, I interviewed Manuela Júdice – Lisbon City Councillor from 2007 to 2009, Responsible for the Lisbon City Council’s “Lisboa Encruzilhada de Mundos” Office and the “TODOS - Caminhada de Culturas” Festival from 2009 to 2017 and General Secretary of Casa da America Latina since 2011 – to reflect the perspective of a policy craftswoman. Subsequently, the interviews of Rui Galveias and Lily Nóbrega – founders of the association Toca das Artes and of the concert venue BOTA – of Miguel Abreu – founder of the Academia de Produtores Culturais – constitutive of the civil society, and the discussion with Raquel Mendes Pereira expose the perspective of the researchers. Finally, the interviews and discussions with Rui Galveias, Lily Nóbrega, Miguel Abreu, of the members of KF and of the OT reveal the perspective of the practitioners.

Chapter 2. Cultural diversity, multicultural and intercultural policies in the European context

To arrive at a better understanding of what globalization may have to do with ethnic cleansing and with terror I propose a series of interlocking ideas. The first step is to recognize that there is a fundamental, and dangerous, idea behind the very idea of the modern nation-state, the idea of a “national ethnos”. No modern nation, however benign its political system and however eloquent its public voices may be about the virtues of tolerance, multiculturalism, and inclusion, is free of the idea that its national sovereignty is built on some sort of ethnic genius. (Appadurai 2006, 3)

Appadurai reflects on the underlying concept of a “national ethnos” in modern nation-states, which has led to, and continues to contribute to horrifying occurrences of ethnic cleansing. The enduring relevance of the modern nation-states model’s legacy persists in contemporary times. This quote induces consideration of the tension between nations’ professed ideals of nations, its underlying ethnic foundations and cultural coherent whole, which may offer obstacles to inclusivity and diversity.

To deal with cultural conflicts, the EU project was and still is, heavily reliant on cultural unity, but also on a “unity of policy and of action” (Walton 1959, 739). To reach this unity, the Hague Congress of 1948 reflected upon integration of minorities, in the growing array of cultures, with the intention to “modify the traditional nation-state pattern”⁹ (idem). Thus, the Council of Europe (CoE) was established to facilitate the expression of public opinion and uphold the preservation of “the ideal of unity” (Walton 1959, 751).

Ricard Zapata-Barrero defines the “intercultural policy paradigm (ICP)” (2017, 2) as a “result of a historical process and the outcome of many factors that today reframe the migration-related diversity policy debate” (idem). Zapata-Barrero explains further that “the ICP must be placed in the current post-multicultural (post-M) period, which recognizes the strengths of the multicultural policy paradigm (MCP) in setting equality, power sharing and inclusion, but set limits to this process of recognition of differences” (idem). Understanding European interculturalism requires preliminary studies on multiculturalism.

This chapter unveils how multicultural policies emerged from the necessity of resolving conflicts in a context of cultural diversity: the coexistence in society of multiple ethnicities or ethnic groups, multiple provenances, social groups, and multiple cultures, elements around which social individuals are categorised. Such conflicts are common in cities, where immigration flows have increased the proportions and numbers of ethnic groups, rendering more consequent their proximity and thus coexistence. Phil Wood and Charles Landry contextualise cultural diversity arguing that conflict occurs when people are compared according to their race, tribe or nationality:

When we ascribe too much importance to ordering concepts like race or tribe or nationality, we admit the possibility of conflict given the context of the inevitable

⁹ Sabine Choquet defines the ‘Nation-State’ by the “sharing of a common language and culture” which implies that “a single dominant group organises life together according to its own history and culture” in the words of the philosopher Michael Walzer (Choquet 2017). The stake of this term is expressed further by Choquet as a nation-state “accepts and recognises the presence of minorities in its territory, but this tolerance never goes as far as challenging the cultural and linguistic monopoly granted to the majority” (idem).

coexistence in towns and cities of people from different parts of the world. (Wood and Landry 2008, 23)

Wood and Landry acknowledge that cultural diversity in urban context is unavoidable and imply that categorising by race, tribe or nationality favours social conflict. The dimension of promiscuity of multicultural or intercultural measures is emphasised by Ricard Zapata-Barrero: “interculturalism is a proximate policy, and it is seen as the most pragmatic way to deal with practical concerns” (2013, 10). Indeed, a shift from a multiculturalist to an interculturalist perspective has been observed in EU policies and political discourses, as well as in Portugal, influenced by this change (Zapata-Barrero 2013, Council of Europe 2008, Council of Europe 2018, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa and Pelouro da Cultura 2017). Exploring Lisbon’s context in regard to how such policies have been implemented is vital for comprehending the hybridity and hybridisation observed in my case studies; this necessitates retracing the origin and evolution of two types of policies that have historically influenced cultural diversity management in Western countries: multicultural and intercultural policies. From an EU and European level to a national level (Portugal) and finally at the municipal level of the city Lisbon, I will investigate these policies, their theorisation and implementation, to better grasp the field of Lisbon musical collectivities (Part II).

2.1 Unveiling multiculturalism and interculturalism...

A) ...in the EU and European framework.

It is quite clear that the present climate of opinion in Western Europe and so many other places is rather anti-multiculturalism. (Modood 2016, 480)

Decolonisation and the acceleration of globalisation processes has increased immigration in European countries which has led to the need to deal with an increasingly visible cultural diversity, implementing policies that would recognise and aim at transforming and building a culturally pluralist framework (inherited from multiculturalism theory) and advocating the diversity advantage (inherited from interculturalism theory). These concepts are elucidated within the framework of the EU and European context, aligning with the research parameters.

Immigration leads to the coexistence of several cultures on a territory, worked by governmental, non-governmental institutions and local populations in different ways. Philipp Lutz clarifies: “While assimilation stresses the importance of immigrants to adapt to

the mainstream society, multiculturalism stresses participation of immigrants with the preservice [sic] of cultural distinctiveness” (2017, 2). For its part, interculturalism proposes the creation of a space where cultural identities can interact with each other, in order for the mainstream society not to assimilate the immigrants’ cultures, but to make use of this diversity, to take advantage of its richness (Zapata-Barrero 2013). The policies (assimilationist, multiculturalist and interculturalist) resulting from these concepts are interventionist, they require an active involvement from the government (implementing programs, working for long-term strategies, allocating resources etc.). Before substantiating the argument on multicultural and intercultural policies, let us look at a working definition of the terms multiculturalism and interculturalism.

There are various forms of multiculturalism. According to Tariq Modood, a proponent of multiculturalism, it refers to a theoretical model, “a body of political ideas or theory,” close to a philosophy, but also to concrete “policy and state action, whether at a national or local level, or sometimes civil society initiatives” as well as “a climate of opinion” (2016, 480). It “recognises that cultures, races, and ethnicities, particularly those of minority groups, deserve special acknowledgement of their differences within a dominant political culture” (Council of Europe 2021b, 8) and works to “remove stigmatisation, exclusion and domination in relation to such groups” (idem). According to Vince Marotta, “the multicultural mode of existence acknowledges the difference within ethnic identity as well as across sexuality, gender and class” (Marotta 2014, 5). Indeed, according to the anthropological view of culture(s), it is a comprehensive understanding of culture(s) not to consider it/them only in terms of ethnicities, but also in terms of gender, social class, age (Lentz 2017, 200), sexuality (Marotta 2014, 5) and religion (Council of Europe 2008).

The Council of Europe¹⁰ (CoE) defines interculturalism as “a policy model for ensuring equality and cohesion in culturally diverse societies” that promotes “mixing and interaction among people of different origins, cultures, and backgrounds to build a collective identity that embraces cultural pluralism, human rights, democracy, gender equality and non-

¹⁰ Founded in 1949, the CoE “is one of the oldest and the biggest European organisation, which unifies 46 member states and promotes the main principles of the Human Rights” (Council of Europe, 2015). The CoE is a transnational institution of European countries and a political, legal, and financial partner of the European Union (EU), but it is not one of its body or institution. The CoE has played, as the Faro Convention (adopted in 2005 and implemented in 2011) attests, a “fundamental role in defending the role of culture and cultural heritage as constitutive elements of the European project,” fostering accessibility to culture as a fundamental right, “the right to ‘take part’ in cultural life [which] involves three fundamental aspects: access, participation, and contribution to cultural life” (Council of Europe 2021a, 12).

discrimination” (2021b, 8). This approach advocating interactions is founded on “the simultaneous application of the principles of equality of rights and opportunities, diversity as an advantage” (idem). Interculturalism – according to Zapata-Barrero, a proponent of interculturalism – “promote[s] dialogue and exchange between people of different cultures” (2013, 6). The process is defined in the “White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue” as “an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic backgrounds and heritage, on the basis of mutual understanding and respect” (Council of Europe 2008, 17). Interculturalism’s goal is to increase “co-operation and participation (or the freedom to make choices), to allow personal growth and transformation, and to promote tolerance and respect for the other” (idem).

Portugal, by hosting and signing the Faro Convention, affirmed its position in the right to access and contribute to culture, to all the cultures, which is a strong statement towards cultural inclusion.¹¹ Indeed, a hinted yet inherent point made by the convention, is highlighting that “all individuals contribute with their cultures to the richness of human culture while respecting humankind’s universal values of freedom, equal dignity, reason and conscience and the spirit of brotherhood [drawing on the Article 1 of the Universal Declaration for Human Rights]” (Council of Europe 2021a, 6). The convention advocates for a collaborative framework between public institutions and various groups, interested in heritage, emphasising that “heritage awareness should stem [...] from the aspirations of population groups which may not be linked by language, an ethnic tie or even a shared past, but are linked by a purposive commitment to specific heritages” (Council of Europe 2021a, 7). Heritage, and its connoted culture formation and safeguard, is handled and constituted by national and non-national populations living on a territory and willing to commit. Therefore, recognising the right to “access, participat[e], and contribut[e] to cultural life” (idem, 12) is not a trivial matter as it is a step towards engaging with cultural diversity developing intercultural dialogue.

On the basis of interculturalist theories, the Faro Convention goes hand in hand with principles and the concept of a “platform for dialogue” (Council of Europe 2021a, 71), “a common space where the co-construction of communities, a process of commoning, can take

¹¹ Inclusion, as per the Cambridge dictionary’s definition advocates for equal access to facilities, participation in activities, and enjoyment of experiences for everyone, including those with disabilities or disadvantages. It signifies a progressive societal vision, emphasising mutual adaptation, equal opportunities, respect for differences, and embracing diversity as the norm (CSPS 2023).

place on equal terms and alternatives can collectively be imagined” (Council of Europe 2021a, 72). This idea of “commoning” is central to the formation of communities. According to the “White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue,” intercultural dialogue is “a means of promoting awareness, understanding, reconciliation, and tolerance, as well as preventing conflicts and ensuring societal integration and cohesion.”¹² The Faro Convention and the “White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue” were watershed moments for the definition of an intercultural policy.

In 2008, the “White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue” “declares interculturalism as the basis of a European identity” (Kastoryano 2022). This declaration was concluded during the Faro Convention and now has 28 European signatory states, both EU members and non-EU members. Multicultural policies first emerged in Canada (in 1971), which was the first country to “officially [...] adopt a multiculturalism policy” (Choquet 2017), and Australia (in 1973) as a result of political initiative (Council of Europe 2008). From the European experience, while the stammering of multiculturalism traced back to 1954 with the European Cultural Convention, it was not until the 1980s that the first European perspectives on interculturalism were seen (James 2008, 2). For the philosopher and anthropologist Sabine Choquet, “in Europe, the term ‘multiculturalism’ refers more frequently to the British and Dutch experiences, whilst these countries have never officially adopted a multiculturalism policy” (Choquet 2017, 4).¹³ The emergence of multiculturalism, as described by Ted Cattle (2016), is characterised by the absence of a clear starting point but is traced back to the 1960s and 1970s with the influx of new “visible minorities” (471). This period coincided with the aftermath of World War II and the decolonisation process, prompting increased immigration to former colonisers.

In my dissertation, I discuss the concepts of multiculturalism and interculturalism as they relate to cultural diversity.¹⁴ This generic term touches on the postulate that the world

¹² Integration, according to the Cambridge dictionary, is described as the successful joining or mixing with a different group of people, highlighting the effectiveness and continuous nature of this process. Scholars like Tariq Modood advocate for a shared responsibility in multicultural citizenship, emphasising active roles from both individuals seeking integration and the receiving society (Modood 2016). This definition underscores the positive outcome of integration when done effectively and continuously, fostering harmonious coexistence. Additionally, integration is seen as a process, not a static state, involving individuals’ insertion into systems created for the collectivity, opposing separative approaches and offering an alternative to segregating processes found in certain urban peripheries (CSPS 2023).

¹³ In the UK for instance, the government adopted for an integration policy closer in practice to assimilationist outcomes than multiculturalist ones (idem, 5).

¹⁴ The UNESCO conveys: “Together the cultures of the world create a rich and varied tapestry” which results in “cultural diversity” (UNESCO 2021).

hosts diverse cultures. This terminological noun phrase differs from cultural pluralism. According to Wood and Landry (2008), cultural pluralism already evokes a process of cultural alertness and consideration as it was coined along with multiculturalism in the Multiculturalism Act.¹⁵ While Zapata-Barrero explains that the concept of diversity “is not politically neutral” (2013, 16), the expression cultural diversity refers to societies made up of different cultures, whereas cultural pluralism refers to a political position statement oriented towards multiculturalism. The acceptance of cultural differences and hybridity – suggesting that the individuals within these societies have complex identities overlapping several cultures to different degrees – in the construction of a national identity is one challenge of cultural diversity.

B) Distinguishing the multicultural from the intercultural policy

According to Zapata-Barrero, interculturalism is the objective of intercultural policies. The intercultural or multicultural refers to the application of interculturalist or multiculturalist thought. Multiculturalism, according to Lutz (2017, 4) “aim[s] to accommodate diversity and ethnic minorities by creating ‘polyethnic states’ where immigrant groups remain distinct from the majority population.” This approach highly values heterogeneity. In contrast, interculturalism, as highlighted by Zapata-Barrero (2013, 23), is grounded in the necessity to mitigate the negative outcomes of diversity. It fosters interaction and adaptation, potentially leading, to some extent, to homogenising dynamics.

The two policies are distinct as intercultural policies emerged studying and reviewing multicultural ones.¹⁶ Interculturalists claim that multicultural policies erect boundaries between cultural groups, leading to social conflicts. In effect, according to Marotta (2014), multiculturalist policy applications fostered “cultural pluralism which envision cultural identities as homogenous and fixed.” The interculturalist Cantle, drawing on Amartya Sen, explains that a multicultural perspective triggers a “miniaturisation” of individual identities, mistakenly assumed to have a “unique” identity, which plays a role in the perpetuation of “conflict and violence” (Cantle 2016, 477). Sen writes: “[t]he world is increasingly divided between religions (or ‘cultures’ or ‘civilizations’), which ignore the relevance of other ways in which people see themselves through class, gender, profession, language, literature, science, music, morals, or politics” (idem, qtd. in Cantle). On the contrary,

¹⁵ The Multiculturalism Act, enacted in 1988, is a Canadian law.

¹⁶ Multiculturalists also have reviewed their model and its applications in consideration of the critiques.

Interculturalism understands that explicitly recognising diversity of individuals and groups is a pre-condition to normalising it. However, focusing on diversity, as in multiculturalism, can only undermine the sense of shared values and inhibit building bridges between diverse groups in society. (Council of Europe 2021b, 12)

This demonstrates that interculturalism acknowledges the multiculturalist foundations as necessary to apprehend diversity. However, interculturalism prompts hybridisation, going beyond a diversity that freezes,¹⁷ flipping differences into resources, capabilities, fostering interactions between identities, enabling “bridges between diverse groups in society” (idem). This approach to diversity can be spelled out by a change in the conceptualisation of identities. Indeed, Cattle explains that “notions of identity are also being profoundly changed as a result of the growth of the ‘mixed race/mixed faith/mixed nationality’” (2016, 475). I would argue that rather than a growth of mixed identities, it would be an increase of their visibility, as mixed (or hybrid) identities’ voices are heard, which could be explained by a growth in the popularity of narratives of hybridity and hybridisation, in an increasingly interconnected world. In this sense, interculturalism uses claims made by hybridity theories, investigated in Chapter 3.

As stated before, postmodernist conceptions of multiculturalism paved the way for interculturalism. Multiculturalism, as expressed by Marotta in reference to Bottomley and Pérez-Torres, has the political potential to disrupt social and moral boundaries, the array of differences becoming “a source of transgressive change rather than something one tolerates and/or celebrates” (2014, 7). This can be accomplished through a key aspect put forth by multiculturalism, “intersubjectivity,” which necessitates contact, communication, and dialogue to address the “retranslation” and “reconstruction” envisaged by Vince Marotta. As a result, postmodernist views of multiculturalism are already dragging concepts of hybridity and laying the groundwork for interculturalism. Postmodernist multiculturalism goes beyond the passive acknowledgement of a culture in the plural and their associated differences, pinpointing at its boundary-breaking potential, a statement that interculturalism will transform into more practical outcomes.

In his constructivist perspective of interculturalism, Zapata-Barrero emphasises the individual-based conception of the term: “agents deserving policies are individuals rather than groups” (2013, 9). He goes on stating that “culture, as an expression of personal identity, must always be seen in dynamic and open terms, so that people can enter and exit freely.

¹⁷ See Chapter 3.

[...] We must let people decide their culture and their religion, independent of the national circumstances into which they were born” (idem). In the same vein, the CoE identifies interculturalism as the “new era of diversity:”

In an age of super-diversity where people do not identify around single identities and feel conflicted allegiance (if any allegiance at all) to pre-defined groups, activism around particular ‘strands’ seems irrelevant to many people and may not even be that effective in addressing the true causes of inequality. (Council of Europe 2021b, 9)

Indeed, individuals are not only defined by their category, as “black,” “gay,” “Asian,” or “disabled,” there are “growing numbers of people who fall outside or across standard classifications” (idem).

However, multiculturalism is being reviewed and evolving in response to its critics. While nation-states are still regarded as “neither homogeneous nor unitary” by multiculturalists, Modood explains in an interview conducted by Luana Franco Rocha, that an individual’s plurality of identities cannot be ignored:

We have to recognize that people are not just members of the citizenry by they are also members of other groups that are decisive to their sense of who they are, to their life chances and therefore to their equal citizenship. We should therefore specifically make sure that minorities are recognized and not disadvantaged having a monocultural hegemony. Multiculturalism is the opposite of monoculturalism. (qtd. in Rocha 2022)

Modood acknowledges a feature introduced by interculturalist theories: a cultural agent belongs to a national citizenry but also to other cultural groups. The line between multiculturalism and interculturalism is slimming. Modood (2016) elaborates on critiques of multiculturalism and elements of interculturalism that can improve multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is broad and has been defined in a variety of spatial and temporal contexts, whereas interculturalism emerged to fill gaps left by multiculturalism, and intercultural policies rectify the starting assumptions of multicultural policies.

Multiculturalism is broad and has been defined in a variety of spatial and temporal contexts, whereas interculturalism emerged to fill gaps left by multiculturalism, and intercultural policies correct the starting assumptions of multicultural policies. When liberal multiculturalist Will Kymlicka expresses citizenisation as a long-term project, he joins ideas of interculturalist integration desires: “Kymlicka’s liberal multiculturalism does not seem that different from the intercultural model, as it shares the latter’s political goal of achieving a form of integration based on the respect for differences, within the framework fixed by the human rights revolution” (Gomasca 2013, 69).

According to Rita Kastoryano,¹⁸ the theoretical concepts of multiculturalism, interculturalism, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism differ. The authors describe them as having similar missions and objectives, despite the fact that their applicable proposals diverge. “Multiculturalism and interculturalism” explains Modood, “are both contemporary understandings of equal citizenship” (qtd. in Rocha 2022). However, while multiculturalism is defined as “a normative theory related to the nation-state,” interculturalism designates the “European public space as a transnational space of interaction” (Kastoryano 2022). Having been historically conceptualised for different scales, each concept allows a different analysis, and, in this sense, they are complementary.

Interculturalism is depicted as a more radical stance than multiculturalism. Interculturalism aims at “resisting universalising practices, while adopting particular viewpoints in a non-essentialist manner” (Marotta 2014, 8). It bases its rationale on the “hermeneutics of total difference” that considers cultures incommensurable and consequently cultural differences impossible to overcome. The categorisation of Self and Other is conserved and the need of the development of a sensitivity – I would enhance, of an inquisitiveness – to identify the similarities between the Self and the Other and communicate about them to clinch conflicts around differences:

[...] inter-culturality [sic] involves a subtle balancing act between recognising the similarities underlying Self and Other – which will become the foundation for dialogue across difference – while maintaining difference and thus sustaining boundaries between Self and Other. The intercultural moment, at least for Bernstein, manifests itself through a paradoxical situation where one adopts universalising (identifying commonalities) and particularising (acknowledging distinctions) practices. (idem)¹⁹

This situation could serve practical applications of intercultural dialogue and accurately depicts current times in Western societies, where institutions are juggling between acknowledging differences and removing boundaries.

2.2 Interculturalism and the diversity advantage in the debate of cultural diversity

In cities coexist a wide array of cultures. They are breeding grounds for diversity. The CoE acknowledges the existence of diversity for categories like: “race, ethnicity, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, social class, physical ability or attributes, religious or

¹⁸ Rita Kastoryano leads the project PLURISPACE that reflects upon the differences between cultural policies, notably intercultural and multicultural policies. The project involves Tariq Modood, Ricard Zapata-Barrero and John Erik Fossum.

¹⁹ Marotta’s essay continues tackling the transcultural subject. However, because multiculturalism and interculturalism have been articulated more explicitly in theories and policies in different European cities, I will limit this literature review to these two theoretical concepts and will not address transculturalism. The same is true for the research conducted for the project PLURISPACE, which exposes the concept of cosmopolitanism.

ethical value systems, national origin, and political beliefs” (2021b, 9). Even though “all kinds of diversity” (idem) are relevant for the argument of the diversity advantage developed in this section, talking about cultural diversity generally refers more specifically to ethnic, religious, and linguistic differences. Actually, the Intercultural cities (ICC) programme²⁰ proposes an analysis framework based on these three categories (idem). Although necessary for simplification purposes, this view is quite reductive as a culture encompasses more than ethnicity, religion and language.²¹

Cities are also laboratories for sociocultural policies because of their small size (in comparison to international, national, or regional institutions), which allows for proximity to the population while presenting significant proportions of a region’s resources (financial, material), and expertise (hub for researchers, experts). “New forms and types of participatory and inclusive policy processes can be designed and implemented” in urban contexts (Council of Europe 2021b, 13). Indeed, for more than a decade, European policies have tended to approach diversity issues locally: “cities are increasingly recognised not only as implementers of policies, but also as new players” (Zapata-Barrero 2013, 5). The CoE emphasises cities’ growing importance as decision-making centres:

One of the defining factors that will determine, over coming years, which cities flourish and which decline will be the extent to which they allow their diversity to be their asset or their handicap. Whilst national and supra-national bodies will continue to wield an influence it will increasingly be the choices that cities themselves make which will seal their future. (Council of Europe 2009, 22)

This is also a position statement on the concept of diversity as an “asset,” diversity as a benefit for society to “flourish,” to thrive, to be attractive. Diversity requires “a continuous trade-off between costs and benefits” (Council of Europe 2021b, 13), illustrated by the existing alternatives for sociocultural policies that focus on cultural diversity.

As Cantle suggests, diversity is a “potential factor in poverty, social exclusion, and segregation” (qtd. in Zapata-Barrero 2013, 23). According to Khovanova-Rubicondo and Pinelli, cultural diversity causes “difficult interactions (‘communication barriers’) between different cultures, incompatible behaviours, a lack of shared values and norms, or sheer antipathy” (Council of Europe 2012, 4). They continue arguing that the integrity of national

²⁰ The “ICC Index Lisbon – 2018” is one of the main references for the following analysis.

²¹ For instance, Lentz prefers widening the “narrow conception of culture” that would be “too close to the idea of ethnicity” (2017, 200). She formulates the impossibility to study the “dynamics and interplay of other differences” (than the ethnic ones), “such as those of gender, age, or social class” (idem) in such a framework.

identity can be altered as some members of the nation or territory may “fear losing national identity and reactions against ‘aliens’” (idem). Gérard Bouchard’s “contractual” strand of interculturalism converges with this explanation, viewing diversity as a “threat to national tradition” (qtd. in Zapata-Barrero 2013, 23). For Kempen and Züekren and in a more materialistic but symbolic sense, immigrants are “competitors for housing, jobs, and social benefits” (qtd. in Zapata-Barrero 2013, 23). According to Zapata-Barrero, interculturalism “assumes that diversity by itself always tends to produce negative outcomes (national fragmentation, social exclusion, distrust)” (idem). These “negative outcomes,” or “handicaps” (Council of Europe 2009), or “costs” (Wood and Landry 2008), may result in social conflicts that call for government intervention. Wood and Landry are also concerned with shifting the tide from a “diversity deficit” to a “diversity advantage” (2008).²² The concept of “diversity advantage” originates from a study conducted by the Ipsos institute in 2011. This study demonstrated that cultural diversity could affect public perception and attitudes towards migrants, specifically emphasising that a higher level of contact with cultural diversity would trigger “warmth of feeling towards different groups of people” and that a lower level of contact would trigger coldest feelings.

Diversity as an advantage has been conceptualised to counteract societies’ negative perception of cultural diversity and to address power dynamics that lead to inequalities, segregation, social conflicts, and violence. As a matter of fact, “according to the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities ethnic conflict is one of the main sources of large-scale violence in Europe today” (Council of Europe 2012, 4). In a “negative” view of diversity, implementing “therapeutic policies, diversity is conceived as a problem to be solved, and policies are conceived as responses to these problems” (Zapata-Barrero 2013, 27). He proposes a complementary and opposing viewpoint to those of Gérard Bouchard and Ted Cantle, two influential theorists of interculturalism, namely the “constructivist” strand, that conceives diversity positively. In this “performance-oriented” view of interculturalism (Zapata-Barrero 2013, 10), proactive policies aiming at “producing an innovative outcome from the interaction” (idem, 27) are put in place.

Zapata-Barrero emphasises cultural diversity’s role as a vector for innovation and a source of motivation to learn from the different other, developing the individuals’ skills and

²² Their rhetoric focuses on the positive – emphasising the benefits of diversity – from an economic and business-oriented perspective that fails to address power dynamics and socioeconomic inequities.

capacities (in any context, but it is interesting for me to consider this argument for joint music activities). The “creative power of heterogeneity and dissonance” is also something Wood and Landry believe in (2008, 11). Zapata-Barrero mentions the work of Berry (2013), highlighting the role of interculturalism as “the most appropriate tool to promote creativity in society” (2013, 11). Working in diverse teams in an organisational context, with “people of different ethnicities, cultures, backgrounds, [and] countries” (Wood and Landry 2008, 221) has an “innovative power” (*idem*) and is more efficient in problem-solving (Wood and Landry 2008; Council of Europe 2012). The CoE²³ emphasises the multiplicity of minds (a “richer environment” with “more insights” in Wood and Landry 2008, 222), the strength of the heterogeneous collective, when it explains that “exposure to diversity makes individuals think more analytically and critically as diversity brings a greater variety of ideas and perspectives on a problem” (Council of Europe 2021b, 11).

The CoE mentions also the increased productivity and creativity of a diverse society “by enlarging the pool of knowledge available to them,” as well as the apparent correlation “between immigration and economic growth, underlining immigrants’ economic contributions (including by introducing new skills and competencies [...])” (*idem*). Immigrants contribute to the creation of “new businesses,” sometimes in innovative sectors, which is beneficial to a country’s economic dynamism and competitiveness (*idem*), its growth, productivity and employment (Zapata-Barrero 2013, 11). Finally, the anthropologist Ulf Hannerz offers insightful perspectives on diversity as a richness and a positive value, supporting some of the previous statements:

The first relates to the enjoyment that stems from sheer differences. Here cultural diversity has a pure existence value, a value *per se*, independently from any actual or potential use. We enjoy looking at art masterpieces from different cultural backgrounds, tasting food from other countries, hearing different languages. We simply love variety. Such ‘love for variety’ is actually at the foundation of the monopolistic competition literature in economics (although the reference is mostly to products, rather than to cultural issues). The second perspective concerns creativity. Meeting people with different cultural backgrounds brings new knowledge, forces new questions, and solicits to explore new approaches, thereby stimulating creativity and problem solving. The third perspective is about resilience, intended as the capacity of a system to stand negative shocks and adapt to new conditions. (Council of Europe 2012, 4)

Standing “negative shocks” and a resilience to change demonstrate a great versatility and ability to face crisis situations, which can be an asset in both an organisational and a societal context.

²³ In its guide published in 2021 titled “The intercultural city step by step: A practical guide for applying the urban model of intercultural inclusion.”

In his constructionist strand of interculturalism, Zapata-Barrero defends the “capability” argument. This strand is based on creativity and explains that people are “capable agents” who must be considered “not only in terms of their rights, but in terms of what they can do and achieve” (Zapata-Barrero 2012, 27). However, looking at the capability approach pioneered by the economist-philosopher Amartya Sen, “capabilities” are not only framed by individuals’ “doings,” but also by their “beings,” to reflect within a set of freedom and impossibilities, as individuals are unequal in means and resources at their disposals (qtd. in Robeyns and Byskov 2023). In other words, people of colour, marginalised people, the disabled, women or any individual outside of the “dominant ethnic, racial and religious group” evolve in different capability systems (idem).

Zapata-Barrero shares his conclusions, his “comprehensive view” of interculturalism. He ponders interculturalism as a flexible “tool” (2013, 31), able to address various concerns and that must be “applied at different moments, according to different purposes and policy needs” (idem, 3). Indeed, he sees intercultural policies “as a multidimensional technique of interaction that promotes stability (the tradition-contractual view), cohesion (the social inclusion-cohesion view), and development (the innovation-constructivist view) as its main policy drivers” (idem, 27). The promotion of “positive interaction” (idem, 10), putting in place a dialogue between actors from different cultural systems “to act together” and “to live together” with a common purpose or project, is central to interculturalism and intercultural policies (idem). According to Zapata-Barrero, such communication necessitates interaction techniques that “involve policies, behaviors, cultural practices, institutional routines and management programmes that help create bridges between ‘what has always existed’, ‘what generates social conflicts’ (in broader terms), and ‘what is new’” (idem, 32). Interculturalism challenges nationalism by acknowledging the presence of social conflicts and diversity, thereby affirming the importance of recognising individuals, their identities, agency, and capabilities as valuable assets across social, cultural, and economic domains.

On the other end of the political spectrum, but still in the debate over cultural diversity, are what Candle refers to as “Popular nationalist parties (PNPs) and the Far Right” (qtd. in Antonsich et al. 2016, 472). According to Verena Stolcke (2000), a shift has occurred “among the political right and centre in many countries toward an anti-immigrant rhetoric on cultural diversity which is based on certain assumptions underlying the modern concepts of citizenship, national identity and the nation-state.” Without going into details, the

significant rise in nationalism in Europe underscores the continued significance of the debate on cultural diversity. Yet, nationalism does not oppose multiculturalism or interculturalism; it is the categorisation and erection of barriers to differences that is, namely the explicit impediment to racial and ethnic minorities participating in national identity. In response to cultural nationalism, Paul Gilroy explains the importance of addressing cultural mutations and accepting their cultural fusion. He writes:

Regardless of their affiliation to the right, left, or centre, groups have fallen back on the idea of cultural nationalism, on the over-integrated conceptions of culture which present immutable, ethnic differences as an absolute break in the histories and experiences of “black” and “white” people. Against this choice stands another, more difficult option: the theorisation of creolisation,²⁴ *mestizaje*,²⁵ and hybridity.²⁶ (Gilroy 1993, 2)

Gilroy sees opportunities for evolution once the fluid, changeable nature of identities is recognised and accepted. He envisions individual identities in constant flux and diversity, rather than all being confined to the box of ethnicity: “An infinite process of identity construction,” he says of ethnicity (1993, 223). Similarly, Lechte and Bottomley argue that ““there is no ‘pure’ culture in practise, [and]... a pure culture is, at best, an idealisation, and at worst, simply idealist”” (qtd. in Marotta 2014). Marotta expands on Lechte and Bottomley’s perspective on multiculturalism:

The multicultural here captures both the instances of interweaving between one culture and another and acknowledges that, through contact between the host self and minority other, cultures, both dominant and ‘minority’, become retranslated and reconstructed. (Marotta 2014, 5)

With the “new” conception of diversity, and the fledgling concepts of “super-diversity” challenging “traditional ways of looking at power relations between ‘national-majority’ and ‘diverse-minority’, identity and diversity management,” (Council of Europe 2021b, 9), urban centres are cultural hubs where it appears too complex to consider the identitarian blocks as being only the “national-majority” and “diverse-minority.” Actually, these new concepts “emphasise the multiple aspects of identity, the multifaceted roots of exclusion and segregation, and the need to design new policies and governance to address these challenges”

²⁴ Édouard Glissant outlines creolisation to occur “through the contact of several cultures, or at least several elements of distinct cultures, in one part of the world, resulting in a new phenomenon that is totally unpredictable compared to the sum or simple synthesis of these elements” (Glissant 1997, 37). In this quote, Lentz refers to the creolisation of languages.

²⁵ Designates ethnic mixing. García-Canclini explains that the term “*mestizaje*,” while involving both biological and cultural senses (“mixing of habits, beliefs and forms of thought”), signifies historically “the mix of Spanish and Portuguese colonizers, then English and French, with indigenous Americans, to which were added slaves transported from Africa, made *mestizaje* a foundational process in the societies of the so-called New World” (1995, xxxii).

²⁶ Hybridity is defined in the next chapter (3).

(idem). Understanding cultural identities as a personal matter rather than a collective or group concern is one manner to distinguish interculturalism and multiculturalism. While multiculturalism mainly relates to communities and groups, generally in a binary system opposing dominant and minority cultures, interculturalism considers that individual identities inside a culture are not only defined by it and may belong to several cultures at the same time. Interculturalism posits dialogue between individuals and has the mission to work beyond cultural differences as worn by a whole group.

The lack of knowledge of another cultural identity leads to stereotyping, sometimes to stigmatising. Cattle uses the example of “a Glaswegian Pakistani teenager of Muslim descent who supports Glasgow Rangers in a Catholic school” (2016, 476), whose “Muslimness” is “the box that public policy will currently use as a default” (idem, 477). As this teenager is defined by public policies as such, far from the premise of super-diversity, her (she is a young woman) identity is confined in a box she has not chosen whereas an intercultural perspective would advocate identities to be a choice. These types of individuals confront stigmas, violence, exclusion; just as their respective diasporas suffer from the same treatment of homogenisation “under a single aspect of their identities” (idem).

2.3 Migration and immigration in Portugal and in the EU

Portugal’s approach to immigration is notable for having the “second most favourable citizenship regime in the EU” (European Commission, n.d.), characterised by high naturalisation rates²⁷ and strategic integration plans.²⁸ The Aliens Act of 2007,²⁹ with amendments up to 2022, regulates migration, simplifies entry procedures, and incites legal immigration (Alto Comissariado para as Migrações 2015, 14). The recent decree, effective from 2022, aims to attract immigrants, streamline procedures, and align with broader national development strategies, recognising immigration’s role in the labour market and social security within an aging society (República Portuguesa 2022). This focus on immigration policies aligns with the broader context of multicultural and intercultural policies, highlighting the intricate connection between immigration strategies and the overarching approach towards cultural diversity. The dissertation, however, narrows its focus to explore specific aspects within this complex interplay.

²⁷ This is a result of the Aliens Act of 2007 (Mazzili and Lowe 2023).

²⁸ This is a result of the “Plans for Immigrant Integration,” which was introduced in 2007 and has been included since 2015 in the “Strategic Plan for Migration” (Mazzili and Lowe 2023).

²⁹ Also known as the “Law on Foreign Nationals” or “Law 23/2007.”

As acknowledged by the *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (SEF),³⁰ the promotion of interculturalism is intended to attract workers, and in order to do so, “integration of immigrants” is essential, which makes the case of the relationship between intercultural and immigration policies in Portugal. Caterina Mazzilli (researcher specialised in Migration Studies) and Christina Lowe (researcher specialised in Social Protection) analyse Portugal’s profile and stress the lack of support for immigration from the main parties, the media and the private sector, for the country to “concretise the government’s vision of an open and inclusive society that maximises the social and economic benefits of immigration” (Mazzilli and Lowe 2023, i, my translation). The Ipsos study aforementioned found that political leaders’ opinions and the media were very influential causes of migrant integration (2011, 3). The 2018 ICC report³¹ on Lisbon stresses that migrants and minorities are underrepresented in the media (Council of Europe 2018, 38). However, despite the rise of the extreme right in Portugal, Mazzilli and Lowe argue that “key political figures have also spoken out to demystify negative stereotypes about immigration and promote positive discourse” (Mazzilli and Lowe 2023, 17, my translation).

Aside from policies and institutionalised measures, interculturality can be seen in citizens’ perceptions of immigrants, as demonstrated by the Ipsos study (2011). According to Mazzilli and Lowe (2023, i), “despite [a] historical scepticism about the benefits of immigration in general, Portuguese citizens generally express receptivity to immigrants as friends, neighbours and relatives, are positive about the integration of migrant, and support refugee reception policies.” Looking at the government, Portuguese citizens appear to have “stimulative positive narratives when compared with the increasingly negative political rhetoric in many other parts of Europe” (idem, 18). Though, Mazzilli and Lowe explain that an “excessively positive self-image” is harmful because it overlooks “structural inequalities and racism [that are] still present in Portugal” (idem). Indeed, Chega has grown in popularity and its xenophobic narratives have “contributed to notable increases in racial and ethnic discrimination” (idem, 21). Mazzilli and Lowe conclude that the Portuguese migration policies and narratives are not as progressive as they appear, highlighting the government’s

³⁰ The Immigration and Borders Service (SEF) operates under the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MAI) and oversees border control, the management of foreigners within the country, the prevention and prosecution of crimes associated with illegal immigration and human trafficking, the administration of travel and identification documents for foreigners, and the processing of asylum applications (*Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras*, n.d, my translation).

³¹ The “ICC Index Lisbon – 2018” is further discussed in section 2.4.

“duas caras” (two faces) in place, “in its commitment to implement migrant integration policies,” promoting it abroad and having a different discourse within the country.

The welcoming of Afghan musicians and artists who have been exiled from their country in Portugal serves as a notable illustration. The Prime Minister of Portugal António Costa³² had guaranteed to provide “healthcare, education and social integration” to the 273 Afghan citizens that arrived in 2021, in an operation of re-localisation of the Afghanistan National Institute of Music (ANIM) to Portugal (TSF.pt 2021). First, this operation targets a recognised music institution, culturally significant internationally, which is favourable to the reputation of Portugal. Then, while healthcare and education seem to have been provided accordingly, half of the Afghan refugees left the country because they could not find a financially viable situation to stay in Portugal:

Mohammed Qambar Nawshad, a young composer and musician, was part of the teaching staff at Anim in Kabul. He is now struggling to make ends meet. He receives €1,050 per month for himself, his mother, his wife, their three children and his nephew. [...] In a year, his financial assistance will run out and he will have to pay a rent of €600. Some professors or students [of the Anim] preferred to leave Portugal in search of better opportunities. About half of the members of the group who arrived in Portugal a year ago are thought to have moved to other European countries, like Germany, France and Switzerland, or the United States. (Info Migrants 2022)

It is the case of the *sitar*³³ player Ustad Fazel Sapand that I met during my field work and who is struggling to sustain a decent life in his new environment. This situation is not an isolated case and demonstrates Portugal’s difficulty to integrate immigrants, as it is the case in most European countries.

2.4 Evolution of multicultural and intercultural policies in Lisbon

Continuing to zoom in, we arrive at a city-level scrutiny of intercultural and multicultural policies in the context of Lisbon. The Intercultural cities programme (ICC) aims at assisting cities and regions in assessing and adapting their policies through an “intercultural lens”³⁴ (Council of Europe 2023b). This tool enables policymakers to develop “comprehensive intercultural strategies” (idem) for appraise diversity as a societal asset. The network’s members’ resulting studies are available on the CoE’s website, allowing

³² António Costa was president of the Lisbon city council (CML) from 2007 to 2015 and Prime Minister of Portugal since 2015, he was still in office in December 2023.

³³ Plucked string musical instrument used in Hindustani music.

³⁴ The Council of Europe’s ICC coined the term “intercultural lens” to refer to any political institution’s policies that consider intercultural issues.

comparisons between the case of Lisbon and other European cities in the process of implementing intercultural policies. The CoE explains:

The intercultural city has people with different nationality, origin, language or religion/belief. Political leaders and most citizens regard diversity positively, as a resource. The city actively combats discrimination and adapts its governance, institutions and services to the needs of a diverse population. The city has a strategy and tools to deal with diversity and cultural conflict and to enhance participation. It encourages greater mixing and interaction between diverse groups in the public spaces. (Council of Europe 2018, 3)

Interculturality must be considered in all departments of the city council, at all levels of the city's organisation, as expressed in the following terms by António Costa: "cultural issues have a 'transversal dimension,' which must be 'present in all domains of cultural policies'" (qtd. in Mendes Pereira 2012, 73, my translation), which refers to the intercultural lens proposed by the ICC. Here, let me clarify two points. First, in Lisbon, the *Pelouro dos Direitos Sociais* (Department of Social Rights) in the Youth and Cohesion Division is primarily responsible for intercultural integration (Council of Europe 2018, 7). Second, my case studies are part of the cultural field. Thus, it makes more sense to focus on the cultural sector, which is more relevant for music performing and producing, rather than analysing each department's inclusion of interculturality in its political action in this section.

The Department of Social Rights published the "Plano de Acção 2014-2017" (Plan of Action),³⁵ which focuses on citizen participation, the city's ambition of a cohesive intergenerational environment, and interventions to achieve these goals (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2014, 3). Developed through participative methodologies following the "Fórum da Cidadania" and "Participa CML" initiatives, the "cohesion" axis aims to foster intercultural dialogue, support and include migrants, promote integration, and strengthen cooperation in interculturality and inter-religiosity (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2014; Pelouro dos Direitos Sociais 2014). The 2018 ICC report examines Lisbon's interculturality and addresses some of the missions outlined by the Department of Social Rights.

Focusing on the Department of Social Rights and the cultural sector, I will only skim through the Department of Social Rights' publications focusing on two main texts: "Results of the Intercultural Cities Index – Lisbon," a report made by the ICC's department of the CoE and published in 2018 and "Estratégias para a Cultura da Cidade de Lisboa 2017"

³⁵ The Department of Social Rights publishes social development research, conducts social diagnostics (the most recent of which covered the years 2015 and 2016). They also published plans concerning the LGBTI community, plans concerning domestic violence, gender equality, and violence against women.

(Strategies for the Culture of the City of Lisbon 2017), a plan that frames measures concerning the city's culture and creative sector. Interculturalism is a project at the national scale of Portugal, but it is also a commitment that the Strategies for the Culture of the City of Lisbon 2017 attempt to keep, adapting national directives to the municipal level.

Another reason for the plan's relevance is the observation that intercultural dialogue occurs naturally and frequently during leisure time as it triggers encounters and interaction between "inhabitants from different cultures," as noticed by the ICC's report (Council of Europe 2018, 25). These interactions are genuine in their spontaneity and informality, and they serve as moments of mutual acceptance and of deconstruction of cultural assumptions that play a role in cultural conflicts and identity issues. The International Sport and Culture Association identifies three fields where intercultural dialogue is efficient: educational spaces, "as a means to provide the basis for understanding and respecting diversity," youth and sport activities, "which facilitate practical experience with intercultural dialogue," and cultural/creative activities, "which can connect different value systems and provides aesthetic challenges" (Frost 2008, 42). Leisure time, for instance undertaking activities where actors of the civil society are involved, are catalysts for intercultural dialogue and facilitate the integration of migrants (UNESCO 2022, 6, 89). Music festivals, for example, are an integral part of a city's civil life and a deciding factor of its cohesion.

The sociologist Sofia Santos emphasises the importance of cultural events programming (2008, 140, 144). They are crucial, she writes, "in the creation of the city's imagery, constituting an increasingly central axis in urban strategic thinking" (idem). The Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural³⁶ (Equipment Management and Cultural Entertainment Company), a body of the CML's Culture Department, is directly related to the city's cultural programming and present in most of the cultural initiatives (specifically in the yielding of equipment and spaces). The EGEAC worked, since the 1980s, for the "development of cultural activities,"³⁷ undertaking the "rehabilitation" and opening of certain neighbourhoods of Lisbon, considered at the time "disadvantaged areas" (*zonas deprimidas*, drawing on the movement of "*quartiers en crise*" in France), such as Alfama or the Mouraria, through the "recuperation" of "physical spaces" (the Museu do Fado, the

³⁶ Abbreviated EGEAC.

³⁷ This quote and the following quotes in the sentence are extracted from: Clara Moura, "Património e Cultura de Lisboa: Joana Gomes Cardoso (EGEAC) #10," April, 2020, in Pod'Entrar, Podcast, Format audio, 1:21:20. <https://open.spotify.com/episode/3KWFoFi6qZxa3AaVOD4RDO>.

Castelo de São Jorge or the Museu da Marioneta) and from a “communitarian and participative point of view, with the local communities.” This recuperation aimed at revitalising entire areas or neighbourhoods. The EGEAC’s purpose is therefore to be attentive to the sociocultural dynamics of the city.

The “Plano Municipal para a Integração de Migrantes de Lisboa” (Lisbon Municipal Plan for Migrant Integration) for the period 2020-2022 is based on information gathered from specialists, civil society workers (associations, academies, collectives), migrants, and the Department of Social Rights’ technical team. This research intended to understand the “migratory reality” in the city, to address “obstacles to access public services” and to strengthen support for migrants, to affirm the CML’s commitment to the migrants’ cause, and to approximate the CML from the migrant population – a logic that follows the value of “proximity policy” in interculturalism (Zapata-Barrero 2013, 31). According to the plan, “when surveying migrants, housing is the area most identified as a difficulty in the integration process in Lisbon: 71.2%” (Pelouro da Educação e dos Direitos Sociais 2020, 25), while “cultural and religious diversity recognition” only accounts for 10% of respondents. The main issue for the housing hurdle to integration has been identified as gentrification, which has been triggered by one of the main objectives of the Portuguese government’s economic strategy to attract a foreign workforce, investments, and tourism. The plan also identifies “residential segregation” as a factor in migrants’ “well-being” (idem). The current support programmes for this issue are extremely inefficient: the *Programa Renda Acessível* (Affordable Rents Programme), responded to 2,4% of the requests (idem, 26). It remains to be seen what strategy the Lisbon Municipal Plan for Migrant Integration will put in place to reinforce housing programmes. Estevens and al. conceive this gentrification, occurring in a context of several Lisbon neighbourhoods’ “revitalisation,” and argue that Lisbon employs interculturality as a marketing tool:

Such [cultural] policies ought to be seen as part of a broader strategy of Lisbon's city-branding. The 'Lisbon brand', like the 'Barcelona model', has objectives that go beyond the plans for each of their neighborhoods. It is focused on identity, tradition, diversity, cosmopolitan life, modernity and celebration of the city. (2020, 8)

Yet, Dr. Manuela Júdice³⁸ commented on Barcelona's approach to intercultural policies during our interview³⁹ (Appendix K): "Barcelona joined Intercultural cities in a very effective way and brought something that we had never thought of [for Lisbon], which was entering interculturality through the economy [...], through business." Then, she explains that "Chinese medicine centres, acupuncture centres, Brazilian dental treatment centres... [...] Chinese stores" to be identified as "a community of entrepreneurs" (idem) were supported by the city council of Barcelona in an intercultural lens. Indeed, the constitutive ethnic communities responsible for this decision made by the city council has an economic value, which tilts the balance into their integration. Comparatively, Lisbon entered the ICC through another pillar, culture, as Júdice explains, "mainly through photography and music [...] and gastronomy that led to sharing street parties" (idem). This explains Lisbon's different approach to interculturalism and the resulting tensions with economic matters and the "migration-related diversity policy debate," as Zapata-Barrero calls it (2017, 1).

Coming back to the "strategy of Lisbon's city branding" (Esteve and al. 2020, 8), according to Sofia Santos, touristic marketing employs the imagery of cosmopolitanism, "integrating ethnocultural diversity, existing and visible in the city" as a "central value in the development strategy discourse" (Santos 2008, 145). This argument can still be found in the *Strategies for the Culture 2017*:

Thus, the Lisbon of mixes and diversities has grown stronger if we consider the emergence of a certain collaborative culture at the level of organising events marked by plurality and open to the entire population, but also by the implementation of proximity policies through the expansion of the cultural offer to new and diverse audiences. (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2017, 211, my translation)

This extract amounts to saying that Lisbon is intercultural because the audience and the organisational teams for these events (representing a sample of the population) are diverse. However, considering the argument according to which intercultural dialogue occurs during leisure time, this is a sound start. As a matter of fact, the 2018 ICC report gives Lisbon a perfect score (100%) for the indicator of "Cultural and civil life" because the city values

³⁸ Manuela Júdice was Lisbon City Councillor from 2007 to 2009, Responsible for the Lisbon City Council's "Lisboa Encruzilhada de Mundos" Office and the "TODOS - Caminhada de Culturas" Festival from 2009 to 2017 and General Secretary of Casa da America Latina since 2011.

³⁹ Manuela Júdice, interviewed by the author, April 11th, 2023.

multicultural creation and supports intercultural activities (Council of Europe 2018, 26).

For example, Pedro Costa, the coordinator and author of the Strategies for the Culture 2009 and 2017, explained that the Strategies for the Culture 2009 aimed at “detecting ‘bottlenecks’ to which cultural activity falls” in comparison to the “potentialities of the distinctive aspects and differentiator elements of a ‘*cultura lisboeta*’ [Lisbon culture] [...]” (Mendes Pereira 2012, 73). Differentiation and the pursuit of a competitive advantage are critical components of business strategy; its promotion, as carried out by marketing strategies, can sometimes exaggerate the reality, generalise, or mention the convenient elements while omitting the disturbing ones in order to sell a product (the Lisbon brand in our example). Sofia Santos examines the discourse promoted by the Agenda Cultural de Lisboa, and the slogan “*o futuro de Lisboa é a mistura*” (“Lisbon’s future is the mix”). She explains that the used language and communication decisions are impactful “in the very selection and hierarchization of the events and products they highlight; in the images and graphics used, etc.” For her, the cultural agenda makers present “places, people, goods or cultural services” associating it with “a certain image of Lisbon” (Santos 2008, 145).

António Costa’s elocution, on the other hand, was more straightforward when he was mayor of Lisbon (from 2007 to 2015), clarifying the two-gear strategy of a city concerned with its inhabitants’ lifestyle while not neglecting its touristic vocation. Cultural policies, he believes, should be viewed as “a way of life in a cosmopolitan and internationally projected city, capable of generating tourist flows, as a way of creating demographic attraction, and generating employment and economic gains,” with a “network of dialogue with the diversity of cultural agents present in the city” serving to answer the objectives (qtd. in Mendes Pereira 2012, 73, my translation). In light of these words, culturally diverse agents are central to the concerns of the city’s cultural strategies. Furthermore, Mendes Pereira observes that “with the entry of the executive led by António Costa, the initiatives and efforts centred on intercultural dialogue and the promotion of diversity and coexisting cultures in the city of Lisbon [have] multipl[ied]” (2012, 72). More recently, the 2018 ICC report states that Lisbon’s commitment to interculturality is not sufficient as the “optimal intercultural city strategy would involve a formal statement by local authorities sending an unambiguous message of the city’s commitment to intercultural principles as well as actively engaging and persuading other key local stakeholders to do likewise” (Council of Europe 2018, 8).

Furthermore, Estevens and al. claim that this model (to use interculturality as a marketing tool) “despite the criticism and recognized negative consequences, continues to be used” (2020, 13). In the search for creating the image of an “ideal and safe city” (idem) and guaranteeing a “favourable climate to private capital, Lisbon has changed its urban development model in favour of a neoliberal approach” (idem, 12). The article denotes the “promotion of real estate and housing dynamics, gentrification and concomitant displacement of disadvantaged classes, touristification, commodification and securitization of urban spaces, for example [...] aiming at attracting tourism and the creative class” (idem). While the majority of Lisbon’s actors view its internationalisation positively, some see it as a “mere ‘entertainment city’” (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2017, 213). The “displacement of disadvantage classes” is the result of rising rents. “‘The only change I do not agree with, but that is another matter, are the rents. And we will also be victims of it’, said the head of one of the cultural associations in the neighbourhood [Mouraria]” (Estevens and al. 2020, 11). Estevens and al. argue that the revitalisation of the square of Intendente demonstrates that “neoliberal urban public intervention aimed at changing the image of marginality and social segregation into a new perception linked to cosmopolitan values and tourism” which “engenders processes of inequality and exclusion” (idem, 13). As a matter of fact, and as stressed by the 2018 ICC report, Lisbon scored 38% on the “Neighbourhood” indicator,⁴⁰ down from 80% in 2014. The report advises Lisbon “to encourage more intercultural interaction within neighbourhoods” (Council of Europe 2018, 18).

Finally, and as stressed by John Nagle, in an effort to establish the city as a significant proponent of “global culture,” the cultures represented by the city’s various ethnic groups are deemed indispensable to its recognition as a global city and used to its international promotion. Nagle describes a “state-sponsored multiculturalism:”

The cultural forms of ‘ethnic minorities’ are framed as reasons for tourists to visit the city and experience diverse identities. Multiculturalism is therefore loosely imagined by the citywide authority as an indispensable part of the city’s identity and economic profile. This is, in essence, the double bind of state-sponsored multiculturalism: that while the global city promotes culture as a means to enhance intercultural dialogue, cosmopolitan diversity and knowledge of various minority groups, at the same time it is difficult for groups, within the state-sponsored multicultural model, to challenge the idea that they belong to discrete, bounded and unchanging cultural forms and communities. (qtd. in Mendes Pereira 2012, 75)

⁴⁰ This indicator considers “geographical proximity and bonding between people of the same ethnic background” as a risk for exclusion, as well as “ethnic segregation” (Council of Europe 2018, 16).

According to this interpretation, the city's use of multicultural or intercultural marketing to promote the city has a detrimental effect on the formation of individual identities within minority groups. As we will see in Chapter 3, the concept of hybridity and its purpose is justly for cultural minorities to disrupt their belonging to “discrete, bounded and unchanging cultural forms and communities” (idem).

The Strategies for the Culture of the City of Lisbon 2017, issued by the Culture Department,⁴¹ begin with a diagnostic assessment of the “cultural situation,” identifying “deep transformations” since the implementation of the Strategies for Culture 2009 (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2017, 22, 31).⁴² The Strategies for the Culture of 2009 aimed primarily at an “urban and social rehabilitation of the Mouraria area” (Mendes Pereira 2012, 17). Mendes Pereira emphasises the sequence of events: the CML published the study “*Estratégias para a Cultura em Lisboa*” and the first Festival TODOS⁴³ took place the same year between Martim Moniz and Largo de Intendente, two main squares near the Mouraria. A year later, in 2010, Lisbon was invited to join the ICC network. A possible reading of this series of cumulative events could see in the promotion of interculturalism, a justification to “rehabilitate” (Mendes Pereira 2012, 17), to “sanitise” (Estevens and al. 2020, 13) the district of the Mouraria explicitly for the purpose of the Festival TODOS, but implicitly for the “Lisbon brand,” tourism and real estate benefits. However, this reading ignores the precious work undertaken by the civil society, notably in collaboration with NGOs, to foster inclusivity. The association *Renovar a Mouraria* provides free Portuguese classes and diverse integration support for the residents of the neighbourhood. The mayor's office's relocation to Largo do Intendente (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2017, 204) mirrors the general effort made towards interculturalism. Other examples are provided by the ICC's report such as the “Festival da Diversidade” (“Festival of Diversity”), the Ratha Yatra in Lisbon (last edition in 2018) and Lisbon's participation in the World Interfaith Harmony Week (Council of Europe 2018, 27) or the Martim Moniz square “Mercado de Fusão.” As

⁴¹ *Pelouro da Cultura*.

⁴² The text highlights an “overload and massification of some areas, particularly in the historic centre of the city,” the “worsening of mobility issues,” “technological and organisational changes in the cultural activities,” “new dynamics of participation,” “new forms of cultural mediation” or the “creative economy development” (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2017, 22).

⁴³ Its creator, Miguel Abreu clarifies in our interview: “The festival TODOS - Caminhada de Culturas (‘Everybody-Walk of Cultures’) is an annual moment of affirmation and celebration of Lisbon as a European capital city, of intercultural matrix, through contemporary arts. [...] [I]t is a socio-cultural development project that, based on contemporary art, in its various languages, promotes intercultural, interpersonal and intergenerational coexistence” (Appendix I).

presented before, according to the “Culture and civil life” indicator of the ICC, Lisbon receives a score of 100%, specifying that “Lisbon encourages [...] intercultural activities and events through grants and other support” (Council of Europe 2018, 28).

However, it could be argued that these examples have been used repeatedly over the years in municipal discourses, that intercultural initiatives are not renewing, and that municipal cultural programming follows a top-down logic. The use of festival TODOS to demonstrate intercultural practices appears to be an isolated example. It is admittedly of extreme relevance to the intercultural project because it travels to marginalised spaces to encourage contact and interaction, but the Strategies for the Culture of 2017 stresses the shortcomings of the CML in terms of social integration: “there is a set of cultural actors who highlight the fact that people do not identify with the culture offered, as everything is made and assembled from a centralising and standardising pole, averse to differences” (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2017, 212), particularly “populations economically and socially more vulnerable that remain ostracised in the neighbourhoods” (idem). The study acknowledges the existence of a disparity between “discourses” and “practical results and impacts of multiculturalist actions” (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2017, 214). The CML would be “following trends without intense research work on the modalities of action and intervention for and in multiculturalism” (idem).

In this regard, the TODOS’ methods are commendable. They employ a method of sociology of everyday life coined by José Machado Pais, professor at the ICS Lisboa, known as “*pensamento com os pés*,” or “thinking with the feet,”⁴⁴ which entails traversing the territories observing the local dynamics, residents’ way of life, existing businesses, and transportation methods⁴⁵ (Appendix I). Santos, on the other hand, confirms the disparity in the music industry when she concludes that “between the idea and the practise, the distances can be considerable” (2008, 146). She uses musical production as an example, “observing the existing tensions between the different forces” coming from “negligence” and a “wasted” quality of offer, which may result in a competitive advantage for other cities (idem). She concludes that the “gap between discourse and practise” is due to “a lack of consistent urban regeneration actions that go beyond event organisation and essentially aesthetic or imagery

⁴⁴ I could not find the source.

⁴⁵ Miguel Abreu, interviewed by the author, April 2023. Miguel Abreu is the founder and general director of the TODOS - Caminhadas da Cultura festival and director of the association Academia de Produtores Culturais (Cultural Producers Academy) and of the production company Cassefaz. I had the opportunity to interview Miguel Abreu by email on his activities with the TODOS festival.

operations on urban space” (idem). In the 2018 ICC report, for example, Lisbon receives 50% in the “Public space through intercultural lens” indicator (Council of Europe 2018, 29). According to the report, “several areas in Lisbon have become dominated by one ethnic group and have developed into ‘feared’ and ‘unwelcoming’ areas, which seems to be the reason for the decrease in the city’s achievement rate”⁴⁶ (idem, 31). Furthermore, the city must prioritise “intercultural interaction” opportunities in public spaces and urban design, providing “certain spaces, such as mosques, for specific religious or cultural groups, there should also be spaces for bringing various cultural groups together, encouraging them to interact and communicate, fostering closeness and intersection,” taking into account “differences in norms, in interests or simply linguistic differences” (idem). Here, the ICC argues for recognising differences, eventually setting up special structures for certain individuals, which goes further than mere integration and touches upon a separative approach hinted by inclusion.

A complementary view to the sequence of events aforementioned (the interpretation that the rehabilitation of the Mouraria would have been done to foster tourism and real estate development) examines initiatives from CSOs and the parapublic sector. This is what Santos emphasises when she writes that grassroots initiatives raise awareness about local social issues and can attract municipal support and funding: “the proliferation of initiatives both reveals a “bottom-up” force, in the sense of alerting to the existence of a demand, and the first public support is beginning to be observed” (2008, 144). She wrote this in 2008; nowadays, examples of this type abound, but they are not always supported by the CML, which prefers to fund its own projects: “the dominant logic continues to be marked by a top-down policy averse to cosmopolitanism and the appreciation of differences,” (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2017, 212). Santos argues that the cultural strategy articulates around the formation of Lisbon’s imagery, which relies on its cultural programming (mostly events) and should therefore be carefully supported publicly, especially as it was and continues to grow (2008). Lisbon receives a 15% for the “Public Service” indicator, highlighting the lack of a “recruitment plan” to implement more ethnic equity in the public sector, as “employees reflect the ethnic composition of the city’s population only at lower levels, but not at all hierarchical levels” (Council of Europe 2018, 21). Similarly, for the “Business and labour”

⁴⁶ A previous ICC report was conducted in 2014. The decrease considered here refers to the score that Lisbon received in this indicator at that time, compared to its score in 2018.

indicator, “the city says it does not have a charter or any other binding document against ethnic discrimination in its administration and services, even though it is supposed to apply the Diversity Charter which it has signed” (idem, 23). These examples illustrate Santos’ argument and its contemporary relevance.

Furthermore, the ICC’s report identifies the “Núcleo da Interculturalidade” (Centre of Interculturality) of the Department of Social Rights as Lisbon’s dedicated structure “responsible for promoting interculturality,” which is subdivided into:

- The Municipal Council for Interculturality and Citizenship (CMIC): a non-profit organisation established in 1993 with the goal of “strengthening immigrants’ integration policies based on intercultural values and principles” (Council of Europe 2018, 10).

- The Municipal Forum of Interculturality (FMINT): a forum for discussion, reflection, and research on issues of diversity and interculturality.

- The Local Centres of Immigrants’ Integration Support (CLAII).

The CMIC addresses an important aspect of social integration and interculturalism: political commitment and civil participation. If migrants are to be effective agents of integration, they must be given the space, freedom, and dignity to engage politically. The Lisbon Municipal Plan for Migrant Integration designates “active citizenship” as a “common indicator of integration” in the European context. The plan emphasises:

The CMIC brings together several migrant associations, that seek to have an active voice in the city civic life, integrating and strengthening the voice of these communities in the public policies of the municipality, in response to the challenges of diversity and with a strong commitment to participation and intercultural dialogue. (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2020, 61)

The plan acknowledges that “migrant associativism generates dynamics of civic and/or political participation” and plays an “important role in bringing communities together” (idem).

The “ICC Index Lisbon – 2018” ranks Lisbon 46th out of 95 cities evaluated, with an “aggregate intercultural city index of 60%” (Council of Europe 2018, 4). The index highlights that the existence of plans dealing with integration is positive, but that “there is no evaluation or updating process for these plans” (idem, 9). This represents an important feedback given by the ICC when dealing with the indicator of “Commitment” to interculturality. In my research, I attempted to address this concern, particularly in the case of the TODOS and the OT, wondering about the lack of evaluation, research, and study of

these very insightful situations of intercultural dialogue organised by the CML. When I asked Miguel Abreu, he referred me to the TODOS's annual *relatórios de atividades* (activity reports) sent after each edition of the festival to the CML.⁴⁷ Ronald van Steden draws on Coghlan and Brannick's proposal for operating a "good governance," which will be developed in the following chapter: "action-oriented proponents, in general, use an iterative method comprising four phases: diagnosing and constructing, action planning, action taking, and evaluating and learning" (qtd. in van Steden 2020, 243). The city of Lisbon, in consideration with the ICC report of 2018, appears to apply the first two phases but struggles with the third of taking action and rarely evaluates and learns from them.

The 2018 ICC report finds some decreases in some areas and advises the city to review their 2014 policies. Furthermore, it appears that Lisbon is effective in the promotion and conception of cultural events and ephemeral meetings but lacks resources for the evaluation and retroaction of these initiatives, measures, and research. Although interculturalists advocate for the implementation of proximity policies, the 2017's Strategies for the Culture acknowledge the limitations and encourage their promotion (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2017, 217).

Chapter 3. Hybridity and cultural diversity

The prevailing European consensus on multicultural and intercultural policies, as well as the cultural and immigration policies of the EU, Portugal, and the municipality of Lisbon, affect the formation of collective and individual identities. It has previously been mentioned that the concept of hybridity, explored in this chapter, addresses notions of cultural differences and diversity politically, originally framed within a postcolonialist theorisation.

3.1 Hybridity, postcolonialism and differences

In cultural studies, the concept of hybridity can be understood as a prism through which to inspect the intricate interplay of culturally diverse subjects within societies and communities, shedding light on the complex ways in which individuals adapt, evolve, and form unique identities. These interplays are observable more easily in smaller configurations, within collective artistic projects such as collective musical projects. But first, let me explore different definitions of the concept of hybridity, unfolding its cross-

⁴⁷ The CML allowed me to consult some of them.

disciplinary character. Indeed, Divya Tolia-Kelly highlights its simultaneous existence in geography, anthropology, Darwin's evolutionary science, social sciences, literary studies, artistic studies, cultural studies. Hybridity seems to be used in different fields, which explains its cross-disciplinarity:

The use of hybridity has expanded to include diverse intercultural mixes: ethnic *mestizaje*, syncretism regarding beliefs, and other modern fusion in which arts and crafts integrate with industry, the cultured with the popular and traditional, and with mass media messages. (García-Canclini 1995)

While “traditional” hybridisations (García-Canclini 1995, xxxvi) like ethnic *mestizaje* and syncretism⁴⁸ are not specifically the topics of this dissertation, fusion in arts is discussed through the music produced and performed by my two case studies, Krusty Fondant and the Orquesta TODOS. I denote music fusion to refer to the blending of different styles or genres of music, merging to create a new subgenre. Such a practice, conscious or not, can be done over music genres from different cultures. Furthermore, the term hybridity is rooted in colonial science; this point is crucial as it addresses originally diasporic communities negotiating their hybrid identities.

Homi K. Bhabha conceptualises a “Third Space” of enunciation, an alternative to the relentless dualism of theorisation of knowledge, Western and non-Western, which correspond to the first and second spaces, as theories are politicised and therefore polarised. Bhabha puts into question the contentious historical necessity of the confrontation of theory versus politics (1994, 19). He claims that theory is transformative and that it must not be detached from or opposed to politics (*idem*). Bhabha insists on the necessity of considering theories located in the South, in order for cultural knowledge to really become an “integrated, open, expanding code” (Bhabha 1994, 37). He enhances his argument, quoting Marshall Sahlin that prefers this code to be “responsive by *continuous* permutation to events it has itself staged, [instead of] an apparently *static* one that seems to know not events, but only its own preconceptions” (*idem*, his emphasis). This is the goal of the intervention of the third space of enunciation: to re-negotiate cultural identities, enabling non-Western located archives, academics and theories from non-academic sources, or sources not necessarily using “elite language of the socially and culturally privileged” as well as events, to be taken into account for post-colonial narratives and the construction of contemporary societies

⁴⁸ Syncretism refers to hybridity in “religious matters” (García-Canclini 1995, xxiv), hybridisation of “beliefs” (*idem* xxxii).

(Bhabha 1994, 18-19). To Bhabha, the third space's intrusion:

[...] challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People. In other words, the disruptive temporality of enunciation displaces the narrative of the Western nation which Benedict Anderson so perceptively describes as being written in homogeneous, serial time. (1994, 37)

The third space challenges the construction of immutable cultural identities based on national tradition and geographically bound, especially in a post-colonial framework.

In "The Location of Culture" (1994) Bhabha precises his understanding of "beyond" as "neither a new horizon, nor a leaving behind of the past."⁴⁹ He stresses the need to go "beyond" the hegemonically Eurocentric narratives, disputing them, to "think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that area produced in the articulation of cultural differences" (1994, 1); in other words, going "beyond" is reflecting on cultures, subjective and collective differences and thus hybridity. He stands against essentialist views that conceptualise differences and their related signified cultural identity "as sameness" (Marotta 2014, 5). Marotta quotes Gill Bottomley on the matter, explaining that an essentialist conceptualisation of identity "requires an Other [sic] who is different, a drawing of boundaries that excludes challenges' (1997, p.44), and a refusal to recognise the inconsistencies and incompatibilities with in [sic] those boundaries" (2014, 5). This conceptualisation, hence, has the effect of "reinforcing repressive boundaries" between the dominant and the minority (idem). Bhabha discusses subjectivist narratives and proposes to deem the location and the differences attached to the people in a certain area, within a certain community, suggesting that individuals bear differences even inside one cultured community. His view is non-essentialist and as Marotta suggests, re-evaluates the boundaries drawn upon cultural differences. This approach is valued by multiculturalist and interculturalist approaches to cultural diversity.

Daryl Chin's interpretive standpoint of the "intercultural agenda" was calling for "utmost diplomacy," seeing through the cultural hegemony of dominant culture a potential issue that could "easily accommodate an agenda of cultural imperialism" (Chin 1989, 174). Indeed, Chin cautions policy and art makers about imperial practices, a statement shared by Bhabha. Chin writes:

⁴⁹ Bhabha defines "beyond" as the "*au-delà* – here and there, on all sides, *fort/da*, hither and thither, back and forth" (Bhabha 1994, 1). Beyond refers to time and space frameworks, time for history and space for the resulting identities that are attached to it.

Interculturalism is one of the ways of bringing previously suppressed material into the artistic arena, by admitting into a general discourse other cultures, cultures which had previously been ignored or suppressed or unknown. But the general discourse (which we must define in terms of the dominant culture) must not deform other cultures by making them speak in the language of the dominant culture. (1989, 175)

Made at a time when interculturalism was not elaborated yet as it is nowadays and was essentially referring to culturally diverse projects, this claim still informs decision-makers (from the politics and from the cultural sector) from dominant cultures that their discourses result in an indubitable exercise of their power, as defended by Linda Hutcheon (1991). Drawing on Hutcheon, the educational scientists Victor J. Pitsoe and Moeketsi Letseka explain: “discourse is not merely a tool of domination, rather, it is an instrument of power” (Pitsoe and Letseka 2012, 24). In their view, discourse is an instrument and an “effect of power” (idem), hence making very delicate any intercultural activity between dominant and minority culture, not to “deform” the cultural identities involved, which are of primal consideration in the process of creation of the case studies.

Antony Easthope, in its critique of “The Location of Culture,” brings to light Bhabha’s reference to Derrida, when he elaborates his argument on the production of different areas of cultural differences. Easthope writes: “Bhabha’s opposition between identity and hybridity corresponds to and extends Derrida’s contrast between presence and difference” (Easthope 1998, 146). One of the critiques Easthope makes about Bhabha’s claim refers to his “assumed opposition between hybridity and the non-hybridic,” as if the “*identity as presence*” was “unitary” or “originary” and so not hybrid. This critique makes us reflect on a possible view of hybridity as not only delineated by presence and difference, but by subjectivities, giving way to any cultural subject to take part in the third space and discuss hybridity.

Indeed, Divya Tolia-Kelly identifies a recent shift in the consideration of the concept of hybridity:

Hybridity has been positioned within recent cultural theory as a conceptual device that seeks to disrupt and critically implode the bases upon which ‘difference’ has been articulated in colonial times as well as in the current political, economic, social, and cultural narratives dominant in the everyday. (2009)

Because the concept of “difference” is applied in Western societies more frequently and conveniently to whole communities, Bhabha defends that we must rather consider individuals and their subjectivities resulting in particularities rather than communities as compact cultural wholes. This assertion is gradually gaining traction within the European

governmental conceptualisation of interculturalism at the Council of Europe (Council of Europe 2021b, 9).

In a Bhabhan understanding, an in-between space is “the overlap and displacement of domains of difference” (1994, 2). In this spatial condition, a philosophical and intellectual discourse can emerge, where hybridity confronts the legitimacy of the ideological colonialism. Stuart Hall explains the implicit meaning of the use of the term colonisation in the postcolonial system:

By ‘colonisation’, the ‘postcolonial’ references something more than direct rule over certain areas of the world by the imperial powers...[I]t is signifying the whole process of expansion, exploration, conquest, colonialism and imperial hegemonisation which constituted the ‘outer face’, the constitutive outside, of European and then Western capitalist modernity after 1492. (qtd. in Kalua 2009, 25)

In a modern context, European hegemonic cultural groups hold the responsibility for facilitating, leaving room for cultural hybridisation. Indeed, postcolonial scholars like Edward Said assert that the Western colonialism continues to impose their languages and cultures on ex-colonies (Hamadi 2014).

Fluid borderlines defining cultural differences enable “a movement back and forth” (Bhabha 1994, 3), as opposed to the fixity of essentialist discourses. In this sense, Bhabha expresses his withholding concerning multiculturalism, as it does not reflect his understanding of cultural differences as “the production of minority identities that ‘split’ – are estranged unto themselves – in the act of being articulated into a collective body” (idem). He takes the example of the will of an “ethnical cleansed” national identity in Serbia to express the incongruity of the concept of national cultures. The homogenisation of cultures in a nation is the opposite of recognising and accepting its hybridisation. In a Bhabhan understanding, minorities require an empowering environment, in the recognition of the existence of differences inside the same cultural minority, which multiculturalism fails in settling.

Besides, the anthropologist Carola Lentz argues that:

[...] the idea of creolisation, drawn from linguistics, still seems to imply the existence of relatively solidified bundles of cultural meanings (and their respective materialisations) which interact and thereby create ‘hybrids’. I think we need to take the analysis a step further by disentangling such assumed bundles or building blocks. (2017, 201)

While creolisation is not exactly equivalent to hybridity, the idea of junction, leading to a new divergent cultural branch is kept in both. For Lentz, creolisation assumes solid blocks

of culture that reinforce a system of difference and cultural boundaries. Lentz suggests, drawing on Ira Bashkow, the need to “distinguish between cultural boundaries drawn by the social actors themselves and by the social scientist for analytical purposes” (idem). In this sense, Lentz writes that “cultural boundaries” are forged by “group formation and social closure” and group dissolution,⁵⁰ in a context of “power struggle” (idem). Therefore, concerning my case studies, the boundaries and essentialisations can be critically analysed at the same time by anthropologists and by the joining member(s) of the group and can be organically reviewed. The analytical objects are in this sense, the group formation (and dissolution) and the contextual power relations.

3.2 Cultural hybridisation

The issues raised by the discussion on hybridity brought sociocultural policies in Europe (at an EU level as well as at national levels) to shift from the multicultural dominance, acknowledging their hegemonic narratives and the need to revise them. The anthropologist Néstor García-Canclini explores this shift when he interrogates: when does “a discipline or field of knowledge change[s]?” (1995, xxiii).⁵¹ As a matter of fact, he qualifies “hybridization” as a “detonating term,” relevantly responsible for a shift in the cultural theory, questioning the normalised or even doctrinal way of addressing “identity, culture, difference, inequality, multiculturalism” as well as the dialectic approach to social sciences of “tradition/modernity, north/south, local/global” (idem). The term disrupts and critically engages with preconceived concepts of difference. Furthermore, García-Canclini astutely describes hybridisation as “sociocultural processes in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects, and practices” (idem, xxv). In this definition, García-Canclini acknowledges the fact that “the so-called discrete structures were a result of prior hybridizations and therefore cannot be considered pure points of origin” (idem). It is quite impossible to state that cultures have a point of departure of hybridisation, as it is probable that there is no point of arrival. This can be extended to the case for hybrid forms of music, or music fusion, which revokes the categorisation of music into genres, music as strictly emerging from a geographic location. García-Canclini writes: “the rigid borders established by modern states have become porous.

⁵⁰ She explains that the groups are formed upon a “consensus on selected diacritical cultural features” which constitute the identity of the “we-group” (idem).

⁵¹ This discussion is located in the introduction to García-Canclini’s book “Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity” (1995).

Few cultures can now be described as stable units, with precise limits based on the occupation of a fenced-in territory” (idem, xxxiv). Cultures therefore used to exist in the imaginary of a state bounded to a territory. The former’s sovereignty relied, during modern times, on the control of the borders, and by extension, of the in-and-outflows of capitals, people, goods in the negotiation of mechanisms of globalisation. This state sovereignty is called into question by Bhabha.

Sophie A. Lewis (2020), amongst other critiques, contends that “in the humanities and social sciences, [hybridity] now designates anything – abstractions included – derived from heterogeneous sources or composed of incongruous elements” and that “mixedness is a characteristic of all things, hybridity’s limitations as a heuristic have always frustrated some political thinkers, including geographers.” I will not contradict the claim that everything is hybrid, but I will rather try to convey and portray its empowering and creative potential. In addition, with the acknowledgement of the hybrid rooted nature of cultures, the fundamentalist discourses and nationalist rhetoric stemming from them are no longer valid (Stolcke 2000). Taking into account the various definitions of hybridity and hybridisation, I qualify subjects, communities, or music as hybrid, by subjectivity as Easthope suggests, and with regard to their derived, mutational states and “heterogeneous sources” (Lewis 2020) or differences in the cultural context from which the subjects, communities, or music has evolved and is evolving now.

Coming back on the creative potential of hybridity, García-Canclini claims that “cross-cultural thinking and practices are resources for acknowledging difference and elaborating on the tensions that arise there” (1995, xxxi). Referring to the current situation of nations and cities, he writes:

Hybridization, as a process of intersection and transaction, is what makes it possible for multicultural reality to avoid tendencies toward segregation and to become cross-cultural reality. Policies of hybridization can serve to work democratically with differences, so that history is not reduced to wars between cultures, as Samuel Huntington imagines it. We can choose to live in a state of war or in a state of hybridization. (idem)

The idea of “transaction” for individuals or collective entities, refers to a reciprocal concession, of the first and second spaces to move into the third one. Now from a political perspective, this quote suggests that embracing hybridisation as a process, as a result, as critical thinking, as a reality is prior to the attempt of elaborating any multicultural or

intercultural policy, as hybridisation deals with differences, confronts conflicts through the intervention of a space of intersubjective dialogue.

There is a plethora of examples of hybridising individuals – immigrants and displaced people in cities, constrained to reinvent or adjust their identities in order to live in their new environment – with distinct narratives influencing (and in return being influenced) by the city. This is how Gerard Delanty, elaborating the theories of culture as practice, and drawing on Bourdieu’s self-transformative process, puts it:

The picture of culture that emerges from these theories is one that sees culture as articulated in identity politics: culture while being separate from agency is continuously transformed by agency which is in turn shaped by culture. (Delanty 2000, 232)

This view is close to the constructivist perspective of learning (and to a lesser extent, to the sociocultural perspective) that considers culture as something that cultural subjects do (actions, practices, interactions are driven by the learning process) rather than possess (Packer and Goicoechea 2000), which reflects the argument made by the Faro Convention on heritage, mentioned earlier. The psychologists Martin J. Packer and Jessie Goicoechea, drawing on Paul Cobb and Erna Beth Yackel (1996), connect the two perspectives of learning notably identifying a common thread in the “‘reciprocity’ between the psychological and the social, in which ‘learning is a constructive process that occurs while participating in and contributing to the practices of the local community’ (p. 185)” (Packer and Goicoechea 2000, 230). These views emphasise the active role and agency of hybrid and hybridising individuals, which by taking part in a culture or community, interacting and learning, modify the code of the culture. Hybridisation, as the recoding of identities is, in this sense, a learning process.

3.3 Hybridity, multiculturalism and interculturalism: “hybridisation as a third approach to cultural diversity”

As discussed in previous sections of this dissertation, multiculturalism has some flaws that interculturalism tries to solve, but the application of interculturalism is rather difficult to do, as seen in the case of Lisbon. Marotta stresses hybridising cultural subjects to be the common grounding shared by the concepts: “what binds [the contemporary categorisation of multicultural, intercultural and transcultural identities] together is the notion of the ‘in-between’ cultural subject” (2014, 1). This section aims at presenting a view, mainly based on the anthropologist and philosopher Paolo Gomarasca’s essay “Multiculturalism or Hybridisation? Cultural Mixing and Politics” (2013). I want to explore the potential of

considering hybrid subjects evolving in a multi-intercultural framework. I say multi-intercultural, because the city of Lisbon is only partially intercultural, its interculturality is an ongoing project, some aspects deriving from multicultural policies, such as the persistence of a system of cultural differentiation. Kastoryano (2022) says that this issue “has divided proponents: where to strike the balance between unity and diversity and between moral universalism versus respect for cultural specificity.” The debate around cultural diversity remains unsolved.

This section presents perspectives that complement the intercultural and multicultural policies of the city of Lisbon, considering the discussion on hybridity. Furthermore, it seems that the three approaches can coexist, as they intersect and critique but also influence each other. The idea of hybridisation suggests that “cultures are originally and intrinsically intertwined” (Gomasasca 2013, 67). Gomasasca explains later, drawing on the concept of *mestizaje*, that cultures undergo a “transformative interpenetration” based on which “a *mestizo* democracy accents how cultures dynamically interpenetrate and transform each other” (idem, 72). This transformation is ongoing in Western societies, and a “*mestizo* democracy” is the political model Gomasasca defends. This view is close to Delanty’s theory of culture as practice.

In Seyla Benhabib’s perspective, cultures are not “unified, holistic, and self-consistent wholes” (qtd. in Gomasasca 2013, 67). Benhabib’s definition of cultures stresses that “dialogue is a constitutive element of every culture, not an extrinsic duty to act ‘interculturally’” (idem, 71). This argument sees cultures as formed through dialogue but also points at the natural character of cultures to converse, rather than an institutionalised process. In addition, Gomasasca rationalises: “inter-cultural [sic] mixing cannot be scheduled or imposed; it is always relative and contingent” (2013, 75), the same way that “hybridisations cannot be valued as normatively compulsory” (idem). This suggests that the political model envisaged by Gomasasca should be propelled by indirect policies like support measures and incentive schemes rather than imposed by law.

Cultures evolve through dialogue, interaction, contact and could contextually even be considered structured by their relations, as much defined by their peers than by themselves. Bhabha stressed the importance of maintaining a system of differentiation, as minorities require a galvanising environment that acknowledges the existence of differences within themselves, an empowerment overlooked by multiculturalism. Gomasasca uses the

argument of Nikolas Kompridis who argues that cultural differentiation must remain, as the “identification to a culture makes the individual concerned about its ‘fate’, ‘future possibilities’ and ‘past injustices’” (qtd. in Gomasasca 2013, 72).

Gomasasca sees civil society as a place for potential cultural hybridisations, a “free space of speech” (2013, 74), very close to the Bhabhan concept of interstitial spaces or third space, that surpass binary systems of differences (majorities/minorities, self/alien).⁵² These free spaces of speech have the potential to frame civil society and “play host to cultural changes and mixing,” (idem) as addressed by Michel de Certeau, “where culturally different people meet each other and try to communicate, in order to establish shared conditions for living together” (idem).

CSOs create in-between spaces fostering activities and actions with dialogue. Gomasasca highlights the political implications of cultural hybridisation, advocating for the channelling of mixing processes within the democratic political framework, particularly at the civil society level (2013, 67).⁵³ Gomasasca’s project argues for a form of “unity-in-diversity” embodied by the civil society in a *mestizo* democracy, fostering diversity while working for a long-term unity “in the direction of the common good” (2013, 73), a common polity and citizenry, based on the assumption of human rights standards. Indeed, he claims that diversity must “be conceived [...] within the horizon of unity” and that the “conception of a dynamic common good is the ‘natural’ outcome of a democratic process of dialogue between different groups” and assumes a “political engagement”⁵⁴ (idem).

John Francis Burke affirms that “unity-in-diversity urges a sense of community through heterogeneity, each culture contributing both to the community and to one another without any one culture necessarily becoming hegemonic” (qtd. in Gomasasca 2013, 72). This approach includes hybrid identities and encourages the participatory integration of non-hegemonic groups such as immigrants. Gomasasca’s view prompts minorities to make use

⁵² Indeed, Gomasasca explains that “the experience of hybridisation, as in the case of Beurs, suggests an ethical membership which challenges the static binarism of ‘us’ and ‘them’” (Gomasasca 2013, 76). “Beur” designates a person born in France of Arab descent.

⁵³ Civil society handles travelling cultures – a concept made by James Clifford explicating that cultures are not fixed nor authentic (Gomasasca 2013, 74). Gomasasca explains that one “crucial point of the White Paper is [...] when it identifies the ‘key role for the associational sphere of civic society where, premised on reciprocal recognition, intercultural dialogue can resolve the problems of daily life in a way that governments alone cannot’” (Gomasasca 2013, 69).

⁵⁴ Gomasasca quotes Benhabib that defines the political engagement under question, “complex processes of public argument, deliberation, and exchange” debated “throughout legal and political institutions, as well as in the associations of civil society” (2013, 73).

of their capability, of their agency, becoming active participants of the elaboration of the society's commonality, on which rely their citizenship.

The political scientist Craig L. Carr's pluralism substantiates that unity is based on commonality and its recognition, notably the "common understanding about why civil association matters, why it is a good idea, and why it deserves their allegiance" (qtd. in Gomasca 2013, 74). This common understanding is also based on shared values, civility and ethic system of thoughts, which appears more difficult to harmonise as it implies a *mestizo* form and a "reshaping of citizenship" (idem). Certainly, sharing a "common allegiance to justice" and therefore to the legal system should result in a unified standpoint from which individuals can "adjudicate their differences" (Gomasca 2013, 76). This unity is crucial for the conventional notion of a nation, characterized by a shared vision of citizenship and coexistence. This idea is linked to Zygmunt Bauman's values of civility, in a "liquid society," (2000): the importance to foster conviviality through dialogue, to face social inequalities, and the need "to resurrect the lost moral standards and restore spiritual values in the young; the spiritual values to resist the erosion of values caused by materialism, consumerism and profiteering" (qtd. in Polhuijs 2018). Bauman summarises: "the main point about civility is [...] the ability to interact with strangers without holding their strangeness against them and without pressing them to surrender it or to renounce some or all the traits that have made them strangers in the first place" (2000, 104-105). In this understanding, the project of converging towards a common understanding of civility implies engaging with others, applying the multicultural premise of acknowledging and respecting cultural differences.

The cosmopolitan and political viewpoint of cultures articulates divergently. In this view, the commonality is embodied by a "universal human coexistence" in the view of Garrett Wallace Brown (Brown 2009, 1), or by a "moral community" in which each individual share allegiance to the "human community" rather than to a nation-state (Naseem and Hyslop-Margison 2006, 52). For the philosopher Martha Nussbaum, cosmopolitanism advocates universality in moral values and justice, human rights; it debates the possibility of a global (or "cosmopolitan") citizenship to create international democracy (qtd. in Naseem and Hyslop-Margison 2006, 56). While the claims made by cosmopolitanism (sharing moral values and believes) are close to the discussed notion of commonality, this concept is not further examined in this dissertation because my ethnographic and culture studies point of

view rather analyse the context in which hybridity occurs: the sociocultural environment and political framework in which subjects evolve. Thus, because policies are influenced by multicultural and intercultural principles in Europe and in Portugal, I consider the later more relevant contextualising elements for my case studies than the intangible political project of cosmopolitanism.

Additionally, cosmopolitanism can be criticised for underestimating power structures. One critic considers cosmopolitan ideals – or optimism, as expressed by the sociologist June Edmunds (2017) – to have the potential to inadvertently reinforce existing hierarchies or neglect the diverse experiences and struggles of marginalised groups. In the example of Lisbon and of the musical sector, Vítor Belanciano provides a myriad of examples to emphasise the lack of attention to counter-hegemonic representation of afro-Portuguese music in the Lisbon’s music scene. With an unbalanced cultural representation system, cosmopolitanism can fail to empower minorities, drowned in the over-representation of hegemonic cultures in the political and cultural agendas of the city. Considering the competition on the market of creative industries and the need to differentiate, cultural difference can be beneficial for collective agency. In community music studies,⁵⁵ this perspective is conveyed by the term “music scene,” defined by Shelemay as a “cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization” (2011, 362). Navigating in this context brings us to the point that hybrid identities (subjects, collectivities or communities) are in continuous evolution, just as their environment is culturally hybridising.

Civil society and CSOs are contingent upon the foundation of democracy, necessitating “good governance” as conceptualised by Aristotle. This entails a unitary sense of citizenship and involves openness, accountability, and participation in public debate for a functioning democracy (Gomasca 2013, 77). The political science scholar Ronald van Steden exposes Aristotle’s public ethic like this: “good governance” is made by public craftsmen (2020, 237) and their integrity. He stresses the existence of a “plurality of knowing” for good governance (idem, 243) where “tacit knowledge”⁵⁶ acquired by practitioners is of the utmost in a

⁵⁵ Chapter 4 is dedicated to the theoretical clarification of this field of studies, the concepts gravitating around (such as communities, music collectives, hybrid music) and their relevance for the analysis of my case studies.

⁵⁶ Ronald van Steden defines tacit knowledge as the “implicit or unarticulated knowledge that can only be acquired through personal experience, continuous learning and on-the-job tenure” (2020, 243).

dialogue between the public craftsmen, the researchers and the practitioners (idem, 241-242). Van Steden reviews the system of the ancient Greek *agorá*,⁵⁷ conceptualised as a democratic political meeting and proposes a method in four phases for public administrations: “diagnosing and constructing,” “action planning,” “action taking,” and “evaluating and learning” (van Steden 2020, 243). He clarifies:

The first step engages in diagnosing the problem at hand and identifying the issues. Planning action involves awareness of the context and purpose of the projects, after which interventions are made (action-taking). In evaluating the entire process, various intended and unintended effects of an intervention are evaluated and reflected on (‘meta-learning’). (idem)

Gomasasca stands with the Commission of the European Communities’ statement: “the linear model of dispensing policies from above must be replaced by a virtuous circle, based on feedback, networks and involvement from policy creation to implementation at all levels” (qtd. in Gomasasca 2013, 77), which echoes van Steden’s argument, precisising that civil society does not escape the rule and must also apply principles of “good governance” (idem). This retroaction and collaboration are elements lacking in Lisbon’s policies, as indicated by the ICC index of 2018.

Lastly, Gomasasca brings the concept of “cultural humility” out, described as an “intercultural competence” by the UNESCO: “cultural humility [...] is, in [Gomasasca’s] opinion, a necessary skill to practice and manage the hybridisation processes within democratic frameworks” (qtd. in Gomasasca 2013, 77). Cultural humility, the relational skill to dispose the self to learning from the other, evolving in another cultural system than the self, resonates with my case studies as artists learn from each other through practicing together, observing, teaching, reproducing, conversing. In the context of my case studies, musicians have diverse cultural backgrounds and frequently engage in performing music that originates from cultures other than their own, often proposed by fellow members within the group. This last member will endorse the role of the teacher and the others have to approach the situation with cultural humility in order to optimise the collective process of creation.

Gomasasca concludes that “creativity makes us partners, because it requires the cultural humility to learn from the other, through a patient innovation of the public sphere” (2013,

⁵⁷ According to the online Collins Dictionary, the *agorá* designates at the same time a place and the meeting itself: “the marketplace in Athens, used for popular meetings, or any similar place of assembly in ancient Greece.”

78). Creativity here, would be used to create a common project of citizenry, but it perfectly applies to an intercultural artistic project (or any intercultural project). Jacques Rancière (2009) makes a very insightful and related claim, when he develops his idea of a “community of sense,” stating that individuals can bond over aesthetic imaginary, where the political potential action of an individual is unevenly distributed. In the one hand, the “community of sense” refers to the collective experience – in the interculturalist perspective, the platform for dialogue fundamental for the “process of communing” mentioned in the Faro Convention for example – that results from individuals’ involvement with aesthetic and political practices. On the other hand, Rancière writes, elaborating on the (unequal) “distribution of the sensible:”

Aristotle states that a citizen is someone who *has a part* in the act of governing and being governed. However, another form of distribution precedes this act of partaking in government: the distribution that determines those who have a part in the community of citizens. (Rancière 2004, 12, his emphasis)

This uneven distribution of political power is, according to Rancière, framed in time and space and related to the individual’s occupation: it is reasonable to assert that a politician, whose professional commitment involves the study and application of political principles, inherently contributes more actively to the elaboration of a common citizenry compared to artisans, whose time is primarily dedicated to their respective crafts. However, if the politician and the artisan would have a collective project requiring creativity and the elaboration of a common aesthetic imaginary, they would bond over their cultural and social differences.

PART II – Krusty Fondant and the Orquestra TODOS, intercultural collective musical projects dealing with hybridity: case studies

This part first proposes additional theory on the different forms of musical collectivities (Chapter 4) before analysing the case studies (Chapter 5, 6) applying methodological and theoretical principles to the analysis. The last chapter (7) intersects all the paths of this investigation developed in both parts.

Chapter 4. Hybridity in collective musical projects

To streamline the analysis of the case studies, I outline my conceptualisation of a hybrid subject. The cultural is not only related to ethnicities, as emphasised by Lentz (2017, 200) and in the case studies' analysis. Hybrid is not only designating an individual that has a cultural background bonded to former colonised territories thereafter living on the territory of a past coloniser, but also to differences in acculturation occurring in other geographic areas. In this sense, I do not aim at valuing or weighting any cultural background or framework and do not classify individuals according to the degree of difficulty they are facing according to it, even though I acknowledge the inequality of opportunities, intersectionality and barriers, hindrances to freedom and agency as shown in the capability approach developed by Amartya Sen.

4.1 Hybrid subject, community studies and music (or creative) community

Looking at a basic definition of “community” enlightens the discussion around differences. For instance, the Cambridge Dictionary defines a community as “the people living in one particular area or people who are considered as a unit because of their common interests, social group, or nationality.” This definition highlights “area,” where a community emerges, and “unit,” based on a commonality, which contrasts the idea of differences but also explains it: what is not part of the community's commonality is different. I would argue that a community must be studied in consideration with its area for an insightful contextualised analysis but, especially in the Internet age, an individual can be part of a community without being located on that area. I would rather consider “area” as context. As a matter of fact, a further explanation of the term on the Cambridge Dictionary (in the

specialised meaning of “Internet and Telecoms”) specifies that on social media, a community is “a group of people who have similar interests or who want to achieve something together.” The musicologist Kay Kaufman Shelemay mentions that “the notion that a community is localized has cast doubt for some as to the utility of the word in an era of increasingly mobile and cosmopolitan populations” (Shelemay 2011, 356). The junction of these definitions remains the sameness, the commonality between people, of interests or other characteristics (usually ethnic or cultural). According to the sociologist Graham Crow, community studies traditionally pinpoints that the study of the “connectedness of social and economic life” (networks) is bold and very complex and requires placing “this connectedness in context” (Crow 2018, 81), which several methodological tools can succeed in doing (ethnographic or the social network analysis for instance) (idem, 4, 5, 81). Crow emphasises that “these patterns of connection are often, but do not have to be, place related” (Crow 2018, 81-82). Shelemay explains that the vagueness of the term community has forced music scholars to imagine alternative terms:

‘[C]ommunity’ has been frozen at the juncture of competing theories of location, mobility, identity, and politics, becoming in the process so ambiguous that to use the term is to be confronted with the necessity to argue for its use. This situation has left music scholars struggling for new ways to name and theorize about the collective in music. (2011, 359)

Besides proposing alternative terms, Shelemay (2011) sorts communities in three types: “descent communities,” “dissent communities” and communities by “affinity.” She specifies that rather than seeing them as “separate ‘types’” (idem, 376), the communities can be part of one or several types at the same time, and several communities can overlap a single place of a musical event (idem). Descent communities are formed through descentance (the constitutive parts inherit features from former generations), where shared identities are formed around “shared ethnicity or aspects of kinship, with religious and/or national ties” (idem, 367). In this setting, while not being central to such communities, music plays a predominant role, establishing and reinforcing these identities within the community. The example given by Shelemay is the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian community, “grounded historically in religious identity and within which music has played a pivotal role” (idem, 368). Indeed, this community’s texts and representations highlights the significance of a chant tradition associated with their liturgical practices (idem). Shelemay explains that over

time, “the identity of this religious community melded with other aspects of descent,”⁵⁸ (idem, 369). Dissent communities emerge *contra* existing collectivities and are often associated with “acts of resistance” (idem, 370). They “coalesce” (idem) rapidly in response to specific events or circumstances and frequently use music as a means to “give voice dissent.” For instance, the American folk music revival of the 1950s and 1960s is cited as an example of a “countercultural dissent community” (idem). Finally, communities by affinity primarily derive from individual preferences for certain musical styles or traditions, followed by a desire for social association with like-minded individuals. For Shelemay, music is a powerful catalyst for forming affinity communities, where “straightforward aesthetic and personal preferences may, but do not necessarily, intersect with other powerful diacritica such as ethnic identity, age cohort, or gender identity” (idem, 373). These communities are not necessarily related to “ascribed or inherited factors,” characteristic of descent communities, or “ideological commitments,” characteristic of dissent communities (idem, 374). Examples include fans of popular music genres like rock and roll.

Shelemay emphasises that “virtually any musical tradition can be acquired through processes driven by affinity” (idem) and that affinity communities can be “enormously dynamic, quickly traveling over great distances and accruing new and heterogeneous content and devotees,” especially when heightened by technologies (idem, 375). Shelemay concludes that these three types of communities “both elucidates music’s generative role in shaping new collectivities and unsettles the notion of music as a static sonic marker of social groupings” (idem, 390). Indeed, a musical collectivity could span over several types or not (idem 376); the belonging to one type or the other is not exclusive.

Exploring the context in which hybrid subjects evolve, connect, network into communities and negotiate their individual and collective identities seems crucial from a cultural studies prism. In the interstices, or in-between spaces depicted by Bhabha, “the intersubjectivity and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value” (1994, 2) are moulded. Intersubjectivity, despite never being fully achieved, is understood by the sociologist and cultural theorist Lawrence Grossberg as a relationship involving a structure in which individuality is eluded (1982, 214). Grossberg writes: “Hence,

⁵⁸ According to Shelemay, the identity of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian community has accrued its association with specific ethnic groups, “the Amhara and Tigray peoples of the Ethiopian highlands,” due to the extended rule by Orthodox Christian emperors, who simultaneously governed Ethiopia and led the church for centuries (Shelemay 2011, 369).

the framework of intersubjectivity is an inherently dualistic one, for it sets up the opposition and relation of the individual and the social” (idem). Grossberg expresses the centrality of intersubjectivity for communication to generate understanding, which triggers more complexity when we speak about music collaboration of culturally diverse identities. Considering that hybrid communities and subjects progress among cultural hegemonies, I see intersubjectivity as a required skill for subject’s adaptation within a social context. Indeed, the anthropologist Victor Turner elaborates on the “ritual liminality”⁵⁹ and explains the concept of “intersubjectivity” occurring when subjects behave in response to “internal and external changes of [their] environment” (quoted in Kalua 2009, 24). The analysis of the musicians and their musical collectivities’ circumstances, within their sociocultural and political contexts, aims to align with comparable perspectives.

For the musicologist Richard Perks, culturally diverse music performance and collective composition are spaces for negotiating the “unequal spaces *between* cultures” (2021, his emphasis), referring to cultural hegemonies. Perks includes an auto-ethnography of an “intercultural-improvisatory ensemble” in which he is involved as a musician and a researcher. He explores the potentialities of music cultural hybridity that result from this intercultural collaboration and stresses that this musical project had to consider itself hybrid, due to the contextualising presence of culturally diverse identities. He pulls the ensemble in a Bhabhan third space “profoundly based on improvisation,” from which, the negotiation of individual identities results in “not one but multiple hybrid derivatives” of “fusing music-cultures,”⁶⁰ that he terms “hybridity strains.”⁶¹ The third space allow moments of re-imagination, of negotiation of identities, with the tension between the individuality and the collectivity resulting in modifications of both identities. In his PhD thesis focused on improvisation in intercultural musical contexts, the ethnomusicologist Toby Wren expounds: “In intercultural work, each improviser is rearticulating and constructing their own culture and the interculture of the hybrid third space” (2015, 77). These phenomena are theorised in

⁵⁹ Liminality expresses the interstitial, the temporary in-between that the subject undergoes during a ritual. Engaged in the ritual, the subject neither fully holds their new status nor retains their previous one. For instance, throughout the very conduct of a wedding ceremony, the couple is not married yet. Liminality characterises this ongoing process.

⁶⁰ Perks uses the term “music-culture” to “encompass all musical qualities, idiomatic conventions, performance practices, material objects and ontological meanings ascribed to a music tradition” (Perks 2021), where a music tradition refers to all music connected to a certain region’s culture or geographic location.

⁶¹ I delve into this concept in the subsequent section.

community music studies and observable in musical collectivities while such a tension between the individual and the collective – particularly in the case of culturally diverse identities – is especially stressed by jazz and improvised music studies (Gebhardt and Whyton 2015). This tension is also visible in Ralph Ellison’s work:

For true jazz is an art of individual assertion within and against the group. Each true jazz moment (as distinct from the uninspired commercial performance) springs from a contest in which each artist challenges all the rest; each solo flight, or improvisation, represents (like the successive canvases of a painter) a definition of his identity: as individual, as member of the collectivity and as a link in the chain of tradition. Thus, because jazz finds its very life in an endless improvisation upon traditional materials, the jazzman must lose his identity even as he finds it. (1972, 234)

A certain fragility of the individual’s identity asserted during the time of an improvisation can be observed and is explained by the spontaneous and ephemeral nature of the “true” jazz moment. Nonetheless, the individual assertion can also be reinforced by other practices of recording (image, sound), rehearsing and performing. But Ellison considers the individual (and their identity) as a drop in the ocean of jazz tradition (and the jazz music community’s identity). Whilst it is true that the solo of a jazzperson contributes to the reinforcement of both the individual and the collective identity, this consideration was more specific to the times and the affirmation of the genre and perhaps less relevant in the case of contemporary fusion of music-cultures. Even the concept of music-culture is outdated nowadays, and I would prefer the term music fusion, i.e. the creation of music combining elements from various cultures referred to as music influences, involving a blending of diverse musical elements. These considerations prompt reflection on music influences as contributors to the formation of individual or collective identities. Moreover, Schiavio et al. emphasise the importance of softening the usually “sharp distinctions between ‘individuality’ and ‘collectivity’” which erupt in joint music-making in order to allow “a healthy negotiation between self and other” (2019, 717), but also more widely in communities and therefore on the cultural space.

Schiavio et al. focus on the project Meet4Music, developed at the University of Music and Performing Arts Graz, in Austria, that aims at integrating the participants – “students, pupils, elderly people, refugees, migrants and many more” (idem, 708) – in the university community and more broadly in the Austrian society, through “collaborative music making” (idem). Doing so, Schiavio et al. illustrate the concept of “community of practice” enabling identity to be negotiated on a cultural space. The practice (in this case, the music-making

activity) is based on a common domain of interest. This common interest triggers commitment to the development of a collaboration to ensure the commonality's sustainability, where the "negotiation between individual and collective subjectivity" is seen as essential (idem, 712). The article argues that such a "community of practice" has a positive impact on the lives of those involved, notably in this case, on immigrants (hybrid subjects) that would otherwise be marginalised and oppressed. Moreover, the concept fosters collective agency over individual entrepreneurship. But this collective agency ultimately lays on leaders capable of taking the initiative, as in the example brought by Shelemay:

[...] a charismatic musician often leads the way in processes of community formation, whether as a composer or as a performer. Individual agency can play a decisive role in a descent community associated with a religious order, as a focal point for promulgating dissent, or as the center of attention that gives rise to strong feelings of affinity. (2011, 377).

A creative joint activity (musical or not) hence gathers its participant around a positive and effective collaboration between different cultural identities and based on commonality. Consequently, withstanding differences and urging policies to support common interests and music communities' formation would result on the one hand, on an enhanced effectiveness of cultural agents and on the other hand, on an increased social integration, intercultural dialogue and therefore social conflict mitigation.

4.2 Musical collectivities

In a collective setting, individualities are confronted with the collectivity which shapes both identities. According to the online Cambridge Dictionary, a "collective" is "an organization or business that is owned and controlled by the people who work in it." The functioning of a collective is thus based on a shared ownership of the organisation, as well as a shared management and leadership.

A collective formation comes from various contextualising elements (Gebhardt 2015, 3). According to Gebhardt, musicians participating in jazz and improvised music performances in the US during the 1960s formed collectives not only as a means of making a living, but also as a way to pursue emancipation and independence from potent record companies and the entertainment industry. At the time, some musicians "attempted to develop various alternatives to the corporate model of jazz production" (idem). They formed what the essayist and politician Jacques Attali described as "a parallel industry," one that was dynamic and capable of producing and promoting new music (idem, 4). This suggests

the creation of dissent communities, as discussed by Shelemay earlier. A particular “social context” was required “for collective practice” that would be “focusing attention on issues of artistic legitimacy and creative autonomy for jazz musicians” (Gebhardt 2015, 4). This period is an example of a historic separation between music artists and the normalised corporate music industry and its monopolistic major labels. Since then, artists have established their own music labels (or record labels), gaining greater independence and the ability to infuse their music productions and performances with their unique meaning. These contextual elements to the creation of a music label embody issues still valid today in other music genres and in other geographies (for instance in European electronic music or hip-hop scenes). Indeed, in western societies at least, a musician can choose to join an existing label (major or independent) or work independently, which may result in the creation of a musical project (collective or individual) or any other kind of music collectivity. Moreover, similar behaviours have been testified along the interviews conducted throughout this research, where the interviewed musicians group and multiply collective musical projects in order to attempt to make a living.

Coming back to Gebhardt, non-conformism and alternative models of jazz production gave birth to independent artist-run labels⁶² that were able to monitor the “value and purpose of their music,” “producing their own events, controlling publishing, undertaking their own advertising [...] utilizing unconventional venues” (idem, 2). While not detailing all its particularities here, the jazz scene in the US serves as a representative example of music collective formation. Forming a collective and taking part in this “parallel industry” (idem, 4), that could be approximated with entwined musical communities, enables musicians’ empowerment, facilitating their agency and keeping control over their activities (in reference to the Cambridge Dictionary definition aforementioned). The musicologist Andrew Dubber – referring to Mike Heffley and Jacques Attali – exposes:

They are instances, in the literature of collective practice [that are] primarily an oppositional or emancipatory political stance, a collaborative approach to making music or a form of organization characterized by its ‘outsider’ status to the conventional, mainstream music business... (Dubber 2015, 220)

This argument comes back to the emancipatory aspect of the music collective depicted previously but also discloses this frontier between music businesses (inherent to major

⁶² For instance, the bassist Charles Mingus co-founded the label Debut Records with his wife and the drummer Max Roach.

labels) and unconventional alternative musical collectivities that both differ in their organisational structure and in their artistic direction. Furthermore, Dubber elaborates on the concept of “collective practice” (idem). He states that it encompasses not only the organisational aspect I previously mentioned, but also the “activity of people (performers and audiences) working together toward a shared (though, by no means predetermined) mediated performance process and end creative artifact [sic] (whether tangible or experimental)” (idem). Hence, collective practices comprise a generalist reference to joint music activities, focusing on organisational aspects, performance and final creative artifacts.

Another important concern of collectivism in music creation and performance, that justifies the tendency to collectivise, is mentioned by the musicologist Robert Levin, in an interview with the trumpeter Bill Dixon about the objectives of the Jazz Composer Guild – an organisation co-founded by Bill Dixon. Levin explains that the group multiplies the possibilities of accessing “facilities for the proper creation, rehearsal, performance, and dissemination of the music” (Gebhardt 2015, 4). The example of the Jazz Composer Guild is interesting to frame these two terms of music collective formation, or musical collectivities, namely: a musical project and a music collective. The Guild’s formation origins in the organisation of “afternoon concerts” (idem), resulting in a four-day festival in 1964. These events, this gathering of musicians, are the foundations of the Jazz Composer Guild, which could nowadays, by analogy, be qualified as a music collective. The musicians composing this guild have a common interest in being part it, for instance in order to be called to perform for an event curated and promoted by the organisers of the guild/collective. But the musicians also keep their individuality as music composers, performers or members of other bands, which could be identified as their other collective musical projects.

Additionally, the Ontario Arts Council defines music “Ad hoc groups/collective” explaining that they/it

[...] must include at least two or more professional musicians, songwriters or composers and must operate on a not-for-profit basis, e.g. chamber ensemble or band. A collective must be able to deposit a cheque issued in the name of the group, as opposed to the name of an individual artist.

A collective requires a fiscal status to manage invoices and to be operational. Plus, the definition stresses the not-for-profit dimension of music collectives. Yet, there is a certain discordance here with the historical context in the work of Gebhardt mentioned earlier and the financial viability aimed by musicians willing to make a living. A “not-for-profit”

activity can still generate income for the collective and/or its members. The historical narrative expressed by Gebhardt describes a context where financial considerations become a focal point for certain musical collectives, prompting them to establish independent record labels, while social groups engaged in collaborative music-making may not necessarily share the same financial aspirations.

I refer to musical project(s) in this dissertation to qualify an endeavour a musician develops, dedicating a part of their activities to achieve it. It typically involves music creation and/or performance, depending on the project. Indeed, musicians (and it is the case with all the musicians interviewed for this study) can participate in different projects at the same time, individually or collectively, of composition or conceptual/themed music event for instance, in order to comply their personal creative and financial requirements. Musician-composers usually have their personal project, the musical sound they want to develop, their sound identity, their universe, as some musicians like to call it. A musical project is wide-ranging, for example both a music collective and a music label could be qualified as collective musical projects – in an emic perspective.

Furthermore, material and spatial resources are of primal relevance in the decision to put together or start a musical collectivity. The community gravitating around its constitutive members will not help to that extend. A community operates as a social network, mainly articulating the “weak ties” of a musician, in the understanding of the sociologist Mark Granovetter (1973). He sees these ties as “indispensable to individuals’ opportunities and to their integration into communities” (idem, 1378). The community around a music collectivity therefore holds the role of informing the musician of opportunities to perform in an event – filling a line-up or replacing a musician in a band for example. If the musician is proactive, they can tap into their community. Conversely, the formation of a music collective involves “strong ties” (idem), which are more practical, such as sharing the costs of instruments or materials. Concerning the “dissemination” of the music (Gebhardt 2015, 4), both the community and the collective can enlarge the network reach. This is particularly crucial in the current Internet era – and its associated required expertise and techniques – as mastering digital and/or marketing tools to create and communicate contents efficiently appears as a prerequisite for a music label (or collective) to support its artists’ promotion.

To come back to the shared control exerted by the members of a collective (in the Cambridge Dictionary definition), it could be argued that unlike a label, a music collective

does not have a permanent leader, nor does it have a formal and structural hierarchisation of roles. In a discussion about community music research, Schiavio et al. have argued that “non-hierarchical and cooperative approaches to musical development” were valuable (2019, 710). Interestingly, the “non-hierarchic relations between instruments in arrangement” is identified by Alf Arvidsson and Jörgen Adolfsson to be an outcome of the “realization of socialist ideas in music” (2015, 149). Schiavio et al. identify “collaboration,” “non-verbal communication” and “sense of togetherness” to be the three major notions of the “community music project” “Meet4Music” (2019, 707). The study stresses the collaboration strand and the importance of negotiating and making decisions collectively in this type of project, which – although different from it by nature – refers to the non-hierarchical aspect of a music collective (idem, 712). The authors add that:

No individual appears to be regarded as ‘leader’ – despite the role of leadership undertaken by the facilitators. What is described here is a collaborating team – not simply a collection of agents in a fixed hierarchy – where ‘leadership’ involves the ability of agents to take certain initiatives that contribute to the ability of the organisation to function in a positive way. But how then, given the heterogeneity of the groups, do facilitators achieve such collaboration? According to Facilitator 1, “music” itself is what allows this to occur:

“I think this is just possible, because we have a common thread, and that is music. They all came to make music, and that is my [strong point], that is what I am inducing them to.” (2019, 712)

The facilitators, here, are the people in charge of the music sessions, enabling the participants to practice and play music in collaboration. The authors depict a collective agency emerging from the “common thread,” or shared interests and objectives of musical activity and music making. They conclude drawing on several works (DeNora, Freeman, Krueger, Ockelford) stating that: “co-present forms of musical activity can create and strengthen social bonds, fostering forms of mutual understanding even in situations where linguistic communication is difficult or not possible” (idem, 716). Thus, musical collectivities are examples of social situations responsible for processes of learning of other cultural identities (“mutual understanding”) which is essential to the proper functioning of a culturally diverse society. This joins the idea developed by Zapata-Barrero of interculturalism as an “appropriate tool to promote creativity in society” consolidating “inter-group relations [...] such as trust, mutual-knowledge and prejudice reduction” (Zapata-Barrero 2017, 11). Indeed, the authors Schiavio et al. explain that:

This capacity [strengthening social bonds] is especially promising in situations where immigrants and refugees arrive in new cultural environments where they may not

understand the language or social customs: shared musical activity can help develop basic forms of trust and understanding between newcomers and established residents. (2019, 716)

Music activity is therefore a vector of integration. In the following section, I will examine, through the lens of my case studies, the potential for music activity to integrate, foster interactions, and facilitate collaborative sense-making.

Schiavio et al. pinpoint in their article two relevant phenomena in the interplay among the collective's members: "mutual interactions" and "sense-making" (2019, 709). On the one hand, interactions occur in music making and performing through non-verbal communication, identified as "movements, gestures and coordinated behaviours" (idem). It is further explained in the article that "collective music-making requires in-the-moment interactivity" (idem, 713), depicted as "a complex network of reciprocal and non-linear communicative processes that engage a range of bodily, affective, sonic, aesthetic and socio-cultural dimensions that are negotiated as the music unfolds" (idem, drawing on Laroche and Kaddouch, Loaiza, Schiavio). This reciprocity is based on a mutual understanding of a codified communication system which, according to the authors, "become stable over time" (idem, 714). They precise that "such shared understandings and recurrent patterns of sound and movement emerge from the real-time activity of the ensemble itself – and not from some predefined schema" (idem), which demonstrates the singularity of each collective musical practice. The authors denote the socio-cultural dimension to have an impact on collective music-making, what I try to verify in the ethnography.

On the other hand, meaning is sought through this enriched communication system. Musicians need to collaborate and eventually to "co-adapt" in this search for "sense-making" (idem). This concept of co-adaptation could be reconciled with practical application of the aforementioned cultural humility – the idea of learning from the other – or with intersubjectivity – generating understanding through communication. Toby Wren confirms that "[intercultural] collaboration with musicians from any tradition, rather than requiring synthesis, requires submission, humility and the surrender of authority" (2015, 22). In a collective setting, the meaning created is called "participatory sense-making" (idem) and is a key component of collective music-making. Similarly, Wren explains:

Intercultural music can be seen as a situation in which musicians must react to the familiar and the unfamiliar, and in which their musical actions must similarly proceed from acquired cultural knowledge and assumed or speculative knowledge about the intercultural context. (idem, 23)

This underscores the fact that even in an informed intercultural context in which participants have actively sought to acquire cultural knowledge, they may still not disentangle themselves from the broader intercultural context and the inherent presumptions or speculative knowledge it entails. Wren further elaborates that “the success of intercultural work depends heavily on the intercultural knowledge and experience of the collaborators” (2015, 77), as he envisions this success in terms of rearticulation and construction of individual identities through a dynamic relation within the hybrid third space. The works of Wren and Perks centre around the idea that improvisation plays a pivotal role in the effectiveness of intercultural practices and the process of negotiating identities. Wren rationalises: “Improvisatory actions can only occur between actors (performers or speakers) with enough common cultural ground and understanding of interactional dynamics to make sense of the divergent signals and meanings of the intercultural work” (2015, 77). Thus, the establishment of a “common cultural ground” becomes essential for facilitating improvisation and, in my view, more broadly, for fostering a shared comprehension of the participants’ musical language. It is upon this foundation that collaborative creative processes can take place.

Regarding Perks’ interpretation of Bhabha, the collaborative process occurring in an intercultural musical collectivity does not lead to a sudden, immediate mutual understanding and effective interactional system: “in forging a creative ‘third space’, an intercultural-improvisatory ensemble will inevitably negotiate various ‘states’ of interaction at different junctures throughout the collaborative process, and in turn yield different forms of music-cultural hybridity.” Perks interprets these “states of interaction,” identifying six “hybridity strains” according to which an intercultural-improvisatory ensemble can be defined. Each strain bears its own characteristics and meaning concerning the interplay of individual identities within the collective hybrid third space. His continuum is displayed as follow:

Figure: Hybridity strains taxonomic continuum (Perks 2021)

Exclusion (non-hybrid) ↔ Partial Exclusion ↔ Homogenisation ↔ Coexistence ↔ Assimilation ↔ Synthesis

In his perspective, music-cultures intersect during the composition process. It appears that Perks comprises the arrangement in the composition process. He understands “synthesis” as:

[...] the hybridity strain whereby the three music-cultures combine through *mutual exchange*, by borrowing and *adapting* various musical properties and performative conventions from each other, such that the underlying aesthetic evolves to yield a highly distinctive, collective, musical voice. (idem, his emphasis)

He interprets “assimilation” as:

[...] the hybridity strain in which all three music-cultures discernibly combine, and some multi-directional ‘enrichment’ does occur, but the underlying structure of the piece, format of delivery or level of exposition results in one (or two) music-culture(s) appearing dominant. (idem)

Perks defines “coexistence” as “the hybridity strain in which the three music-cultures capably function side-by-side, whilst simultaneously remaining distinctly identifiable, each resembling and/or preserving their ‘native’ forms respectively” (idem). Perks delimits “homogenisation” in: “performance pieces which convey such diluted and/or impoverished forms therefore will be classified under the hybridity strain ‘homogenization’” (idem). Lastly, Perks differentiates “exclusion,” “where all musicians adhere to the performative conventions of just one music-culture,” from “partial exclusion,” “where two music cultures have combined, but the third is not present” (idem). These strains can help determining the extent of hybridity of an intercultural-improvisatory ensemble’s compositions. Perks’ classification process begins with the delineation of “three distinct improvisation-based musics” (idem): Persian classical, Arabic traditional, and Western contemporary. Only from this first delineation can Perks determine the hybridity strain of each musical composition. From my perspective as a cultural scientist, the ethnomusicologist’s analysis of a musical composition is inaccessible, resulting in the working delimitation of the music-culture falling outside the scope of this dissertation. Moreover, the categorisation of music as rooted solely in specific cultures is outdated, as claimed by Mark Slobin for instance, especially for KF or the OT, that propose music repertoires closer to hybrid music than culturally bonded popular music. I would therefore prefer to express the music hybridity in terms of influences than cultures. As a matter of fact, Slobin quotes the journalist John O’Connell when he explains that “music today grows out of multiple evolving forms, rather than being ‘the offspring of genetically dissimilar parents or stock’” (Slobin 2007, 11). Elaborating on Stokes, he argues that hybridity is also insufficient in explaining music, as it assumes “stability and generality that the world of music no longer offers” (idem):

On the one hand, mixtures of ‘true’ natural source musics become themselves ‘the new authenticity,’ to quote Simon Frith. On the other hand, ethnomusicologists tend to simply assert that hybridity is the general state of music everywhere: ‘music is, of its very nature, hybrid.’ (qtd. in Slobin 2007, 11)

Here, Slobin aligns himself with the perspective of the musicologist Martin Stokes, asserting the hybrid nature of all things – a viewpoint defended by Sophie A. Lewis, as seen previously. The argument is that most of the popular music from distinct areas of origin draw their influences in other music sources, which makes this type of historical research irrelevant, if not, unattainable for this dissertation. Here, it is also relevant to stress that some traditional music referred to by the musicians during interviews, like afrobeat,⁶³ desert blues (or Tuareg blues),⁶⁴ Hindi songs, Turkish music etc., while containing elements of musical traditions, is considered as popular music in ethnomusicology rather than traditional music.

KF is represented by no less than four main groups of music influences⁶⁵ (in addition to which, individual cultural background and personal experiences and preferences must be considered) and no less than twelve main groups of music influences⁶⁶ for the OT (to which must be added again cultural background and personal experiences and preferences). Thus, I refrain from analysing their music compositions delving into their cultural backgrounds individually. I can only analyse the elaboration of a common ground, the cultural knowledge acquisition and their modes of interaction, both within and beyond the act of creating and performing music, the manner in which they engage collectively, their practices of composition, arrangement and improvisation (during the processes of creation⁶⁷) and will not classify their composed music from Perks' perspective.

Finally, I will define the terms for characterising my case studies, KF and the OT. Andrew Dubber (2015) describes the Kitchen Orchestra as a music collective. I would not qualify the OT as such. Indeed, the foundational events that constituted the OT do not allow to state that the project is a collective. The project has been put together by various actors, including Miguel Abreu,⁶⁸ and Mario Tronco, previous conductor of the OT⁶⁹ in a top-down

⁶³ The afrobeat is a musical genre emerged in Nigeria, blending African traditions with jazz and rock influences.

⁶⁴ Tuareg blues is a musical subgenre created and mostly played by musicians from the Tuareg nomads across various countries in the north of Africa.

⁶⁵ I would consider the members of KF as being influenced by Western jazz, Brazilian *bloco* music (mainly Maracatu), Turkey traditional and Malian blues. These groups of influences are themselves influenced by other types of music, music genres and music traditions more or less deeply embedded in localised cultures.

⁶⁶ I would examine the music influences of the members of the OT to be affected by their national and cultural identities (Brazilian, Portuguese, Italian, Cape Verdean, Columbian, Turkish and so on).

⁶⁷ Indeed, during their performances, both collective have a part dedicated to improvisation that varies in proportion. But the music performance and improvisation studies would require a theoretical baggage too weighty for my analysis.

⁶⁸ Director of the Academia de Produtores Culturais and founder and director of the Festival TODOS – Encaminha das Culturas (“Everybody-Walk of Cultures”), later abbreviated “TODOS.”

⁶⁹ The genesis and foundation of the OT is more detailed in section 5.1.

logic; and in this sense, does not result in a spontaneous and organic association of musicians once confronted to one another in a community context. Certainly, what is particularly indicative of the formation of a music collective is that it is not “predetermined in the outset,” it is spontaneous, in the first place financially disinterested, it is based on the making of an “atmosphere,” as explained by the composer and multi-instrumentalist Muhal Richard Abrams. An atmosphere “in which we [the musicians] can survive, in spite of this environment – simply through that which we have in common. We have something in common! For example, we are in agreement that we should further develop our music” (Gebhardt 2015, 3). This is what we can observe in the creation of KF⁷⁰ and less in the creation of the OT. However, my field observations led me to the conclusion that both projects’ form and contents are “continuously made, and remade, as musicians discover how their artistic ideas and organizing capabilities are related to one another” (idem, 3), which is, for Gebhardt, characteristic of musical collectivities.

The OT’s *maestro* (or conductor) Carlos Garcia formulates it as a collective⁷¹ (Appendix N). He says he is “responsible” (idem) for this collective and I see him, as observed during the rehearsals, as a director (he composes the music alone but in collaboration with the other musicians), a leader (he guides the rehearsals and conducts the performances) but above all as a facilitator, because his role is fundamental for the efficiency of the orchestra’s musical activities, like rehearsals and concerts. The defining term “intercultural collective” also qualifies the OT in the bibliographic description of the OT in the TODOS festival’s website.⁷² On the other hand, in her dissertation, Raquel Mendes Pereira qualifies the OT as a musical project, just as Miguel Abreu that manages the OT. In our written interview, Miguel Abreu referred several times to the OT as a “project.” But from his perspective, this denomination is also to encompass the greater ambition that the orchestra has, referring to the mission and values⁷³ of the TODOS festival. Nonetheless, as seen in my interview with Dr. Manuela Júdice⁷⁴ (Appendix K) and in Mendes Pereira’s dissertation, the OT has originally been set up by the CML and the APC as a municipal project, politically significant

⁷⁰ Section 5.1. depicts the foundational acts of KF.

⁷¹ Carlos Garcia (musician and conductor), interviewed by the author, May 9-10th, 2023.

⁷² The “TODOS - Caminhada de Culturas” festival is the parent entity of the OT. An introductory part is dedicated to it in section II3.1.

⁷³ Refer to section II3.2.

⁷⁴ Júdice, interview.

to the CML for its intercultural perspective,⁷⁵ before being carried on with more independency as what could be qualified as a music band.

For KF, the foundational events are highly significant in revealing its inherent nature as a music collective, evident from its inception and throughout its development. Every interviewed member referred to KF as such.

Chapter 5. Presentation and analysis of Krusty Fondant

5.1 History: genesis and foundations

Krusty Fondant was a collective of musicians founded in 2020, during the late stages of the COVID-19 lockdowns and dissolved during spring-summer 2023. The foundational members met while playing music at the jam sessions of Anjos 70 and of Arroz Estúdios, two important venues in Lisbon's cultural-artistic landscape in recent years. They decided, on the impulse of Olivier de Jong, bassist, to rent a country house in Outeiro Da Moura (Beira Litoral); there, they spent four months playing music, practicing and rehearsing to finally record two musical compositions: "Papa n'aime pas" and "Sahara Skit" (Krusty Fondant 2022a). They decided during the lockdowns of the COVID-19 pandemic, to "experience life together and seclude [themselves] far from their usual environment" (idem), Community life and jam sessions are fundamental phases of their organisation into a collective and at the basis of their joint creations. The community referred to here is constituted by the individuals – not only the musicians – present in the country house residence, the satellite musicians in a Lisbon context of jam sessions, the guests, the participants, the friends (I will call them music creatives), involved directly or indirectly to the jamming and composing activities. This community is area-related but is constituted by individuals that mostly do not have any identitarian element bonding them to the territory, apart from a few Portuguese members (which are not necessarily from Beira Litoral).

All those [community life] perspectives brought a very natural and organic way of living and creating. The living room was quickly transformed into a live studio and as the lockdown continued, it opened up the opportunity to invite more musicians we met along the way to share food, culture, and visions of life. (idem)

These events resulted in the formation of a culturally diverse community.

Similarly, and prior to renting a house in the countryside, Alexandre Weisz, pianist and drummer, encountered Lucas Prêleur, guitarist, Steeven de Castro, singer and percussionist,

⁷⁵ Chapter 6 is dedicated, *inter alia*, to a comprehensive exploration of the OT's formation.

and Olivier de Jong. Alexandre, Lucas, and Steeven lived together, playing and producing music together. Olivier often visited them. Alexandre adds: “Everything was closed, so the only thing we could do was producing music. We produced an acid-jazz, breakbeat, hip-hop EP that we are still working on today” (idem). These times correspond to the settling of some of the members of the collective in Lisbon. Once again, the pandemic can be observed as favourable to the music practise and production.

The guitarist Kris Heres, friend of Olivier from Amsterdam, joined Olivier to participate in this creative music environment. He was also part of the group that went to the country house. Alexandre explains that it was a “turning point”⁷⁶ (Appendix A) in his journey as a musician: “We played music all day, partying together, living together. I found [in this dynamic] what I was looking for” (idem). Alexandre emphasises the personal dimension of their experience in the country house and states that for him, “[f]rom the starting point of this collective, it was only true relations. [...] At some point, for me, the journey became very interesting in the sense that I knew that the results would be random” (idem). Randomness stresses that the collective’s outcome is non-predetermined from the outset, which locates its structural and creative framework as not influenced by hegemonic groups and social constructs (DeNora 2008, 150, drawing on Adorno), settling an informed space of intercultural creation.

During their stay in Outeiro Da Moura, “the sprout flourished, and with the shared love for afrobeat and traditional Sahel music, this flower bloomed into two tracks named ‘Papa n’Aime Pas’ and ‘Sahara Skit’” (Krusty Fondant, 2022a). This two-tracks EP was released on the Dutch music label INI Movement, with which Olivier de Jong releases most of his projects.⁷⁷ The EP constitutes the first release of the collective, which have emerged from the “shared love” to music influences, which common interest brings an intercultural dimension, and in their musical sonorities. This shared love for a specific type of music was what united the members of KF. It was during these stays, in Outeiro Da Moura for instance, that the collective started taking shape. João – saxophonist, he made friends with what was already a group of friends during jam sessions at Anjos 70 – refers to these stays as

⁷⁶ Weisz, interview.

⁷⁷ The tracks have been posted on SoundCloud in 2022 as seen at these links:

https://soundcloud.com/inimovement/krusty-fondant-sahara-skit?si=c968c9a9d7744945acc0a0bfc649c2a6&utm_source=clipboard&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=social_sharing and <https://soundcloud.com/inimovement/krusty-fondant-papa-n-aime-pas>.

“escapes”⁷⁸ (Appendix B). He says that in his perspective, KF was formed “in those settings, because they were already starting to compose originals, [...] to craft their music” (idem). When they came back to Lisbon, they continued meeting and playing with other musicians at the weekly jam sessions. They finally announced spontaneously the creation of a music collective on Instagram (Krusty Fondant 2021). Spontaneity is, as discussed in part one, favourable to intercultural dialogue; and as highlighted by Muhal Richard Abrams, since the formation of a music collective is not “predetermined,” spontaneity is inherent to its formation (Gebhardt 2015, 3).

For João, the foundational act of the collective was the creation of an Instagram page called “Krusty Fondant” and the publication of a post identifying on the photograph, all its members, without having asked them to be part of a project:

I can say that it came out of jams; it came out of these spontaneous moments, playing a lot. [...] Anjos 70 and Arroz Estúdios were the two main spots, [...] the main hubs we were always at. [...] out of a sudden, I checked my Instagram I reacted as such: ‘Well apparently I’m part of the collective.’ They did the page; they identified a bunch of people on a photo [...]. They didn’t ask me if I wanted to; it’s just like, ‘You’re there. You’re part of it.’ It was a lot of people, some of which are not playing with KF anymore [...].⁷⁹ (Appendix B)

Gebhardt’s observation on the atmosphere, suggesting that a music collective is continuously formed and reformed confronting artistic ideas, is a concept that also held true for KF. At the formation stage, the members were still in a process of discovery of the others’ interests, organisational and technical capabilities. Their mutual knowledge and prejudice reduction (Zapata-Barrero 2013, 11) extended as they explored and created together, through dialogue and practice. Duvale, percussionist, accentuates the spontaneous nature of the formation of the collective, its catalyst being their shared passion for music:

There is passion between us and the music; it brought us together, even before we knew each other. It was the music, because when we saw each other playing, I automatically wanted to play with them, and they wanted to play with me. [...] So, it was music that decided for us to join. It wasn’t us deciding to be together.⁸⁰ (Appendix C)

Duvale explains that this passion was observable in the collective members’ common tastes and interests, researching in the same domain that he pinpoints at the intersection between “world music” and music fusion.⁸¹ “They are people in the middle of the fusion,

⁷⁸ João Simões Arez (musician of KF), interviewed by the author, February 16th, 2023.

⁷⁹ Arez, interview.

⁸⁰ Duvale (musician of KF), interviewed by the author, March 15th, 2023

⁸¹ World music is an umbrella term, very controversial in academia and music fusion refers to the blend of several music styles or genres. In those words, Duvale wants to express the fact that their music interests and

without barriers, without borders. When they meet, there is marriage” (idem). KF’s collective agency was based on the “common thread” of music (Schiavio et al.). This commonality has been expressed – and celebrated – by Muhal Richard Abrams as a crucial initial step for music collectives to form and “survive” (qtd. in Gebhardt 2015, 3).

Based on these explanations and drawing on Shemelay, KF’s community – referring to its extended social network – is considered as a community by “affinity” (2011, 373). In fact, while the members of the collective shared similar preferences in music influences, aesthetics, and desired social interaction with other individuals who had similar interests (idem), the members of the community also shared similar preferences (“world” music, jazz and improvised music) and, to a certain extent, bonding similarities. They patronised the same venues and were in a similar socio-economic and professional situation, incomer position for some. However, acknowledging the very broadness of the umbrella term “world” music, it has to be refined that these affinities were taking shape in Lisbon, where the community is delineated in an area and in its context. The collective did not form in reaction to existing structures or as an act of resistance, as in dissent communities (idem, 370). To clarify, as stated during the different interviews I conducted with the members, KF did not explicitly stand for any ideology, they did not formulate any socio-cultural cause, mission or manifesto of any kind. Considering this observation and drawing on Shelemay, it can be stated that KF benefits from its community by affinity to strengthen its cultural knowledge acquisition of music tradition and popular music from different areas of origin.

The resulting organisation into a music collective remained mostly in these events, as well as in the common passions, objectives, and values – that will be further developed in the next section. The existence of the collective relied on the frequent organisation and production of events in different venues of Lisbon under the name of KF (like “Krusty Calls London”)⁸² but also under sub-bands names (Goes Mali or Dolu⁸³ for instance). KF’s members participated in jams (at Anjos 70 and Arroz Estúdios)⁸⁴ and organised their own

activities are cross-borders (and non-Western, which is the idea connoted by the term world music), non-normative, disruptive.

⁸² Krusty Calls London is the festival organised by KF at Fábrica Braço de Prata (Lisbon) in September 2022.

⁸³ Dolu and Goes Mali are bands at the same time constitutive of the collective KF and independent bands.

⁸⁴ I shot this video, “Jam at Arroz Estúdios (January 2023)” (2023c): <https://youtu.be/JfyOUugloow>. That day, the members from KF Olivier de Jong and Alexandre Weisz opened the jam session.

jams (“Krusty Jam”),⁸⁵ produced their music as a collective (“Papa n’aime pas” and “Sahara Skit”), as sub-bands and as individual musicians, and participated in other activities such as the organisation of their music studio in Penha da França (Lisbon). These different activities are seen more in detail in the following sections.

To avoid misunderstandings (in the use of names), I would like to briefly introduce the major events and the relevant creative spaces of KF. When I refer to the “festival” of KF, I am referencing an event that took place at the Fábrica Braço de Prata⁸⁶ from September 16th to September 18th, 2022, called “Krusty Calls London,” bringing together sixteen bands (external to the collective), DJs, food, workshops, live graffiti, art markets, flash tattoos, a vinyl market, an exhibition, and so on. This is the event through which I was first introduced to the existence of the collective KF.

The “tour” of KF refers to the collective’s first tour in the Netherlands, taking place during the summer of 2022 and featuring some of the collective’s members (Sem, Kris, Olivier, Alex, Lucas, Steeven, Duvale, Kike) and musicians external to it (Riwan, Isaac, Talula, James). They call it a “festival tour,” as they were booked in multiple venues to play in and outside of Amsterdam.⁸⁷ The “jam sessions” (sometimes called “Krusty Jam”) refer to the participation of members of the collective, as simple participants or as jam forerunners,⁸⁸ to jam sessions originally at Anjos 70,⁸⁹ Arroz Estúdios (Xabregas) and lastly at Fábrica Braço de Prata (Marvila).

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that a good part of the members lives in the same building, in Penha da França. The place is known among the members as “Castelo” or “Castle” and welcomed the weekly meetings of the collective, as well as a recording studio. During the autumn of 2022, the inhabitants of Castelo and the other members of the collective converted the basement of their flat into a recording studio, hosting music production, rehearsals, jams, or video shootings. The conversion of the basement required

⁸⁵ This link includes video excerpts from one of the jams they used to organise, “Krusty Jam at Fabrica Braço de Prata (March 2023)” (2023d): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-QTTaFzzKq8>.

⁸⁶ Cultural centre located in Marvila, in an ancient munitions factory, hosting music performances, conferences, workshops, art exhibitions etc.

⁸⁷ A video of the group performing “Papa N Aime Pas” during the tour is available on the collective’s Instagram page: <https://www.instagram.com/p/ChxCjluPO62/> (2022e).

⁸⁸ There is often a band or an ensemble of musicians opening a jam (a ‘forerunner’), playing a few songs before letting other musicians joining the jam. Sometimes some members of the collective are in charge of the opening, in Arroz Estúdios for instance, as seen on this video from my field work taken in January 2023 (c): <https://youtu.be/JfyOUugloow>.

⁸⁹ The space, originally in the district of Anjos, moved to Marvila in 2022 and was named as “Núcleo A70.” Today, Núcleo A70 is definitively closed.

work, reorganisation and decoration undertaken by the collective's members. In addition, most of the members had furnished the place with lamps, chairs, books, decorations, tripods, instruments, percussions, drums, amplifiers, microphones, monitoring speakers, mixing table, synthesisers and other consoles. João emphasises the importance of Castelo for musicians newly arrived in Lisbon as a “a hub of artists,” contributing to their integration, and the role it played in the process of creation for musicians: “For me, it was really nice when I started to go there because it was maybe the only place I could go, besides the venue or Anjos 70, to be able to play with musicians I like”⁹⁰ (Appendix B).

During the collective's first year, no officialisation, structure, formal processes, or assignment of roles and duties were specified. “We had – and I found it very beautiful – a self-organisation at the beginning. We had no rules, and it was working very well thanks to the people's moral standards,” explains Alexandre. Olivier was initiating most of the events. As mentioned by Maria Roldão – one of the managers of the collective – after a year, new members brought new dynamics and attempted to structure the collective (Appendix D). It started with the setting up of weekly meetings, which initiated the reflection around what was the collective and the elaboration of clear “spheres of action,” identifying the members and their roles⁹¹ (idem). Some members considered this structural shift, based on a formal definition of a collective “who” and “what,” the collective becoming a joint action that had to be united and uniform, to have led to a general confusion, responsible for a withdrawal of some of the most active members (idem). Indeed, Maria stresses that the bands under the collective umbrella (Goes Mali, Dolu) have their “own issues,” and therefore have to be structured, as they need to keep their integrity and aesthetic consistency (idem).

While I was doing field observations and attending meetings, the collective was going through internal conflicts, causing a slowdown of their collective activities and ending with the dissolution of the collective. Olivier updated me, in September 2023, explaining that the collective had officially ended. Carola Lentz' suggestion to analyse “how differences are being made” and boundaries (social and/or cultural) heightened, observing “processes of emergence, stabilisation, and closure, as well as destabilisation and dissolution” (2017, 199) is relevant to analyse KF's case. In fact, its process of differentiation had led to its destabilisation and eventual dissolution. However, Goes Mali and Dolu (two bands formerly

⁹⁰ Arez, interview.

⁹¹ Maria Roldão (manager of KF), interviewed by the author, April 12th, 2023.

part of the collective) are still in formation.

5.2 Mission and values

While the mission of the collective was formally formulated after a year of existence, the members shared values and objectives. These values and objectives were articulated through interaction, socialisation during jam sessions, and the exchange of experiences, particularly during their residency in Coimbra and at Outeiro da Moura. For Alexandre, the original objective was to create “good music,” “not only playing live but also producing the best music,”⁹² while “naturally” setting up (Appendix A) and maintaining moral standards (that can be considered shared values for each member of the collective) and the freedom and agency of each individual, which means considering that each member had their own personal life, career and musical project(s). This testimony can again be reconciled to Abrams’ statement (the common thread of music), as it illustrates the collective disposition for progressing collectively based on music, the keystone of their commonality. On the music creation side, the objective was also to research jointly and give birth to a sound that would be unique, “create a world together” (idem), an idea shared by Duvale and essential for Rancière’s “community of sense” (2009). In the perspective of Schiavio et al. (2019), “participatory sense-making” is an essential component of collective music-making. The collective’s openness, curiosity, and eagerness to explore unknown musical styles contributed to autonomous cultural knowledge acquisition, which contributed in turn to the collective’s interculturality.

With “moral standards,” Alexandre refers to daily trivial actions influenced by shared societal values and sensibilities. The concept of “living together” varies for each individual as it depends on cultural, social, and educational frameworks and is a pivotal aspect for understanding the intricate dynamics of the collective. The mutual knowledge and the “reciprocity” of a constructivist learning process did apply in the early stages of the KF, but the members progressively decreased their commitment to shared meaning, as highlighted by Maria. Indeed, the members of the formation were living together, sharing their living spaces, their meals, and household chores; they were always together, sometimes living in the same rooms, “piled on top of each other”⁹³ (Appendix A). This had an impact on the process of creation. For a majority of KF’s members, the act of nurturing feelings of

⁹² Weisz, interview.

⁹³ Weisz, interview.

affection, fostering amicable relationships, collectively partaking in recreational activities, engaging in joint projects that resonate with their personal interests and elicit feelings of accomplishment and self-assurance held significance. This collective experience, in the context of their initial encounter, occurred amidst tumultuous periods in their lives, which coincided with the broader challenges posed by the global health crisis.

Another important aspect that could be identified as a shared objective was the will to progress, to “learn together,” especially when confronted with the others, in order to “build this common foundation”⁹⁴ (Appendix A), which relies on intersubjectivity. Schiavio et al. relate the “sense of togetherness” with “organic” communication and common understanding, “through the dynamic processes of interaction associated with the movements, gestures, sounds and patterns that arise in the ensemble” (2019, 714) which reinforces the argument of spontaneity and naturalness, nonetheless strongly framed by a shared communicational system. This comes with learning each other’s musical language to create and play better, more coherent music, and is a key aspect of collective music creation. Schiavio et al. emphasise that communicative processes in joint musical practices are more than individual reactions “to a given stimulus produced by the others” in the sense that they entail “in-the-moment interactivity” (idem, 713). Hence, and as mentioned earlier, “non-verbal communication” depending upon the intricate system of mutual and “non-linear communicative processes” involving the use of various “bodily, affective, sonic, aesthetic and socio-cultural dimensions” (idem) as the music develops. In this sense, each musician interviewed attests their non-verbal complicity acquired playing together with the other members of the collective. For instance, Alexandre shares his “instant connexion” with Olivier when they play together. He explains that, when a band plays, understanding the “musical language” of a band partner enables to “react in a more appropriate way [to] bring [the instant of creation] higher, a bit further”⁹⁵ (Appendix A), which recalls the argument made by Ellison on the “true” jazz moment, describing this moment as essential in the shaping of individual and collective identities. Alexandre stresses that opening mutual “musical consciousness” (idem) must be done to an extent that band partners can communicate in a non-verbal manner. According to him, this mutual knowledge requires a lot of work and a lot of collective practice. Alexandre highlights that he and Olivier

⁹⁴ Weisz, interview.

⁹⁵ Weisz, interview.

communicate efficiently through non-verbal means when playing music together.

A change occurred along the way. For Maria, the structure and the formalisation took “the love, the fun, and the sharing away from [the collective]”⁹⁶ (Appendix D). She explains that unsolved internal conflicts, dating back to the summer of 2022, based on a discrepancy of moral values, a lack of communication (non-musical related) between the members, especially when dealing with conflict, and financial concerns, were the first events that, untreated, were impacting the core objective of the collective. Originally, this objective was to share their passion and reach an agreement on the music they would like to play together. There is a relevant distinction between two interrelated types of interaction amongst the collective. The first type encompasses interactions at a relational level, the discussions and the dialogue between the members, while the second type refers to the interactions during the process of creation. Both were taking place in this collective that lived and created together, which turns the disentanglement of their creative and social interplays complex. These two types are interrelated in the sense that they shaped the collective dynamics and identity which in return impacted the collective musical achievement.

5.3 The members and their roles

The membership to the collective had never been explicitly formulated nor implicitly articulated. The collective was constituted of musicians, friends, sharing similar musical tastes and interests, which are perhaps the only preconditions to being part of it. Moreover, the values of freedom and openness shared by its members were more inclusive than exclusive. Therefore, no official membership to the collective had been declared, which turned the belonging delimitation complicated. Some members were more involved in the early stages, when the gatherings were halfway between social and musical purposes. Progressively, by framing the collective and organising weekly meetings, the people that would attend these meetings would be more prone to be considered active members and therefore to have some legitimacy and influence in the decision-making process of the organisation of, for instance, a music event. Again, no formal role was assigned to the members, and this fluidity led to a spontaneous distribution of the tasks on the spot.

Alexandre identified the members of the collective to be Olivier de Jong (bassist,

⁹⁶ Roldão, interview.

producer), Lucas Prêleur (guitarist, bassist, *ud*⁹⁷ player, *guembri*⁹⁸ player, producer), Alexandre Weisz (keyboard player, drummer, producer), Steeven de Castro (vocalist, percussionist), Kris Heres (guitarist, vocalist, DJ), Duvalé (percussionist), Sem van der Peet (drummer), Kike Heredero (trumpeter), Samy Alami (guitarist), Raquel (vocalist, guitarist), Sjoerd Taekema (percussionist, drummer, producer), Gonçalo Soares (saxophonist), Valerie Lamers (tour manager and event producer), Gulami Yesidal (vocalist, *saz*⁹⁹ player, percussionist), Simone Nola (percussionist), Maria Roldão (manager, producer), Talula Rose (saxophonist), Eva Fernandez Moro (flautist, vocalist), João Simões Arez (saxophonist) and Myriem (manager, DJ). I could not meet Sem van der Peet, Kike Heredero, Samy Alami, Sjoerd Takema, Valerie Lamers, Talula Rose, or Eva Fernandez Moro, either because they were not in Lisbon or because they were less involved during my observation period.

The table below presents the information gathered on the members of KF. The table is focused on their implication in the collective, and as such, only the collective musical projects considered parts of KF are depicted, like Dolu or Goes Mali. Projects such as “Krusty Calls” and “Krusty Jam” relate to event production. The big band – meaning the band playing with almost all the musicians – also bore the name “Krusty Fondant,” which was a topic for discussion in several meetings, as it was causing confusion in the audience’s understanding. Thus, it was renamed “Orchestra,” “Krusty Fondant Orchestra.”

Table 1: Members of Krusty Fondant and their roles in the collective¹⁰⁰

Name	Nationality	Location	Function or instrumentalist position	Collective musical projects (inside KF)	Role
Alexandre Weisz	France	Lisbon	Keys, drums, production, logistic	Dolu, Orchestra	Musician, producer, mediator (translator Portuguese, French, English)
Olivier de Jong	Netherlands	Lisbon	Bass, production, logistic	Orquestra, Goes Mali, Krusty Jam	Musician, event organiser, member of the Promotion Team (communication on

⁹⁷ Or oud. Plucked string instrument, ancestor of the lute.

⁹⁸ Three strings chordophone.

⁹⁹ Long-necked lute.

¹⁰⁰ Source: photo of a shared Excel workbook informing “first name, last name, phone number, birthday, location, specialities, projects/bands, genre/influence,” Appendix E.

					social media), meeting responsible.
Lucas Prêleur	France	France	Guitar, bass, <i>ud</i> , <i>guembri</i> , ect. production	Dolu, Orchestra	Musician, producer
Kris Heres	Netherlands	Lisbon	Guitar, vocals, DJ	Goes Mali, Orchestra	Musician
Maria Roldão	Portugal	Lisbon	Management, hospitality, logistic	Krusty Calls	Management, receive guests (artists and audience), member of the Promotion Team.
Myriem	France	Lisbon	Management, DJ	Krusty Calls	Management, member of the Promotion Team
Gülami Yeşildal	Turkey	Lisbon	Vocals, <i>saz</i> , percussions	Dolu	Musician
Gonçalo Soares	Portugal	Lisbon	Saxophone	Krusty Jam	Musician
João Simões Arez	Portugal	Lisbon	Saxophone, production	Orchestra, Krusty Jam	Musician
Raquel	Portugal	Lisbon	Vocals, guitar	Krusty Jam	Musician
Duvalé	Brazil	Lisbon	Percussions	Goes Mali, Orchestra	Musician
Sem van der Peet	Netherlands	Amsterdam	Drums	Goes Mali, Orchestra	Musician
Steeven de Castro	France	France	Vocals, percussions, DJ	Orchestra	Musician
Dinesh		Lisbon	Finances, catering/cooking		Logistic support
Sibel	Turkey	Lisbon	Vocals	Dolu	Musician
Simone Nola	Italy	Lisbon	Percussions	Goes Mali	Musician

The green colour in the cells means that I conducted an interview with the person. The transcripts of the interviews are available in the Appendices. My selection criteria for the interviewees came from the motivation of the member to be interviewed. Secondly, this decision was based on logistical and observational considerations. I conducted interviews with members whom I perceived as more active during my field observation period, meaning those who were actively participating in meetings and contributing to the organisation of music events. Additionally, I selected individuals I had personally met and who would be present in Lisbon during the duration of my fieldwork, facilitating interactions.

In the Appendices, a brief biography of each interviewed member is provided before their respective interview transcript, introducing their migratory route, their relation towards

mobility and their “musical trajectory.”¹⁰¹ This enabled me to consider the very outlines of their music formation, influences and projects to be more concise. Nonetheless, I provide biographical details of the members in the subsequent paragraphs for analytical purposes.

Alexandre Weisz’ roles in the collective were those of musician, producer, and mediator, as he was consulted for his abilities in Portuguese, French, and English to facilitate dialogue when linguistic misunderstandings occurred between the members. Alexandre explained during our interview that “for a very long time I used to be the bridge between everyone translating from Portuguese to English, from Portuguese to French from French to Portuguese, from French to English for some French people who were not speaking good English”¹⁰² (Appendix A). The use of the language is very significant to understand the intercultural dimension of the collective. English was the common language between all of them, apart from the communication with Duvale who only speaks Portuguese. Then, in smaller groups, other languages emerged like Portuguese, Dutch, French or Spanish. Language was a communication barrier for the first type of interaction defined earlier, but, according to the musicians, had a very insignificant impact on the processes of creation and on music practices as the members could understand each other through other mediums, such as body language (the “movements, gestures,” pinpointed by Schiavio et al. 2019, 709), melodies and rhythms imitations and sonic or aesthetic referential points in “sounds and patterns” (idem, 714).

Olivier de Jong took part in the music production and performance inside Orchestra and Goes Mali and often initiated the organisation of jam sessions in different venues in Lisbon. He was a major impulse for the collective, for the organisation of the tour, of the festival, or for smaller events and performances. He is the first contact I had in the collective; he let me participate in the meetings that he was presiding, by preparing the agenda. He brought me into the team and suggested that I join the “promotion team” alongside Maria, Myriam, and himself. This presented a valuable opportunity for me to engage in participant observation in my capacity as a member of the promotion team.¹⁰³ Our primary focus was to create promotional material, primarily for social media channels.

Kris Heres was a very involved and central member. His knowledge acquired during the

¹⁰¹ This expression is borrowed from the dissertation’s field work of Raquel Mendes Pereira (2012).

¹⁰² Weisz, interview.

¹⁰³ This link includes the raw shots of one of the activities undertaken in the context of this work: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qDIFpo84teo>. This video features excerpts of the shooting of the video clip of Krusty Fondant Orchestra’s original composition, “Kalimba” (March 2023b).

travels is extremely valuable for the Goes Mali formation, whose repertoire comprises covers and originals, and also more generally for any West-African-oriented music the collective comes up with. In his relations with Moroccan musicians, he did not feel a strong conservative inclination towards their musical tradition (or toward this style of popular music from this area). He explains: “When I see Moroccan musicians studying, they have studied hard. I think that practising your instruments is something that is done everywhere. Everyone has worked hard”¹⁰⁴ (Appendix G).

Maria Roldão was the event producer and band manager of KF. Part of the Promotion Team and deeply involved in the management and organisational processes of the collective, she often took care of the hospitality of artists during events, welcoming and taking care of artists and audiences.

5.4 Repertoires, releases and former significant performances

This section aims at presenting the repertoires of the different groups (Dolu, Goes Mali, Orchestra) and their noticeable past performances.

For Alexandre, the collective shared the same passion and approach to traditional music from different geographies (or to styles of popular music from different areas of origins), the members shared the same will:

Bringing the richness of trances from traditional music to something more contemporary. To refresh very cool trances that have been going through ages, centuries, sometimes thousands of years, and try to make it in a way that it is accessible for people that don't have this historical work that we do for them in music.¹⁰⁵
(Appendix A)

The repertoires of the different groups of the collective mesh traditional music, different styles of popular music from various areas and contemporary sounds (electroacoustic music, for example). Moreover, this acknowledgement, the “refreshing” of ancient “trances”¹⁰⁶ signifies a certain borrowing of a cultural object by another culture. In the case of Dolu, playing hybrid Turkish music, two members out of six are Turkish, and the band does not aim at strictly respecting a music tradition or a style of popular music. Concerning Goes Mali, playing music mainly from Mali and Niger, the respect of the style of popular music (desert blues) is more important. The project’s principal initiator, Kris, researches a lot about

¹⁰⁴ Kris Heres (musician of KF), interviewed by the author, March 15th, 2023.

¹⁰⁵ Weisz, interview.

¹⁰⁶ Alexandre refers to a music with repetitive rhythmic and melodic patterns, that has hypnotic and/or therapeutical virtues, which could even provoke a state of trance to the band/audience’s members.

the music influences involved. He has travelled several times in Mali and Morocco, where the nomadic Tuareg people live and has played Tuareg blues with its representatives. After having discussed the matter informally with Kris, I would say that his approach to the music he plays with Goes Mali is closer to cultural “transpropiation” than appropriation.¹⁰⁷

This viewpoint embraces cultural humility intermeshing encultured music influences but disclaims that hybridisation of popular music in the “world music” genres is often perceived as appropriation. I use the term hybridisation rather than hybridity to emphasise the process, the strategies used to “reconvert a heritage or resource” (García-Canclini 1995, xxvii). Deschênes explains that appropriation occurs when hybridisation of music from another culture is “changed for the musicians or the producers’ aims and benefits, to suit the music of the culture doing the appropriation” (idem, 7), which was never the case for any music played by Goes Mali (or any other subgroup of KF). Indeed, the collective was not a for-profit organisation, nor did it adapt hegemonically music elements from their music influences to fit in their music. Moreover, when Goes Mali interprets covers, for instance the covers of the Malian singer and musician Ali Farka Touré,¹⁰⁸ they try to perform them in respect of the original music, sticking to the original compositions, only rearranging superficially (length of the parts) or for instruments limitation (there is a hang playing in Koudede’s cover which they do not have) or adds-on (percussions on the cover of Bambino).

Another point worth commenting on Alexandre’s declaration is the dimension of accessibility, of transmission of knowledge that the collective acquired, translated and conveyed musically during their performances. This dimension is close to a didactic approach to researching music influences of popular music from various geographic areas, creating a contemporary and hybridised version and delivering it. This approach does so, keeping the purpose of triggering the audiences’ interest to the main music influences at stake in the musical composition. This sequential process of research, incubation/translation and delivery supposes a sounder stability at the output than at the input, which means that the collective identity of a band is more visible and tangible scrutinising its compositions and performances, its sound.

¹⁰⁷ The composer and ethnomusicologist Bruno Deschênes defines transpropiation as “a willingness to go beyond one’s way of thinking and making sense of music, as well as cultural boundaries and enculturation to intermesh with the one of another culture, no one way of thinking dominating the other, no one way is better than the other, no one way imposing itself. This means losing some of the grips one’s cultural way of thinking has on [him], to give space for that other one to reach [him]” (2021, 21).

¹⁰⁸ The repertoire of Goes Mali is detailed at the end of this section.

The shared passion of the member of the collective for popular music from various areas, coupled with individual influences, gave the collective its strength:

Incorporate our musical language into [popular music from various areas] and try to create something that is ours by depicting these beautiful different influences. Each of us has different influences and has a different background. [...] We had a lot of different powers we could bring together to reach new heights. To me, the objective was to learn together.¹⁰⁹ (Appendix A)

Alexandre highlights the emergence of distinct individual identity within a hierarchy-free collective, which facilitated moments of improvisation and the associated tension between the group and the individual, as Ellison emphasises. Yet, it remained difficult to deal with a lack of structure in social setting involving long-term organisational relationships. “There [were] a lot of nationalities, a lot of different cultures, a lot of different people, a lot of different egos” spotlighted Maria. But Alexandre comments that his objective was rather to attain “new heights,” bouncing on strong identities, pulling oneself up, “learn[ing] together,” remembering the cultural humility approach and a constructivist perspective of learning, where the collective practice of music is a mutual benefit.

Krusty Fondant “Orchestra” was the only group of the collective that had released music in 2022. It was constituted of a varying number of musicians, with a great majority from KF, but some guest musicians or extras as well. Its performance at the festival Krusty Calls, for instance, was constituted by Alexandre (keys), Steeven (agogô), João (saxophone), Kris (guitar), Olivier (bass), Lucas (guitar), Sem (drums), Duvale (percussions), and Kike (trumpet). The repertoire of the big band was “varied” (BOTA 2022, Krusty Fondant Soundcloud profile); it oscillated between afrobeat¹¹⁰ and “traditional Sahel music” (Krusty Fondant 2022a).¹¹¹ Olivier shared the setlist as framed around the following original compositions and covers: “Miradouro,” “Guacamanga,” “Desert snake,” “Touareg,” “Sahara skit,” “Kalimba,” “Papa n’aime pas,” “Ginja,” “Nine eight” and “Brand new equals.”

Olivier explained in our interview that the two released compositions had very different processes of creation. He says that “‘Papa n’aime pas,’ really came out during a big jam we did [in the countryside house], we then worked out the parts, really collectively, making

¹⁰⁹ Weisz, interview.

¹¹⁰ Krusty Fondant has posted on their Soundcloud a “Live Sessions | B Beats B” in 2022 (c), they describe as afro beat grooves, available here: https://soundcloud.com/krustifyfondant/b-beats-b?si=2ce8b3a3871744fd948d4321aad2a237&utm_source=clipboard&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=social_sharing.

¹¹¹ They want to make reference to Tuareg blues.

decisions together”¹¹² (Appendix F). Each musician contributed to the composition in an open dialogue: “even the guitars could say something about the keyboards’ parts, drum fills, everyone had its word in that song” (idem). “Sahara skit” came from Kris’ idea developed when he was travelling to Mali. The members practiced and rehearsed for three weeks, under Kris’ lead, as he had a more complete experience of the genre (desert blues). Olivier specifies that they were playing the musical opus every two-three days and that it is “looking like a pattern so it is like singing a mantra;” they rehearsed trying to nurture a “meditative mood” (idem). Finally, “after three weeks or practicing to just get the field, [they] worked together until everyone would be tight, and [they] did the recording together” (idem). This practice illustrates a certain dedication to the settlement of a common ground and of a cultural knowledge acquisition.

For its part, Dolu is a band composed by Gülami Yeşildal (*saz*), Sibel (vocal), Lucas Prêleur (bass), Alexandre Weisz (drums), and Marian Yanchyk (violin). The project insists on its own independent existence from the KF. I observed that while mutual support exists, notably in the promotional actions, the decision-making process is distinct. In March 2023, Dolu posted a music video (Dolu 2023a), a “raw session in [their] garage” (idem). The name of the composition is “Kudur,” one of their originals.¹¹³ They have not been playing only originals so far but are currently composing a repertoire of originals, straddling several musical aesthetics: “post-indie, almost jazz and rock at the edges, sometimes, depending on the compositions and the way they are developed. If there are long developments, there are lots of passes for riffs, melodies,” explains Lucas Prêleur¹¹⁴ (Appendix H).¹¹⁵ The repertoire of the band is coloured by Turkish music. Lucas explains that their aesthetic choices are oriented towards trance and psychedelic, explaining that the “*psyché*” is very present in Turkey: “Even classic music is like that” (idem), insisting on the importance of the cultural context in which the music is created in Turkey. Lucas adds that the band has a bias to play traditional Turkish music, and that the amplification of some instruments gives “a rock edge, a musical side from the 70s standing out” (idem). The band plays in its contemporary

¹¹² Olivier de Jong (musician of KF), interviewed by the author, February 9th, 2023.

¹¹³ The song “Dolu – Kudur” is available on YouTube, on this link:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AGMERkTk120>

¹¹⁴ Lucas Prêleur (musician of KF), interviewed by the author, May 22nd, 2023.

¹¹⁵ Dolu posted on their Instagram page, excerpts of one of their performances at Fábrica Braço de Prata in February 2023 (b). The videos are accessible here: <https://www.instagram.com/reel/CpCjDInD6lc/> and https://www.instagram.com/reel/CpVD_-QjyGn/.

referential system, where the “vision of the colours [is] lighter” and with a “pocket”¹¹⁶ sound that can be heard in the Turkish rhythms adapted to the drums” (idem).

Goes Mali is constituted by Kris (guitar, vocals), Olivier (bass), Duvale (percussions), and originally Sem (drums), but since he is staying in the Netherlands, Simone (calabash, cymbal, *qraqeb*) has taken over. The band openly asserts to play music from the Sahara, Mali and Niger, commonly referred to as Tuareg blues. Goes Mali therefore plays covers, and Kris has shared their setlist as follows: Goes Mali’s covers are “Ahulakamine hulan” by Bombino,¹¹⁷ “Talesda” by Koudede,¹¹⁸ “Banga,” “Allah Uya” and “A.S.C.O” by Ali Farka Touré¹¹⁹ and “Gomni” by Ali Farka Touré and Ry Cooder,¹²⁰ “N’Dianamogo” and “M’Badehou” by Boubacar Traoré.¹²¹

Goes Mali’s original compositions are “Sahara Skit” – which was a Goes Mali original before being played by the Orchestra – “Kalimba” – a track also played by the big band (Orchestra) and for which I was involved in the shooting of the music video (unrealised)¹²² – and “Place to go” (Krusty Fondant 2022d).¹²³

Krusty Fondant “Orchestra,” Dolu, and Krusty Goes Mali (Goes Mali), performed in renown venues for live music in Lisbon. Here is an overview of some of their most notable past performances. Initially, the crew, including KF’s core members as well as those within its extended network, had cultivated their musical skills and nurtured interpersonal bonds by

¹¹⁶ The phrase “in the pocket” in music typically refers to music performance. It describes a rhythm created by an ensemble of musicians simultaneously playing collectively in rhythm and individually drawing the ensemble’s rhythm to its own rhythm, a rhythm that the musician has locked. Each musician wraps the collective rhythm in-the-moment, in reaction to the rhythms of the others. This creates a tension, a distortion with the perfect time, where each musician is contributing to distort the rhythm of the ensemble. A musician’s ability to grove or to distort the rhythm while keeping its integrity is part of their identity, as much as a music ensemble’s ability to frequently create pocket sound.

¹¹⁷ This song “Ahulakamine Hulan” by Bombino, released in 2013 on Nonesuch Records, is available on this link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-phdYh7O98I&ab_channel=Bombino-Topic.

¹¹⁸ This song “Talesda” by Koudede, released in 2012 on Taxila, is available here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hs9khqKJZ5g&ab_channel=Koudede-Topic.

¹¹⁹ The original composition of the song “A.S.C.O” (1999) by Ali Farka Touré, released on World Circuit Record, is available here:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pSwdURWcGAs&ab_channel=WorldCircuitRecords.

This link includes the recorded cover by Goes Mali: <https://soundcloud.com/krustyfondant/asco-ali-farka-toure-cover>.

¹²⁰ This link includes “Gomni” by Ali Farka Toure and Ry Cooder (1994):

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W_uxPcz9tgk&ab_channel=WorldCircuitRecords.

¹²¹ This link includes the song “N’Dianamogo” by Boubacar Traoré (Lusafrica, 2010):

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=amDFngymemM&ab_channel=BoubacarTraor%C3%A9-Topic.

¹²² Raw shots of the shooting of “Kalimba” (March 2023b):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qDIFpo84teo>.

¹²³ Goes Mali performing “Place to go” at BOTA in November 2022:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NAUJk89qYYM>.

engaging in jam sessions during the nights at Anjos 70 (that morphed into Núcleo A70), Arroz Estúdios, Taberna Boutique, Fábrica Braço de Prata, and less frequently Tejo Bar or Tokyo. They played concerts in Village Underground (for the event “Conscious Roots Gathering,” with Terra Livre), Casa Independente, and many times in Fábrica Braço de Prata for concerts or own events – they have organised their festival in September 2022 and the New Year’s Eve of 2023 – at the concert venue BOTA (Goes Mali), the bar-restaurants Amazonas, Casa Mocambo, the association Útero, the space In Situ, at the festival Rock in Rio 2022 (Duvale and Myriem), at *miradouros* between Graça and Penha da França, etc. They toured in the Netherlands and played at the Landjuweel festival and the Hembrug Happening festival, on the square Krugerplein in Amsterdam, at the squat AMD, the bar-restaurants Pension Homeland and Café de Ceuvel, at the hotel Zoku.

5.5 Intercultural practices of interaction in a hybrid space of music creation

This section scrutinises verbal and non-verbal interactions as well as upstream preparation to intercultural music collaboration (like the cultural knowledge acquisition mentioned by Wren) in contexts of rehearsal, composition, arrangement and improvisation.¹²⁴ My observational field work concerning rehearsals, composition, arrangement and improvisation is limited. I therefore uphold this section on testimonies and interviews.

As stated before, the rehearsals were done at the “Castle,” in the shared flat located on the first floor of the building hosting a good part of the collective. The basement contained instruments, but the musicians brought their personal instruments to rehearse. As shown previously, it is also equipped as a recording studio. The studio was accessible to any member, when rehearsing or producing music for the collective or one of its bands. Its use was also extended to musicians external to the collective. To use it for personal purposes or other musical projects, the member had to pay a monthly fee. The studio was self-managed through a shared online spreadsheet containing the calendar and the time slots.

Some interviewees argued that being conscious about the other members’ identities does not only comprise cultural elements. This is relevant for them to adequately deal with the

¹²⁴ For music creation purposes and not during performances. Improvisation in this sense, is also referred to as “jamming” by the musicians interviewed. This practice enables to foster group creativity and generate ideas that will be developed during the composition process. During our interview, Maria explained: “when you create a new song, the idea is to jam, if the idea is good, you continue working on it, if it’s bad, you ditch it and you start a new one” (Appendix D).

challenges brought by joint music making, as it reconciles with the salience of subjectivities in musical collectivities. Individual identities are not only framed by their cultural background and the setting up of intersubjective practices is healthy as it enables the collective to thrive. In our interview, Kris elucidates that the flow and efficiency of rehearsals are not contingent upon cultural backgrounds: “I think that it doesn’t have to do so much with cultural as it is also personal: how everyone practises a song. Sometimes people want to go faster, and some other people want to go slower so you always need to find a consensus where everyone can work in”¹²⁵ (Appendix G).

Kris stresses that cultural differences are not relevant when it comes to interacting during collective rehearsals, performances, improvisations but they are when it comes to verbally interacting and communicating during composition and arrangement processes. This perspective is shared by Olivier that explicated during our interview the alternative form of communication to verbal language, the “musical language.” He says:

[...] it doesn’t really matter where you are from, the musical language binds us together. I’ve had some projects where I couldn’t communicate linguistically with the people, but we managed to make music together. You can communicate through music. Deciding things, we did in English, but you could communicate through gesture, and in music you can actually communicate in a lot of ways.¹²⁶ (Appendix F)

Maria and Alexandre have shared their opinion during our interviews, concerning the collective’s cultural diversity. They have expressed it as a strength, an “advantage” to “have different perspectives from different backgrounds,” in the words of Maria¹²⁷ (Appendix D), which echoes the concept of diversity advantage. “It is beautiful to have different types of opinions, different skills” but it is also a “struggle,” in the words of Alexandre¹²⁸ (Appendix A), a “disadvantage when there is a lack of communication” for Maria (Appendix D). Kris embraces this diversity, its richness, as he explains its benefits during the composition process: “Everybody [brought] on his own layer [...]. [Let us say that] I have this structure of rhythm, colour and tastes, but then everybody I invite on it will give his own influence”¹²⁹ (Appendix G). Kris depicts the high creative potential of cultural diversity and of his (culturally diverse) network as he emphasises: “Sometimes I invite certain people for specific reason. Maybe I want this guitarist for this song because I know he understands this

¹²⁵ Heres, interview.

¹²⁶ de Jong, interview.

¹²⁷ Roldão, interview.

¹²⁸ Weisz, interview.

¹²⁹ Heres, interview.

colour, this vibe more than another. Actually, really knowingly getting the right people on there, but also trusting them” (idem). This freedom presupposes an extended knowledge of the musical language and capabilities of the musicians involved.

Maria stresses an important cultural difference between French and Dutch people’s approach to music creation. She wraps up her understanding saying: “Whenever [the musicians of KF] are playing together, rehearsing or creating a new song [...] the Dutch want to play and get ideas, while the French want to talk philosophy. So, they’re talking philosophy, ‘What is the philosophy of this song? Where is this song going?’”¹³⁰ (Appendix D). For Maria, this difference was difficult to overcome, especially because she believes that they did not expressed this noticeable difference to each other in order to advance in a constructive manner while leveraging differences. She believes that this should rather constitute an advantage if they would. Plus, these non-constructive collective tensions led to individual disengagement and internal conflicts.

Alexandre substantiates pinpointing that the members should “spend way more time together to tackle the matter of cooperation between different cultures”¹³¹ (Appendix A). This statement could be revised in my opinion. It was not about the amount of time spent together but rather the use of this time. Actually, the affective bonds that tightens the members together naturally did not prioritise intercultural practices. In another context, more formal and with informed participants, the cultural knowledge acquisition could have been done more assiduously.

Each member of KF was driven by its former experiences, in particular by numerous changes of their cultural contexts, as can explain their mobility. This represented a common ground at the foundation of their belonging to the community of immigrant musicians and music creatives in Lisbon and of the collective. Following this observation, we can also state that, building on these experiences, the members shared an openness, a curiosity and an eagerness to research about (in an autonomous cultural knowledge acquisition) and learned about unknown musical styles and languages, from the Other. This permits to cope with the “familiar and the unfamiliar” that the intercultural setting supposes in Wren words. Alexandre testified during our interview:

I got to research about this music [American funk] from a very young age. I guess it really drove me to some direction. This is my first musical background. For me it is

¹³⁰ Roldão, interview.

¹³¹ Weisz, interview.

more about experiences. People you are going to encounter are going to drive your musical journey as well. I will never have played Turkish music without having met Lucas. Now, I am part of a big Turkish band in Portugal.¹³² (Appendix A)

He goes on acknowledging: “It is surprising, and I do not relate but I’m trying to make it as part of my culture” (idem). This subconscious process strongly echoes arguments of cultural identity theories stating that experiences contribute to an individual’s sense of self and identity. It also exemplifies a softening of a member’s individual identity, for the benefit of the collectivity, which is at the source of a “a healthy negotiation between self and other” in the understanding of Schiavio et al. (2019, 717). But as Maria noticed, the subgroups, or bands, which make up the collective, operated effectively. It was the general collective existence that was more difficult to negotiate.

In the collective, the processes of music creation were individual-oriented, leaving freedom and space for individual voices and identities to be shaped. For instance, Olivier said, during our interview¹³³ (Appendix F), that apart from horns, no score was being written as he considered them “irrelevant.” Individuals had their particularities bringing “different types of skills, different types of rhythms” which made their participation unique for a specific collective project. The collective identity was therefore tightly shaped to the pace of its constitutive individual identities.

Language is a barrier in certain social situations, to socialise, to mingle. On the contrary, sharing the same language can open up to opportunities, as stressed by Alexandre. He takes the example of a saxophone player in Paris that learned to play salsa, had a certain cultural knowledge of Latin music, and knew all the required songs but who did not manage to be called for “gigs” (Appendix A). Indeed, what was lacking, according to Alexandre, was the simple fact that he was not able to speak Spanish and therefore to be part of the interactions outside work. However, according to Duvale, who may be the member with the most difficulties to communicate (considering that he can only speak Portuguese), the linguistic hurdle was not a restriction to creativity. He confirms the universality of music language: “[Music] is a universal language, as if it was English, and when you start playing, those who speak other languages will automatically understand what you are thinking. In that moment, communication happens”¹³⁴ (Appendix C). João has a more mitigated view, as he explains that verbal communication difficulties can lead up to a simplification of the processes of

¹³² Weisz, interview.

¹³³ de Jong, interview.

¹³⁴ Duvale, interview.

creation, involving less technicity, which may conduce to – and this is my analysis – an alternative form of creativity and ultimately a result as qualitative as it would have been the case with a partner sharing the same language. This alternative is true in an unconstrained environment. If the process requires technical abilities, a lot of adjustments and verbal explanations, language is definitively a crucial factor for efficiency.

Still in this consideration of language as verbal interaction, a behaviour frequently observed for immigrants is the tendency to group abroad in culturally similar communities and social groups, one salient similarity being a common native language. As emphasised by Alexandre: “native languages bring a natural division, subgroups form naturally inside the group. On the long run, it is getting easier to build a relationship with someone who speaks your mother tongue”¹³⁵ (Appendix A). Here, Alexandre generalises, he talks more broadly about immigrant communities, but his observation is drawing upon KF’s case, where two subgroups were identified in Dutch speaking and French speaking members, a “duality” that existed from the beginning according to Alexandre (*idem*). Alexandre exposes also cultural differences existing in the more frequent expression of critics, ethics and values, feelings and emotions by the French subgroup, from his perspective, in a constructive manner, from other members’ perspectives, in a “negativist” or unproductive way. From these differences, have unavoidably risen conflict, as in any other social settings, and eventually led to a group dissolution. While Alexandre acknowledges the fact that the ways to “deal with conflicts is going to change with culture as well” (*idem*), I would engage with the analysis of the cultural differences to lack the necessary communication to bridge and accept the gap in the perspectives of the French feedback or the Dutch lack of feedback. I do not claim that the members did not communicate, nor that they failed in communicating their different perspectives, but it is possible to apply here the theory presented with a sense of optimism and a focus on its potential implications. From an analytical perspective, it is worth highlighting that interculturalism brings forth intriguing insights, such as the intersubjective and inclusive approaches of an intercultural dialogue to maintain healthy relations during a creative process. However, two concerns remain. The first is the complexity of the context of KF, involving at the same time, professional and affective relationships. The second is the observation that came up during my research on interculturality and my interview with Dr. Manuela Júdice: interculturalism is a philosophy advocating the obligation to confront, to

¹³⁵ Weisz, interview.

face, to handle, to look after a different other, which compels interaction, going towards this other. This obligation is very distinct in terms of efforts, for introvert and extrovert individuals. From a psychological point of view, individuals are subjects to discrepancies in terms of social, communicational, interrelational capabilities which make them unequal in front of intercultural interactional practices. To this ascertainment, Dr. Manuela Júdice used the analogy of a “spectator” of the TODOS to qualify a person that would not engage culturally nor socially¹³⁶ (Appendix K), thus through interaction. Nonetheless, she conceded that introversion is a personal trait, that does not hinder a spectator from becoming an “*habitué*” and from there, an “*aficionado*” (idem), stressing the cases of some spectators of the TODOS throughout the years. This implies that a first modest participation can progressively trigger more commitment, which recalls to a certain extent, civic duties and the consolidation of the values of citizenship or Bauman’s liquid society.

Non-verbal communication between KF’s members was extremely subtle if not almost invisible for an exterior observer like me. Indeed, its musicians had been practicing and playing together a lot, they possessed a profound mutual knowledge which enabled fewer friction and required less in-the-moment interactivity during rehearsal, performance and jamming acts. I would analyse their non-verbal communication to have been predominantly built upstream, during the settlement of a common ground, of a mutual understanding of respecting music languages, during joint music practice. Thus, this non-verbal communication seemed to be sonic, aesthetic, socio-cultural and affective more than bodily circumscribed (Schiavio et al. 2019, 713-714). Moreover, the collective’s codified communication had become stable over time, as stressed by Schiavio et al.

Chapter 6. Presentation and analysis of the Orquestra TODOS

6.1 History: genesis and foundations

The Orquestra TODOS (OT) was founded in 2011. It is the orchestra of the TODOS - Caminhada de Culturas festival, formerly called Festival TODOS, whose first edition, in 2009, presented the Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio (OPV), created in Rome, from which the OT took the concept of an orchestra constituted of immigrants. Indeed, Miguel Abreu, the founder of the TODOS - Caminhada de Culturas (TODOS), solicited Giacomo Scalisi¹³⁷ to

¹³⁶ Júdice, interview.

¹³⁷ Giacomo Scalisi is the co-programmer invited by Miguel Abreu to work on the TODOS project.

invite Mario Tronco (and Pino Pecorelli), the founder and conductor of the OPV, to create a similar orchestra in Lisbon¹³⁸ (Appendix I).

The Intercultural cities programme (ICC) of the CoE considers the TODOS festival a “[g]ood practice example” and describes it as a nomadic intercultural festival “which reintegrates neighbourhoods with the wider city” (Council of Europe 2016). The TODOS, ensuring the existence of the OT, emerged from the negotiation of Dr. Manuela Júdice, municipal councillor for international relations, and therefore on behalf of the CML, and Miguel Abreu. “The CML wanted to hold a party in Terreiro do Paço to mark, in 2009, the signing of the agreement to integrate Lisbon into the Intercultural cities network of the Council of Europe [Intercultural cities – ICC],” says Miguel Abreu (Appendix I). Dr. Manuela Júdice, having a keen interest in collaborating with communities comprising “foreigner citizens living inside Lisbon”¹³⁹ (Appendix K) and demonstrating a strong commitment to fostering a “Lisbon cosmopolite” (idem), contacted Miguel Abreu to collaborate, as he had the idea to create a festival. They agreed to make the festival happen in Rossio and Martin Moniz, where the movie “Novos Lisboaetas,” by Sérgio Tréfaut takes place, which, according to her words, had woken up Dr. Manuela Júdice’s consciousness to the issue of urban cosmopolitanism, in 2009. The integrative dimension defended by Dr. Manuela Júdice and Miguel Abreu are explicitly distinct from assimilationist politics. Dr. Manuela Júdice perceives its value in these words: “integrative, respecting the cultures of others because integrating is not forcing others to accept our culture, so acceptance has to be mutual” (idem).

Miguel Abreu established the APC in 1999, subsequently facilitating the inception in 2009 of the TODOS – “a socio-cultural development project” (idem) – with the valuable assistance of the aforementioned individuals. It should be contextualised, as the percussionist of the OT Sebastian Scheriff does in our interview, that in the Portuguese cultural policy framework, cultural associations are central to the survival of Portuguese culture¹⁴⁰ (Appendix Q). He explains, referring to the APC: “Here, culture works thanks to these associations that exist because people really want to do things with their hearts, and there are many. And it works really well” (idem). This claim reinforces the argument that for the music communities in which Scheriff is partaking, and he is or has been involved in multiple

¹³⁸ Abreu, interview.

¹³⁹ Júdice, interview.

¹⁴⁰ Sebastian Scheriff (musician of the OT), interviewed by the author, March 16th, 2023.

music schools (Escola Superior de Dança, JB Jazz school, Escola Improviso in Oeiras or the Musical Center in Cascais) and bands (Ciganos de Ouro, Sons do Tejo or ADUF), culture in Lisbon subsists by virtue of the civil society's mobilisation (JACC Records 2014).

The OT was, during its first years, a project funded by the CML and the Gulbenkian Foundation. According to Henrique Costa Santos, current producer of the OT, the financial support provided by the Gulbenkian Foundation was categorised as “structural funding,” which significantly enhanced the availability of resources for rehearsals and performances¹⁴¹ (Appendix M). This funding spanned a period of three years and culminated in the recording of the OT's unique release in 2012, titled *Intendente*.¹⁴² This title draws a dual reference to the neighbourhood close to the Mouraria, where Largo do Intendente is situated, as well as to the Sport Clube Intendente, which served as their rehearsal venue. In addition, the foundation hosted a concert in its internal parking lot in 2012 and financed additional concerts outside of TODOS festival. Nowadays, the CML is the only subsidiser of the TODOS, which in turn sustains the OT. The festival operates on a three-year cycle (“triennium”). For each triennium, it stays over a different area of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, each time moving from *freguesias* (parishes¹⁴³). The selection of the area for the next triennium, originally proposed by Miguel Abreu, is now chosen by the CML. The first cycle took place in the Mouraria, between Martin Moniz, Rossio, and Intendente (Largo do Intendente). The last one (2021-2023) happened in the *freguesia* of Santa Clara; the OT played in the Jardim do Campo das Amoreiras in 2021, on the Largo das Galinheiras in 2022 and on the Largo do Ministro in 2023.¹⁴⁴ This decision of delocalising into disfavoured margins, constituted by various ethnic minorities, has an effect on their residents. It enables contact between different cultural groups affecting positively public perception and attitudes towards migrants (in reference to the Ipsos study). This enterprise consequently serves the communities' narratives by breaking the imagined cultural boundaries between the groups, which reflects Bhabhan philosophical framework of going “beyond” as well as García-Canclini's perception of cultural hybridisation's potential.

¹⁴¹ Henrique Costa Santos (producer and manager of the OT), interviewed by the author, March 10th, 2023.

¹⁴² Orquestra Todos' *Intendente* (2012) was released by the Academia de Produtores Culturais and recorded at the studio Pontozurca (Almada). This link includes the album: <https://open.spotify.com/intl-fr/album/49OkihLIGKggEsQArgMul?si=S1WCq8g9R1-hkdmC5IJ7MA>.

¹⁴³ They delimit Lisbon and divide it into neighbourhoods.

¹⁴⁴ As part of my field work, these are excerpts from the concert: https://youtube.com/shorts/x_cxEqNO_6M?feature=share.

Miguel Abreu clarifies that the budget is consistently determined by the CML based on his proposals and exhibits variations from year to year¹⁴⁵ (Appendix I). Miguel Abreu presents a budget, and the CML determines the allocation, with Miguel Abreu adjusting the festival's activities accordingly, as he succinctly states, “[i]f there is less money, I schedule fewer activities, naturally” (idem). In the past five years, this budget has amounted to 250 thousand euros. The budget received by the TODOS ensures the subsistence of the OT, constituted by up to sixteen musicians and the management team (eighteen people), which creates a considerable logistical challenge, rendering the selling process intricate, primarily due to its substantial cost¹⁴⁶ (Appendix L). For the musicians, the OT embodies a very rewarding work, as besides performances, rehearsals and potential studio recordings are paid, which is very unusual (idem), as musicians are generally only remunerated for performances, which often makes their financial situation precarious.

In 2009, in the context of the sub-prime crisis, the support to the festival was financial but not exclusively, emphasises Júdice¹⁴⁷ (Appendix K). From the perspective of the CML, it was necessary for this first edition to involve several departments of the city council, of the public space, of the housing, of the culture; with several services, the service of the garbage collection; with the service of housing, the sanitation service; the national authorities, the police; the SEF (idem). Considering these resource and institutions' mobilisation, it seems that the first year was challenging. It was only for the last edition of the first triennium that the OT, finally formed, played on the stage of the Largo de Intendente, where the OPV had played two years beforehand.

Conveying another contextualising layer to pursue the presentation of TODOS through the years, several elements in the political state of affairs were influential in the foundation of the festival and also explain the growing popularity of the first years. First, is the project channelling an evolution in the district of the Mouraria, the association Renovar a Mouraria. This association celebrates fifteen years this year and exemplifies the associative movement that emerged in these times (2008-2009) to handle the intercultural city and cultural integration. It is a symbolic and isolated case in Lisbon. Around the same time, in 2009, Lisbon entered the ICC network. An inclination towards the subject of immigrant integration and the advocacy for the development and propagation of an intercultural environment in

¹⁴⁵ Abreu, interview.

¹⁴⁶ Francesco Valente (musician of the OT), interviewed by the author, March 27th, 2023.

¹⁴⁷ Júdice, interview.

Lisbon were discernible features within the undertakings of António Costa, Lisbon's major at the time¹⁴⁸ (Appendix K). António Costa played an important role in the creation of the TODOS and was a fervent supporter of the OT. After having moved the town hall's offices to the Largo do Intendente as a "signal" (Appendix K) to his devotion to an intercultural politic, he attended the OT's rehearsals with Dr. Manuela Júdice.

Drawing on the dissertation of Raquel Mendes Pereira (2012) and on my interviews, the formation of the OT started after the screening of the documentary by Agostino Ferrente on the OPV, and the search for musicians was supported by the musician Francesco Valente, bassist and double bassist for the OT, "integrated in projects and in a visibly multicultural Lisbon music circuit" (Mendes Pereira 2012, 24). Yet, his integration is limited to the community of this "multicultural Lisbon music circuit" (*idem*), which makes sense, as an individual's social integration cannot be at a city scale, it is made via a community or social group. However, an immigrant will not be integrated in the whole Lisbon culture, it can be integrated in social groups that are more or less culturally diverse (multicultural in the words of Mendes Pereira). However, integrating new hybrid individuals in a multicultural group does not contribute to the spread of multicultural awareness nor to the cultural hybridisation of a society in its whole, it rather contributes to communitarianism which in certain cases leads to marginalisation. On the contrary, the CoE indicates that the TODOS festival "challeng[es] the idea of ghettos and bring[s] people from diverse cultural backgrounds and age groups closer to each other" (Council of Europe 2016). Yet, this project does not aim at fostering Lisbon's cultural hybridisation but rather to facilitate social integration and cultural dynamism.

Francesco Valente recommended to the two conductors and founders of the OPV, Mario Tronco and Pino Pecorelli, in charge of the constitution of the OT, amongst other musicians, Rubi Machado (vocalist) and Múcio Sá (guitarist) – whom I have interviewed as well – for inclusion in the OT. Sebastian Scheriff, percussionist, joined in 2011, recommended by several musicians who already knew his work. Here, I mention the musicians I had the chance to interview, the current team being presented in its entirety in section 6.3. It is worth mentioning, however, that the musicians have often changed through the years, although some have kept their instrumentalist position. On top of these changes, some musicians were called guests or replacements, but as extras, they are considered part of the extended team

¹⁴⁸ Júdice, interview.

of the OT. Francesco confesses that the OT has seen multiple musicians occupy each instrumentalist position: at the guitar “5-6-7” musicians sat, at the trombone “already 3,” at the trumpet “there must have been 2 or 3,” “also the drums changed 3 or 4 times,” “we have had several Indian guests” as vocalists, “we have had the boys from Afghanistan that came for the last concerts”¹⁴⁹ (Appendix L). On that account, the OT is an opportunity for musicians: for its members in function but also, due to their rotation, for other musicians.

As previously mentioned with KF, I aim to delve into the discourse introduced by Shelemay concerning various forms of community. The OT’s case is more complex as it is not formed upon common interests even though these shared affinities are hinted. I would start suggesting that the community by affinity, characterised by the extended social network of KF is significantly similar to the one of the OT and close to what Pereira Mendes calls “multicultural Lisbon music circuit” (2012, 24). For instance, Gülami Yeşildal plays in both the OT and Dolu (the band affiliated with KF). Indeed, both projects share preferences for “world” music, jazz, and improvised music, along with some commonalities in their connections. Despite a difference in terms of average age and seniority (to the Lisbon music scene, to Portugal) between the OT and KF, they have similar habits in patronising specific venues, are in a similar socio-economic and professional situation. In this sense, the OT is also part of a community by affinity. Nonetheless, the musical project is a paid job, which makes the social bonding to the community as strictly based on affinities less significant. Notwithstanding this financial aspect that undoubtedly acts as a motivational and commitment factor, the mission, objectives and values of the TODOS and of the OPV enable to consider the community’s formation to have been shaped in reaction to existing structures or as an act of resistance, as in dissent communities (Shelemay 2011, 370). Some members of the project, fans and members of the extended social network may have rallied the project, as performer, audience, organiser, for the social and cultural causes it defends as much as for the preferences in popular music, traditions, aesthetics, and social interaction desire, characteristic of communities by affinity.

Henrique Costa Santos has joined the ship in 2019. His first contact with the OT dates back to 2017, when he was working for the TODOS. He explains that the founders and

¹⁴⁹ Valente, interview.

conductors of the OT from its creation until 2019, Mario Tronco and Pino Pecorelli, had been invited in 2011 to come and create a show for the TODOS¹⁵⁰ (Appendix M).

[...] until 2019, the orchestra [OT] would only be depending on the physical presence of these conductors, who had their own careers and worked in Italy. After 2019, there was a change in the orchestra: these Italian conductors left the orchestra, and the new conductor, Carlos Garcia, who is Portuguese and lives in Lisbon, started to direct the orchestra. This opened a new chapter in the orchestra. (idem)

Carlos Garcia has been the conductor of the OT since 2019. He foresees the future of the OT working more with the model of “concert-commented conversation” to cope with the high costs of the big band’s performances. This formation includes “three or four musicians from the OT and a cultural mediator from [the APC] association”¹⁵¹ (Appendix I). He alludes to this model through its didactic facet: “We want to continue to give concerts but also to develop more projects linked to different communities, so that everyone can share this way of making music with open arms, which makes us grow and better welcome the other”¹⁵² (Appendix N). In effect, this model increases the project’s mobility which allows reaching more communities and more remote areas. Abreu comments on the model:

This much more affordable version is beginning to be much sought after by schools, cultural associations, museums, etc... each musician talks about his experience as an immigrant in Portugal, about his instrument and his country, his gastronomy, his encounters in Lisbon with other musicians from other origins, always framed by the discourse of our intercultural mediation.¹⁵³ (Appendix I)

This formation has a great potential as it strengthens the critical arguments that brought the TODOS in the “good practices example” of the ICC, namely its intercultural mediation, migrant integration and challenging cultural boundaries (Council of Europe 2016), while outstretching to schools, educational spaces and to the “free spaces of speech” of the civil society (Gomasasca 2013, 74), where intercultural dialogue is efficient (Frast 2008, 42) and favourable to cultural hybridisation (Gomasasca 2013).

6.2 Mission, values and social closure

In accordance with Miguel Abreu’s explanation, the OT has, since its creation, shared the same “social, artistic, and philosophical model” as the OPV. The OPV’s mission and values are transmitted through their projects, as described on their website:

The search for new musicians, the study of traditional repertoires, the creation and production of new original music, the deepening of relationships with immigrant

¹⁵⁰ Costa Santos, interview.

¹⁵¹ Abreu, interview.

¹⁵² Garcia, interview.

¹⁵³ Abreu, interview.

communities and the reception facilities operating in Italy, and educational interventions in schools. (Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio 2019a, my translation)

On the OPV's website is also emphasised that “[f]rom 2002 to today, over 100 musicians from very different geographical areas and musical fields have met each other by realising creative and professional projects that have often constituted, for them, opportunities for social rescue” (idem). Both projects, the OT and the OPV, centre around social integration and are therefore vectors of social and cultural dynamism, creating jobs and allowing future opportunities for musicians to emerge. Abreu perceives the social mission of the OPV and of the OT as

[...] creat[ing] professional opportunities for immigrant musicians to play and get to know each other and help each other; the artistic and cultural mission [being] to give musicians the opportunity to play and inspire from their music and from the new compositions of the maestro.¹⁵⁴ (Appendix I, my translation).

The OT's mission is embedded in a broader one, that of the TODOS. In the “Relatório de Atividades” of 2021,¹⁵⁵ the TODOS' mission is expressed as follows: “the transmission of the value of interculturality, stimulation of coexistence between people of different ages, social, religious, cultural, and economic origins, appreciation of local tangible and intangible heritage, etc.” Teaching the notion of interculturality as a value, as an ethics, a code of conduct towards the cultural other, seems to be central to the TODOS. For instance, the “concert-commented conversation” (Appendix I) formation's goal is to “promote reflection and dialogue on what interculturality is today” and to act in favour of “intercultural mediation” (idem).

Henrique Costa Santos underscores that the primary value and, indeed, the core aim of the OT is interculturalism, epitomised by the pursuit of “exploring intercultural dialogue through music”¹⁵⁶ (Appendix M). This objective encompasses not only the endeavour to articulate and convey challenges to the audience but also to harness the collective creative resources of a musical ensemble comprised of diverse members hailing “from different places” (idem). The overarching aspiration is to embrace and “celebrate” the differences among all musicians, attempting to infuse the audience with this principle (idem).

Abreu describes TODOS as “an annual moment of affirmation and celebration of Lisbon as a European capital city, of the intercultural matrix, through contemporary arts,” aiming at

¹⁵⁴ Abreu, interview.

¹⁵⁵ The documents were granted to me by the CML and Miguel Abreu but not their disclosure in the Appendices of this dissertation.

¹⁵⁶ Costa Santos, interview.

“promot[ing] intercultural, interpersonal, and intergenerational coexistence. Referencing, also, the socio-economic asymmetries of the territories where [the festival] works”¹⁵⁷ (idem). Central constituent of their mission, the Caminhada das Culturas, a “walk of cultures,” is “an invitation to people from Lisbon, also called *lisboetas*, to walk around their city and, little by little, get to know the ‘new Lisbon people,’ who have settled or are settling here” (idem). Encouraging the *lisboetas* to participate in the festival, that means the audience and the volunteers, leads to a higher level of contact between culturally diverse communities, as stressed by the Ipsos study (2011) and an improvement of the perception and attitudes towards migrants, contributing to cultural mediation. The physical attendance is relatively significant as the festival gathered 4054 spectators in 2020, (Relatório 2020), 5001 spectators in 2021 (Relatório 2021) and 10702 spectators in 2022 (Relatório 2022).

To the critique of the limited pedagogical and intercultural fallout of the event, considering that the participants share the same interests, values, philosophy and are therefore not the first target of the sociocultural awareness brought by the dialogue and intercultural mediation, I would argue that the festival has a larger impact than the one it has on its participants and an impact that should not be confined to the city of Lisbon. First of all, because the programme #TODOSemlinha broadcasts online the vast majority of the shows, aggregating online audiences in Portugal and abroad, which represented 15552 viewers in 2020 (Relatório 2020), 11634 in 2021 (Relatório 2021) and 9420 in 2022 (Relatório 2022). Then, at a European scale, because it has been pinpointed by the ICC as a good practice for the implementation of intercultural urban strategies (the application of the intercultural lens), the festival is significantly inspiring for other cities, for other actors of the cultural sectors and of civil society. Moreover, the TODOS facilitates the dissemination of culture within underserved communities comprising “foreign citizens”¹⁵⁸ (Appendix K). The strategies favoured by Abreu and his team, such as “thinking with the feet”¹⁵⁹ (Appendix I), while initially proposed by a sociologist, seem to align with anthropological principles, allowing for the identification of issues within these geographical contexts,

[...] meeting with local associations (community groups, sports, and artistic groups), teachers and schools, churches, priests and pastors, local artists (amateurs and professionals), parish councils (councils and employees), local businesses, and so on.

¹⁵⁷ Abreu, interview.

¹⁵⁸ Júdice, interview.

¹⁵⁹ Abreu, interview.

Always in open and informal meetings, and also listening to conversations in cafes, bus stops.¹⁶⁰ (Appendix J)

For example, in the “Relatório de Atividades” of 2021, the festival took place in September 2021, but the investigation on the territory and on “the relevancy of the mission of the TODOS”¹⁶¹ started March 1st, 2021. And the research concluded a dualistic view of the district of Santa Clara, where the triennium takes place since 2021, notwithstanding tinted by positivism and hope:

There are negative aspects (insecurity, ethnic and socioeconomic ghettoization surrounding segregation, urban dirt, territorial disorder, school dropout, etc...), but they intersect with several positive aspects (commitment of the populations, pride of belonging, youthful energy, curiosity, teachers and several social mediators highly motivated and committed to change, several active local associations, doubts and existential tensions, etc...). (Relatório 2021, 2, my translation)

Other observations include racism and xenophobia, described as “strong feelings” from the “white” elderly population¹⁶² against black youngers (idem, 3), “difficulty in relating the local population [...] with the different gypsy communities” (idem, 4), and the arrival of a middle-class population that ignores problematic areas, which enhances “distances between people” (idem, 4). What is essential and very interesting in the *relatórios* made available by the CML, is that, in the case of the report of 2021, the “programme axes” of the TODOS are developed consecutively to the field work and stem from “key ideas for the development of audiences and artistic and cultural offer in the territory of Santa Clara” (idem, 6, my translation). This report simultaneously plays the role of accounting for the activities of the festival to the funding institution, as well as presenting research findings, based on field work, of issues encountered on secluded territories and proposing recommendations (idem 6). I defend the statement that such a relationship between local associativism, or more broadly, civil society, and the decisional instances of the government is essential and must generate sociocultural improvement.

The program of the festival is also concerned by the following objectives:

- a) to value a piece of ground in the city considered by many to be a “non-place”,
- b) to rescue memories under threat of extinction,
- c) to celebrate and value in Lisbon the presence and coexistence with immigrant and migrant communities – from the first to the third generation –, mostly of Lusophone African origin and gypsy ethnicity. (Relatório 2021, 2, my translation)

¹⁶⁰ Abreu, interview.

¹⁶¹ All quotes from the Relatório 2021 are my translation.

¹⁶² The report specifies that “[t]hese racist feelings and behaviours are widespread among the elderly population, regardless of their socioeconomic status” (idem).

The aforementioned field observations combined with the realisation of these objectives justify the conduct of a festival under the form of a triennium. Indeed, the research and the impact intended would be pointless in a single edition of a festival that generally lasts ten to fifteen days. The consistency of the event adds a pedagogic layer of repetition. Additionally, the first objective quoted here, to “value” a “non-place” touches upon an important dimension of the project and of the city’s cultural strategy. While it has previously been defended that the rehabilitation of an area entangles conflicts of interests around processes of gentrification, another perspective can be observed here. Drawing on the TODOS’ objective to foster cultural contact, revalorising an urban area in the perception of the *lisboetas* could cause more cultural encountering and interactions. This keystone of the TODOS’ mission to investigate and promote culture in culturally diverse and sometimes remote territories also reflects on the OT. Indeed, Henrique Costa Santos explains that the “preparation” for the concerts of the OT “represents being for weeks in a territory rehearsing to get close to the community of a place”¹⁶³ (Appendix M).

From the musicians’ perspective, who, as members, also participate in shaping the values of the ensemble and therefore its identity, the OT is above all a human experience. Henrique Costa Santos puts in dialogue, on the one hand, the “richness” of “cultural references” and “cultural backgrounds,” but without discrediting the individuals from their subjectivities. Francesco suggests: “The meaning is much greater and involves many more things, hope, the idea of relating to others, partnering, creating new friendships, and working on this social aspect of integration with immigrants. Especially those who came from far away with less economic power”¹⁶⁴ (Appendix L, my translation). Francesco underscores a crucial aspect of immigration when he differentiates between immigrant situations therefore implying that different measures are required for certain categories of immigrants. Indeed, immigrants’ situations – without mentioning the cases of refugees – are not equal when they arrive to Portugal. They assume different “economic powers” as stressed by Francesco, different levels of education and therefore of job-finding capabilities. Their integrative potential is uneven, which should be considered in an inclusive intercultural society. On the other hand, Carlos Garcia does not differentiate as he states the OT’s mission in its musical dimension:

¹⁶³ Costa Santos, interview.

¹⁶⁴ Valente, interview.

The mission of the Orquestra TODOS focuses on making universal music from around the world, trying to make known different languages, styles, ways of being, and ways of listening. Our hope is that these songs resonate with the audience and that they can feel, on the one hand, the different expressions and, on the other, the union that binds us through the love of music, diversity, and life. We ('Todos') are all Humans, We ('Todos') are all Music. At each meeting, this is what we celebrate.¹⁶⁵ (Appendix N)

6.3 The members and their function

As mentioned previously, the members of the OT have changed several times since its creation in 2011 (almost every instrumentalist position). The recruitment process relies a lot on recommendations from other musicians and the audition does not occur systematically. It has undergone recent modifications, making the auditions more frequent. All the musicians are professionals. According to Henrique Costa Santos, the producer of the OT, the formation varies a bit depending on each concert, but the current basis is as proposed in the table below. Sometimes, the OT calls on external musicians.

Table 2: Members of the Orquestra TODOS, their nationality and their instrumentalist position in the project¹⁶⁶

Name	Nationality	Function or instrumentalist position
Ale Damasceno	Brazil	Drums
Carlos Garcia	Portugal	Direction, keys
Daniilo Lopes	Cabo Verde	Vocals, guitar
Edison Otero	Columbia	Colombian <i>gaita</i> (kuisi), ¹⁶⁷ trumpet
Eduardo Lala	Portugal	Trombone
Francesco Valente	Italy	Bass
Gülami Yesildal	Turkey	Vocals, <i>saz</i> , percussions, <i>sarod</i> , ¹⁶⁸ lute
Johannes Krieger	Germany	Trumpet
Marc Planells	Spain	Vocals, <i>sitar</i> , <i>ud</i> , <i>saz</i>
Marian Yanchyk	Ukraine	Violin
Múcio Sá	Brazil	Guitar
Rubi Machado	India	Vocals
Sebastian Scheriff	Argentine	Percussions
Susana Travassos	Portugal	Vocals
Henrique Costa Santos	Portugal	Producer, General Manager
Miguel Abreu ¹⁶⁹	Portugal	Founder of the TODOS - Caminhada de Culturas, founder of the Orquestra TODOS

Additionally, according to the list provided by Henrique Costa Santos, the performances often count on guests to play along. In 2021, the guests were the singer Anastácia Carvalho,

¹⁶⁵ Garcia, interview.

¹⁶⁶ Source: list and information provided by Henrique Costa Santos by What'sApp messaging.

¹⁶⁷ Flute.

¹⁶⁸ Plucked string musical instrument used in classical Indian music.

¹⁶⁹ Strictly speaking, Miguel Abreu is not described to be part of the OT, but with his team at APC, they take care of funding and partnerships, which is the reason why I considered placing him in this table.

resident at Charneca, and the singer Estraca, resident in the neighbourhood of Cruz Vermelha (Relatórios 2021), Augusto Baschera and Tiago Oliveira accounted for the position of Múcio Sá. In 2023, the guitarist and vocalist Tonecas Prazeres was invited, while the saxophonist Mateja Dolsak (Slovenia) and the guitarist Neil Fernandes (India), non-permanent members of the OT, were called to perform.¹⁷⁰

The green colour in the cells in the table mean that I conducted an interview with the person. The main parts of the interviews are available in the Appendices under the form of transcripts. I selected the interviewees on the recommendations of my co-supervisor, Professor Pedro Roxo, and from my discussion with Raquel Mendes Pereira. They knew some of the members personally (like Rubi Machado) and told me that Francesco and Múcio could be interested in my topic, both being doctoral students in ethnomusicology. Then, on Múcio's recommendation, I interviewed Sebastian Scheriff. I contacted Henrique Costa Santos thanks to Múcio as well as Miguel Abreu and Carlos Garcia thanks to Henrique. The last interview that enters the field work undertaken to understand the OT is the one conducted with Dr. Manuela Júdice, at the Casa da América Latina. Indeed, Dr. Manuela Júdice was responsible for the organisation's support of the TODOS from its beginning, while she was councillor for international relations at the CML until 2017. But she maintains a privileged relationship with the TODOS and its organisation.

In the Appendices, a brief biography of each interviewed member is provided before their respective interview transcript, presenting their migratory route, their relation towards mobility and their musical trajectory (Mendes Pereira 2012, ANEXO G), thus considering the very outlines of their music formation, influences, and projects for conciseness concerns.

The four musicians of the OT interviewed predominantly exert a role of musician-interpret. Yet, they are often involved in the music creation and arrangement with the conductor Carlos Garcia. They sometimes go beyond their functions as instrumentalist, like Francesco that played a role supporting the process of recruitment. Putting aside the technical team – and they are indispensable because each venue does not necessarily know how to operate and soundcheck all the instruments of the OT – the management team is constituted by Miguel Abreu, Henrique Costa Santos and Carlos Garcia. Henrique explains that Miguel Abreu is the “ultimate” responsible of the OT, as the orchestra depends upon the

¹⁷⁰ As seen on this short excerpt from my field work: <https://youtu.be/-9zbfInT03I> (Rua Productions, “Concerto Orquestra TODOS - Feira Mostra Mação,” 2023a).

APC, the legal entity with which the festival is registered. Abreu is also responsible for “the future of the *orquestra*” as he is “in charge of getting the funding and also getting options of partnership and opportunities to play”¹⁷¹ (Appendix L). A note on these partnerships: the TODOS received a special funding during the COVID-19 crisis¹⁷² (from the program *Garantir a Cultura*) from the Ministry of Culture and the General Direction for Arts (DGArtes), that permitted the OT to make a “small tour throughout the country” (Appendix L). Carlos Garcia is the artistic responsible, he works on the repertoire and arrangements, while Henrique is the “bridge between these institutions” (the partners, the venues), the logistic responsible.

6.4 Repertoires, releases and former significant performances

The repertoire of the OT has evolved during its twelve years of existence and its change of conductor. Miguel Abreu explains that “with the change of *maestro* in 2019 [...], the OT’s sound, repertoire, and artistic profile naturally changed significantly”¹⁷³ (Appendix I). But he also discerns a skeleton constituted by musicians present from the beginning, pillars on which the sound evolves every year with new members: “the vast majority of musicians have remained since 2011, and there are always, every year, musical experiences with new musicians and, also, with guest musicians” (idem), which momentarily expands and diversifies the repertoire. Carlos Garcia creates new compositions or uses existing compositions. According to special requests or to his needs, he may also request a musician of the OT to compose a new piece or give one of their originals (it happened, for example, to Múcio), which makes other musicians participate in the composition. Carlos Garcia elucidates:

The OT’s repertoire brings together traditional music songs from various corners of the world, the authorial repertoire of several musicians in the orchestra, and other themes by singer-songwriters that are representative of styles or messages that we intend to transmit. When I was invited to direct the OT, they gave me the freedom to renew the repertoire. So, at the time, I opted to assemble a new one. Which doesn’t mean that we can’t play some of the themes from the older repertoire again.¹⁷⁴ (Appendix N)

¹⁷¹ Valente, interview.

¹⁷² From the program *Garantir a Cultura*, The Culture Ministry of Portugal explains that this programme is a “universal support [...] which aims to mitigate the impacts of the pandemic crisis on the cultural sector and encourage the gradual resumption of its activity, allowing remuneration for artistic and technical work” (Cultura Portugal 2023).

¹⁷³ Abreu, interview.

¹⁷⁴ Garcia, interview.

The music of the OT is explicitly hybrid in its meshing of elements of different music influences. Carlos Garcia is perceived by the musicians as a facilitator, a decision-maker, an arranger. The conductor is open to musical opus requests to add to the repertoire and welcomes any comment on “stylistic issues” to improve the music. He acknowledges: “Although I am responsible for the collective, there are many situations in which there are musicians who know more about certain aspects than I do, and therefore it is in everyone’s interest that this message be shared” (Appendix N), which implies that creative participation is more than welcomed, it is required.

For its most recent shows, the OT has played “Columbia rock,” with Latin inspirations (salsa), a “Fúnana,” a swing called “Nazaré,” a Roman composition with inspirations of geampara,¹⁷⁵ romena and Serbian cocek (as specified by the violinist Marian Yanchyk during a break of the first day of the rehearsals), a “funk from Ethiopia” and a composition for Rubi.

In the viewpoint of Rubi and Múcio, the orchestra’s evolution did not appear to undergo a drastic shift following the change in conductor. Nevertheless, when considering a more comprehensive analysis, it is plausible to attribute the potential enhancement of creative freedom to Carlos Garcia. With the previous *maestro*, “there were indications” as he had “very strong ideas [about the result] as it worked well with the OPV” in Múcio’s words¹⁷⁶ (Appendix O). The dialogue seems “easier,” in the perspective of some musicians, “much freer” for Múcio (*idem*), enabling suggestions and modifications on the scores and arrangements. Indeed, Carlos Garcia is always open to any proposition and adjustment by the musicians during the rehearsals, as it is at this moment that all the instruments play together, and the ensemble sound is heard. Therefore, even though Garcia has the final say, aesthetic and arrangement choices are made collectively. Even Henrique Costa Santos, who is not a professional musician, can give his opinion considering these choices.

However, it is also possible that this change (easing the dialogue) comes from a more fluid cohesion, reinforced by the time the musicians have finally achieved practising, performing together. As a matter of fact, in contrast to the musicians in KF, a majority of the OT’s members were unfamiliar with each other; they were convened as professionals. Today, the musicians of the OT have forged bonds and built friendships and professional relationships while working and touring together. Acquiring proficiency in a musician’s

¹⁷⁵ Romanian traditional folk music.

¹⁷⁶ Múcio Sá (musician of the OT), interviewed by the author, February 16th, 2023.

musical language typically necessitates a significant period of time. Múcio expressed in our interview that the current musicians are more accustomed to performing within the orchestra because they have spent time playing together and understanding each other's musical language, which greatly contributes to the ensemble's cohesion. This cohesion is a result from their learning process, driven by the experiences of collective performances – like the stabilisation of their codified communication system (Schiavio et al. 2019) – and a more structured and disciplined process of creation than the first rehearsals. Indeed, Múcio went on saying that when he joins them for a performance, there is a noticeable unity while in the past, even for the Italian conductors, it was an entirely new experience. This opinion is shared by Sebastian, who says that the band has arrived at “an interesting level” and that as it is “organised,” the orchestra is “more effective”¹⁷⁷ (Appendix Q). In contrast, Sebastian testifies to the “chaotic” and “difficult” nature of the rehearsals during the recording of their unique album *Intendente* (2012):

Because there was no structure, everyone was talking, everyone wanted to create... The director established that order; there was a lot of creation, but it was a chaotic creative process. The goal, the purpose, was still achieved, but it took much longer. (Appendix Q).

Coming back to the repertoire from the musicians' points of view, Sebastian comments that “the OT's project is not to show a specific folklore from each place” but rather to “propose to people who do not know it, a language of how music works elsewhere, a more realistic image, but not totally traditional. The orchestra always proposes a journey, not a stay” (Appendix Q, my translation). He emphasises: “If we play a Fúnana, the Fúnana you hear is an already stylised Fúnana, modern, because there are instruments that are not used to play Fúnana. We have a *sitar*, for instance” (idem). He concludes by saying that the composition is an arrangement of a Fúnana composition, which confirms the hybridity of the music played by the OT. Carlos Garcia explains that they are not playing “traditionally pure songs, since [their] collective is quite heterogeneous”¹⁷⁸ (Appendix N).

Their album *Intendente*, supported financially by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, was released in 2012. Miguel Abreu expresses a certain reserve concerning this accomplishment. Indeed, making CDs is an investment in building a portfolio to facilitate international outreach and concert engagements. Yet for the OT, it did not prove fruitful. He

¹⁷⁷ Scheriff, interview.

¹⁷⁸ Garcia, interview.

says: “We couldn’t get financial support to hire a manager to sell the Orquestra’s concerts internationally at festivals around the world...” In light of the formidable hurdles encountered in releasing the album, as elucidated by Francesco, it is comprehensible why a subsequent album might not be apparent, even though they have always thought about recording one. Francesco says that they would have had enough material to record several albums, if they were not blocked by financial issues: “If we had money, we would have already recorded three or four albums. [...] It is logistics and money. [...] Now we are recording songs, but slowly. In these ten years, we could have recorded another three discs at the minimum”¹⁷⁹ (Appendix L). Indeed, the recording sessions are very expensive, as they need to pay the studios and the people working in them, as well as the musicians, just as they pay for each performance and each rehearsal session. “We were in the studio two months ago and recorded four tunes, and we will try to put them out just to make sure that the orchestra also reaches more people outside of the concepts,” rationalises Henrique Costa Santos¹⁸⁰ (Appendix M).

Aside from playing with the TODOS, the OT has played at Nirvana Studios (Lisbon), in Sintra, in Coimbra, on Antena 1 (the national television channel) for the programme “Viva a Música,” twice at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, in the amphitheatre, and in the indoor carpark, amongst others.

6.5 Intercultural practices of interaction in a hybrid space of music creation

This section examines verbal and non-verbal interactions as well as upstream preparation to intercultural music collaboration (like the cultural knowledge acquisition mentioned by Wren) in contexts of rehearsal, composition, arrangement and improvisation (for music creation purposes). My observational field work concerning rehearsals, composition, arrangement and improvisation is limited but I attended in July 2023, two rehearsals in a studio in Arroios (Lisboa) and a concert in Mação (Beira Baixa),¹⁸¹ observations that I intersect in this section with testimonies and interviews.

¹⁷⁹ Valente, interview.

¹⁸⁰ Costa Santos, interview.

¹⁸¹ This link includes a video-reportage on the OT was made by the artistic intervention project: <https://fb.watch/oEcyDE11cF/>. The images were taken during the OT’s performance at the Feira Mostra 2023.

Once again, I put the video of my field work data gathering of the concert of the OT at the Feira Mostra de Mação (June 2023a): <https://youtu.be/-9zbfInT03I>.

Múcio enlightens the steps of rehearsals. The musicians are first called, receive the scores, study them and go to the rehearsal. In hindsight, Francesco says that the process of creating and rehearsing proves to be challenging for such a large and diverse group:

“[The repertoire] require[s] work, rehearsals, and decision-making, whether for musicians in the composition, for the arrangement, or for the orchestration, for example. It happens that the whole orchestra plays three or four rehearsals staying until 10 or 12 o’clock at night”¹⁸² (Appendix L).

The rehearsals take place in a different place almost every year. The symbolic place for rehearsals was the Intendente, according to Múcio, where it all started.

The conductor expresses: “the music we make is a natural product of the influences and characteristics of each musician” (idem). I would argue that, while being respectful and inclusive, the music is not composed during collective improvisations, “jamming” (like for the process of KF), the conductor creates the music and/or arranges it and distributes the roles. Richard Perks for example, also calling himself “‘musical-facilitator’, rather than a conventional musical-director” (Perks 2021), proposed a different approach, based on improvisation, combining “‘pre-composed’ musical stimuli, *Fragment(s)*, each of which incorporated influences from the performers’ respective music traditions and served as initial platforms for the development of the final pieces” (idem). This practice enables intercultural dialogue with the direct use of non-verbal communication through the music languages of the participants. Such a practice of music hybridisation appears to me to be more “natural.”

Nonetheless, Carlos Garcia is concerned about respecting “the individuality of each musician”¹⁸³ (Appendix N):

In the orchestra we try, on the one hand, to meet the potential of each musician (in choosing the repertoire and the function of each musician in each song) to better try to take advantage of their capacities and, on the other hand, to welcome the suggestions they may have for the enrichment of each theme. There is room for everyone to have an active voice. (idem)

The dimension of active participation is very present in the discourse of the conductor, which evokes similarities with the constructivist strain of interculturalism of Zapata-Barrero encouraging agency and individuals’ achievements. The musical project, by empowering its members, supports them to continue to enrich their identity. For instance, the *maestro* ensures a central place for improvisation during the concerts: “improvisation is always present in several of the themes throughout the concert, either through some moments of

¹⁸² Valente, interview.

¹⁸³ Garcia, interview.

solos, or through sections that are a bit more open” which reinforces the individualities within the group. “In this kind of section, there is flexibility for the musicians to develop their approach in terms of accompaniment/filling.¹⁸⁴ It is in improvisation that a musician can achieve a more unique voice” (Appendix N). Francesco confirms the relevance of an active participation. He explains that if he does not like a musical composition, he needs to “contribute for the collective to arrange it” in order for him to appreciate it more¹⁸⁵ (Appendix L). Appreciation is important because it sparks interest and thereafter commitment, which is crucial for an intercultural project to maintain openness, eagerness in learning and acceptancy of the unfamiliar.

Working in a group means opening up, this ability to be available for other people’s proposals, for the musical ideas that could arise [...]. Therefore, language is a common, unitary language. A language that we all make together. (idem)

Francesco elaborates on the construction of a “common musical language,” requisite of a music ensemble: “an orchestra is the contribution from several people towards the same goal,” “as in any group, the objective is to find a band sound, a signature sound, a characteristic sound” (idem). The carving of a common and characteristic musical language is inherent to the co-translation of the collective identity, which partly defines the individual identities composing it. Additionally, Francesco says that this collective language, and the music language with which he expresses in the OT, are different from the language he speaks playing in his own project where he is “more responsible for the arrangement and the composition” (idem). His personal projects allow him to express himself in a different, perhaps more personal language, which is also part of his individual identity.

For the members of the OT who are used to work with musicians from other cultures, cultural differences are only advantageous. Carlos Garcia states that the cultural pluralism within the group influences the composition process positively as it hybridises the ensemble: “We are all positively infected whenever we get together (whether is it to think, socialise, dance, rehearse or play). The orchestra is a living organism that grows and evolves each time it comes together to celebrate culture and music”¹⁸⁶ (Appendix N). For Múcio, the verbal language does not serve as a hindrance to creativity, as music constitutes a language *per se*.

¹⁸⁴ A fill is a short musical or rhythmic passage that adds onto the break to bridge different phrases of the melody.

¹⁸⁵ Valente, interview.

¹⁸⁶ Garcia, interview.

Sebastian still emphasises the necessity to maintain a sufficient level of openness to be able to “include [one’s] music within the music that is happening, and to let [one]self be penetrated by the music of others,” which touches upon the concepts of reciprocity and the constructivist perspective of learning. It also recalls Gomarasca’s concept of “transformative interpenetration” at the basis of “a *mestizo* democracy” (2013, 72). Sebastian stresses that it is not an easy task, that it requires practice. He says that in the OT, they are very used to “playing other styles and putting them together, leaving [their] comfort zone and creating other things”¹⁸⁷ (Appendix Q). For him, it is the essence of the OT: “an orchestra with several languages from different peoples” (idem).

In the same vein and demonstrating the complexity of a pluralism composed of almost twenty individuals, Francesco conveys the importance of the musicians to “accompany the singers” (Indian, Cabo Verdeans, Portuguese etc.). Indeed, these have to express their ease and opinion – concerning the music unfolding – which, in Francesco’s point of view, is necessary to discuss verbally¹⁸⁸ (Appendix L). In this regard, not everything can be conveyed through the musical language. Francesco explains that musicians make every effort, including listening to original compositions and making compromises, to ensure that the singer(s) feel comfortable and can continue to express their music influences through their verbal language:

There are things that are incomprehensible for us. For instance, sometimes the duration of melodic phrases in terms of number of measures, or rhythmic and melodic accents. When you hear an original, you understand. Sometimes phrases start in the middle of the measure and end in a place we are not used to. (idem)

Therefore, cultural knowledge acquisition is required in intercultural music practice in order to decipher the mediums of expression of a cultural other. Francesco analyses the process emphasising the concern of the project to make the music accessible: “first, for us, because we need to play, and then, for the audience” (idem). This is the reason why the conductor is in charge of transcribing before the music influences involved in a musical composition, for the rest of the orchestra to be able to understand. From this work, the collective rehearsals aim at disentangling the musical composition, first looking at the ensemble harmony (during my observations, they always started playing entirely once the composition) before reworking the parts, considering potential inputs by the musicians. This

¹⁸⁷ Scheriff, interview.

¹⁸⁸ Valente, interview.

process represents a significant pinnacle of music hybridisation, where the objective of the project is to make their music accessible and understandable, in Francesco's words, to find a "musical language to transmit [their] cultural plurality" (idem). The "transformations of musical genres from other countries to become music accessible to the global public" is inherent to the processes of the so-called "world music," according to Francesco (idem).

During the rehearsals, Carlos Garcia leads, he starts and stops the ensemble when he hears something that can be improved; he galvanises, energises collective progress, punctuating the rehearsal and managing time to rehearse the parts that require more practice. For instance, some transitions between parts require more rehearsing. During the short breaks, the rest of the musicians discuss rhythms, notes' dynamic changes (*piano* or *forte*), tied notes or *picado*. Carlos Garcia also makes sure to adjust the intensity of each instrument group. They set up signal(s) (sonic marker or body language) to announce the arrival to a new part of the musical composition. The rhythmic section sometimes proposes several breaks to the conductor, in general, one break stands out and receives unanimous approval which demonstrates the collective cohesion.

CONCLUSION

Field work conclusion: comparative analysis returning to the political and sociocultural environment

1. Similarities and differences in the processes of creation of the OT and KF

Both collective musical projects aim to translate popular music from various areas and their traditional elements, to transmit their research into an accessible form of music for the audience. In this regard, both have a didactic dimension. Indeed, popular music forms are strongly rooted to their contexts, encultured, which makes the appreciation of their experience less attainable for an audience exterior to this context. Concretely, if a fado performance is a culturally rich experience during a family gathering on a Sunday afternoon in Portugal, listening to a geampara composition far from the Dobruja Plateau may result in the loss of certain cultural elements inherent to this music-tradition. The musicians of the OT and of KF, outside the context as area of the popular music influences, play assuming the responsibility to transfer an atmosphere, to convey the feelings pertaining to the popular music while converting them into a form within reach to the audience. This is based on the imagined assumption that feelings are universals¹⁸⁹ (Appendix P). For Rubi, music is felt regardless of language and cultural identities: “when I sing in Indian, I feel the vibrations from people listening, that are the same for everyone. They don’t understand but they do feel something. I think that music can be felt” (idem).

The language and the music language were a recurrent topic during the interviews. At the basis of communication, they are central to the collective creative processes, but the music language is perceived by the musicians as universal, regardless of the cultural differences. For Rubi, the audience as well seems to speak a similar music language: “Language is the same, but the culture is different. You can understand the same way, you feel the same. If you listen to a Turkish song or to a Hindi song or to a Chinese song, the feelings are the same. You can think that the song is nice” (idem). This didactic approach, conveying audible music to an uninformed audience, has the potential to bridge the gap between the various styles of popular music from distinct areas and the fact that the audience, unlike the musicians, did not necessarily acquire cultural knowledge requisite to a partial

¹⁸⁹ Rubi Machado (singer of the OT), interviewed by the author, February 17th, 2023.

understanding of a specific music-culture. The didactic dimension to the performances of both musical projects is hence resulting from the exploration and elaboration of a collective expression of several music influences occurring in a hybrid space. Both musical projects are driven by a commitment to teach and communicate the outcomes of their research, which is rooted in a learning process that involves cultural humility and other previously mentioned interactional skills. The necessity to keep a stable openness towards the other, to let the other influence the self, is emphasised in most of the musicians' interviews. This practice is very close to principles of intercultural dialogue, as seen in Part I.

Despite the elaboration of a common ground, learning about each individual, their identities (cultural or not), acquiring cultural knowledge prior to the joint creative process, the two musical projects have different departure points. The OT is working on musical composition, often originating from a member's proposal of song for the repertoire, arranged by the conductor and rearranged or adjusted collectively during the rehearsals. Differently, KF's members are more frequently creating musical composition jointly integrating practices of creative improvisation (jamming). KF enables more improvisation during creative processes, especially during the composition and rehearsal phases, which, in Perks' understanding (2021), allows for a "negotiation of individual identities" resulting in "not one but multiple hybrid derivatives" of "fusing music-cultures." This must be understood in a result-oriented and creative potential perspective. A creating process with fewer improvisation phases does not hinder a healthy "negotiation of individual identities." Instead, it means hypothetically that this starting point has fewer possibilities for "hybrid derivatives" (idem). However, in both case the dialogue is open enough to determine that when one music influence is prominently featured in a specific musical composition – this systematically occurs in both collectives' compositions – it is done in a conscientious and constructive manner, while honouring each individual's identity involved.

Another noticeable similarity between the projects is the need for the members to elaborate a collective identity. In the two cases the collective identity is centred on aesthetic, artistic, and cultural preferences where individual identities interweave. Nevertheless, it appears that the OT, characterised by its professional framework, places a greater emphasis on individual orientation, endorsing individual empowerment and allowing room for personal achievement and agency. In contrast, KF, with its relational structure, leans more towards a collective orientation, promoting collectivisation, and potentially granting less

space for individual interests. As a matter of fact, the OT is a professional collective, its musicians are paid to deliver a repertoire with blended musical influences from various cultures, they have to maximise the benefits of the few rehearsals and time they have collectively. On the contrary, KF engages in extended creative improvisations, interspersed with periods of relaxation, conversation.

Ultimately, a common challenge in each project is to harness the advantages of their diversity in order to converge towards the achievement of common objectives. Undoubtedly, in both scenarios, the group is acutely aware of its diversity and the inherent strength it provides. However, it appears that the OT exercises a higher degree of adeptness in effectively managing this diversity, leveraging it as an asset both internally and in their external communications. This could be attributed to the previously mentioned professional framework in place and the discrepancy in the two projects' average age, which consequently affects their respective levels of musical and intercultural experience.

Another distinction remains in the sociocultural impact of the collectivities. The objectives and resources of the two projects being uneven, the OT further strengthens the integration of several musician immigrants in Portuguese society, despite the fact that many of them were already established professional musicians residing in Portugal for several years¹⁹⁰ (Appendix M). Nevertheless, their integration is enhanced through the professional experience inherent to the orchestra, facilitating the formation of new connections (*idem*). The OT enables musicians to integrate into an existing project (even as it was initially created, Italian conductors replicated the model developed with the OPV), which compels them to adopt a cultural and social environment, with its norms, practices, values, mission, and more. KF is an inclusive collective, which is especially significant because some of its members have recently immigrated and their accomplishment as musicians depends on the opportunities and professional experiences they can access. As they were establishing the collective from the ground up, they had the possibility to be more inclusive, encompassing each individual identity. The uncertain and precarious state of the collective drives KF to adopt a competitive stance to actively pursue their integration and to engage with new audiences. In contrast, the OT, possessing greater confidence in its future, can embrace inclusivity, extending outreach to audiences on the periphery. From this perspective, the OT fosters social and cultural inclusion among their audiences and social integration of the

¹⁹⁰ Costa Santos, interview.

musicians. KF prompts social inclusion among its members and its incrustation into the Lisbon music scene primarily concerns its self-integration rather than that of the audience.

Lastly, a noteworthy observation is the enriching experience that the two projects embody, exerting a positive impact on their members. For the members of the OT, beyond the professional experience remains a “heart-warming,” “human” experience for Francesco and Henrique, “We (“Todos”) are all Humans, We (“Todos”) are all Music” for Carlos Garcia (Appendix N). At each meeting, this is what we celebrate” in the words of Carlos Garcia (*idem*), “fun” and “love” as expressed by the members of KF. These manifestations underscore a strengthening of social cohesion, they enhance the understanding of diverse cultures, and contribute to people’s well-being which in turn, fosters personal growth and agency. It is also important for building and unifying of musical communities in Lisbon, enabling a shared sense of belonging and individuals and collectives to engage in constructive identity negotiations.

2. Politics in context: social and cultural inclusion and the role of the civil society for musical collectivities

Immigrants rely on social inclusion for economically, socially or culturally driven issues, health-related considerations, as well as the imperative to uphold human rights and dignity, foster equal opportunities, embrace diversity as a normative standard (CSPS 2023). Some cultural spaces are supporting immigrants’ inclusion, such as BOTA. BOTA stands for “Base Organizada da Toca das Artes” (“Organised Base of the Arts Burrow”), an extension of the association Toca das Artes that manages a space in Anjos (Lisbon). The space hosts concerts, musician residencies and other small organisations’ office. It is managed by Lily Nóbrega, president of the association, and Rui Galveias, responsible for the programming and production of Toca das Artes and for the technical direction of the space. As a grassroot organisation that has emerged spontaneously from its founders, it is part of the civil society as well as of the music scene of Lisbon and of the “multicultural Lisbon music circuit” (Mendes Pereira 2012).

BOTA is an inclusive space in the words of Rui¹⁹¹ (Appendix R), as it assists musician immigrants in their administrative procedures (notably fiscal) and settlement, supporting the progressive network creation (*idem*). The inclusivity is evidenced in the space’s willingness

¹⁹¹ Rui Galveias, interviewed by the author, April 13th, 2023.

to embrace these individuals and their characteristics, as opposed to attempting to impose “our” own characteristics upon them, as explained by Rui (idem). This obligation, that the assimilationist logic would enforce, is different from a logic of integration, accepting outsiders as they are, asking in return for their contribution, their collaboration, their democratic participation. On the other hand, integration aims at the individuals’ insertion in systems created for the “collectivity” (CSPS 2023), which reflects the process Rui is criticising. Rui emphasises that the diversity advantage exists only if the characteristics of the diversity are kept and not assimilated. As such, the integration of immigrant musicians is strongly related and dependent on the establishment of a multi-intercultural policy. Practices of cultural knowledge acquisition and intercultural dialogue are established at the levels of CSOs, like Toca das Artes or the APC through their activities and during the processes of creation of musical projects like the OT or KF.

However, Rui’s claim is that the Portuguese government is not dedicated enough in understanding the situation of these actors. In his view, inclusion must be done “from above” for the government and municipalities working in concert to understand the situation, leading to cultural policies which would realise more specifically the creative potential of an intercultural music scene¹⁹² (Appendix R). In his explanation, Rui highlights a mechanism involving various actors: the presence of intermediary organisations, known as “front men,” which identify social or cultural issues and bring them to the attention of municipalities (idem). This step occurs at a local level and testifies from a constructive practice of collaboration between the state and civil society. Then, the municipalities have to “guarantee that there is a relationship between an association [that can deal with the issue] and public institutions” (idem). In spite of that, Portuguese public institutions (like the CML) do not dispose of or do not make available sufficient means for social or cultural issues which often forces cultural sector’s organisations and associations to find support at the EU level. Nevertheless, EU social and cultural policies have to remain general and at times lack alignment with the specificities of local contexts, making it challenging to access financial support and other forms of assistance. This leads municipalities to find solutions themselves, which entails a significant responsibility on them. Still, Rui observes that the Portuguese “state” is unable to “read the cultural context” (idem). Though, I would argue that while the government’s intercultural lens has weakened for some indicators in recent years, as seen in

¹⁹² Galveias, interview.

the results from the ICC report, the example of the TODOS stands out. Given its research conducted in the field, the TODOS is an exception that exhibits an acute awareness of the cultural context. However, the case of the OT stands as the sole instance of a collective musical project – and other artistic groups – receiving funding from a Portuguese municipality in the course of my research. For a government openly fostering intercultural projects, this seems contradictory to the dynamic dimension of interculturality as a process and reinforces the idea of interculturalism as a policy paradigm. In the meantime, other musical collectivities like KF are not sustainable if not supported by the state.

In the same vein, Lily praises the cultural intervention of the municipality of Seixal, which prioritises broad cultural accessibility. Their actions are guided by a core principle of inclusiveness, primarily manifested through the organisation of cultural events. The “Amadora Empreende” Programme is another example identified as “good practice” by the ICC which reinforces the argument that municipalities are currently the main actors favouring interculturalism. In the “Relatório de Atividades” of 2021 and 2022, the APC presents its observations, intersecting its fieldwork research conducted both before and during the festival. It subsequently puts forward recommendations for the CML for the development of artistic and cultural offerings within the triennium territories. The APC is part of these intermediary organisations that Rui was describing. In the “Relatório de Atividades” of 2022, the APC depicts a lack of transversality between the councils:

We would like the municipality, similarly to what was done in 2009-2012, in Largo do Intendente, to create a multidisciplinary “task-force,” transversal to several councils, supervised by the Office of the Councillor for Culture, with an operational, pragmatic profile, capable of, in two years, focusing on concrete problems already identified, and based on several studies already carried out and practices developed and ongoing, by Todos and other structures in the territory. (2022, 4)

This reference to the TODOS of the triennium 2009-2012 can be contextualised by António Costa’s mandate at the CML, who was advocating the necessity for the intercultural lens to be transversal to the different councils. However, Lisbon’s ICC scores for the “Intercultural lens” indicator in 2011 and 2018 are similar (Council of Europe 2018, 17).

Returning to the discussion regarding immigration, Rui implies that if the government does not establish a process for the inclusion of immigrants, it cannot effectively “assist,” “accompany” and “guide” them while “this should be the role of the responsible entities” (idem). Supporting musician immigrants administratively is necessary, according to Lily, “because of the precariousness in which artists are” (idem). The cultural sector workers are

vulnerable in this aspect and Lily asserts that the government sees culture as a mere propaganda tool instead of a public service¹⁹³ (Appendix R). In Rui's opinion, the cultural policies must "ensure that people maintain their independence as creators; that an actor can choose to do television, soap operas, films or cinema or theatre, avant-garde theatre or classical theatre" (idem). Rui says that that such a possibility is non-existent in the current conjecture and that "the only thing they can choose is to survive" (idem). Here, Rui engages with the argument that a supported cultural sector leads to a richer culture as it makes creators capable of crafting with more freedom. For Rui, this freedom must be a personal choice of career. This situation combined with a rise in the cost of living in the city leads to a visible precarity of the grassroots movements and organisations. Indeed, as he notices, the situation does not allow "spontaneous phenomena" of grassroots musical collectivities to be "supported," to "grow naturally and not worry about living" (idem). This is also testified in several interviews of the projects' musicians. Rui expresses the obligation for musicians to combine artistic activities with other activities, other jobs, which reduces their potential and impact on the society: "the problem with KF and other projects is that musicians have to have other jobs from time to time to be able to continue doing these projects when they could be doing just that" (idem).

Music activity is a vector for integration as seen in Schiavio et al. (2019) as well as in the interviews of the members of the two projects, which attested developing social bonds, trust and mutual understanding between newcomers and established residents. Associations, grassroots organisations of the civil society are therefore the main structure withstanding processes of integration for immigrants. They embody the vital force of the social cohesion in contemporary Portuguese society, of interculturalism and hybridity. Furthermore, immigration policies by shifting the gauge of hospitality and integration processes have a discernible impact on creativity. This is due to the fact that the mere existence of cultural diversity within a society, in isolation, does not prove adequate unless there is active interaction among diverse social groups and communities. Rui claims that "[m]uch of the work done in Portugal, whether related to culture or not, is always on the edge of dignity. And living on the edge of dignity conditions your creative capability"¹⁹⁴ (Appendix R). He refers to the vicious circle in which artists struggle in improving their living conditions

¹⁹³ Lily Nóbrega, interviewed by the author, April 13th, 2023.

¹⁹⁴ Galveias, interview.

because these very living conditions exert a detrimental influence on their creative endeavours. It seems possible that fostering inclusion in the cultural sector would impact positively its average creative capability.

BOTA's standpoint on inclusion does not explicitly specify that it is an inclusive space designed for diverse cultural identities; rather, it is an inclusive space that welcomes individuals from any identity. This can be associated with the CoE's recognition of the presence of numerous diversity categories: "race, ethnicity, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, social class, physical ability or attributes, religious or ethical value systems, national origin, and political beliefs" (Council of Europe 2021b, 9). Similarly, several musicians interviewed during this research conveyed their orientation toward openness and the pursuit of mutual knowledge. This orientation is not confined exclusively to cultural distinctions but encompasses differences in a broader sense. On numerous occasions during the interviews, I sensed that I was unintentionally complicating the interviewees' experiences by adding layers of interpretation and meaning. Throughout the (semi structured) interviews, I was guiding the conversation introducing the topic of culture, cultural backgrounds, enculturation, a subject on which none of the musicians spontaneously initiated discussions on. When I introduced the topic, they made efforts to contextualise it, but it became apparent that they did not view cultural identity as an inherently significant factor in their collaborative creative process, which is surprising for intercultural projects. The musicians interviewed relate with their colleagues respecting their individual identity and subjectivity. This behaviour connects with the literature on hybridity.

Daryl Chin articulates the issue in situations where interculturalism is "cited as an excuse for work which closes options, curtails perspectives, and cuts off exploration in favour of imposing meaning, rather than allowing meaning to arise from the material" (1989, 175). In his perspective, interculturalism arises from the artistic material or from the process but should not be defining a project in its early stage. Furthermore, the promotional application of interculturalism can be examined as an imperialist practice. During our interview, Lily commented on projects proposed and supported by the government, taking the example of one of the last concerts of the new year celebration on television, explaining that they cannot be considered intercultural without "work backwards or forwards," which requires musicians to "continuously interconnect" (*idem*). She says that putting on stage several singers from different nationalities to sing is not sufficient to be called intercultural

action. This assertion implies that true intercultural engagement goes beyond mere surface-level diversity: it necessitates meaningful dialogue and collaboration, fostering mutual learning between participants from diverse backgrounds.

In this context, the call to shift the focus from dealing with cultural diversity to addressing identities, whether cultural or not, is particularly pertinent. It suggests that a holistic approach to interculturalism should encompass all aspects of identity, acknowledging that individuals are multifaceted, contradictory, and that their cultural backgrounds are just one facet. Governments and institutions, collaborating more closely with civil society, should create hybrid spaces for the exploration of various identities and promote interactions that transcend cultural boundaries. By doing so, they can foster a deeper understanding of both individual and collective identities promoting collaborative growth that extends beyond superficial diversity, allowing musicians from diverse cultural backgrounds to explore the complex nature of their identities.

Final remarks

In my dissertation, the examination of musical projects in Lisbon uncovers a cultural hybridisation of collective and individual identities, shaped by the prevailing European consensus on multicultural and intercultural policies, as well as by the cultural and immigration policies of the EU, of Portugal, and of the municipality of Lisbon.

Debating migration-related diversity policy remains from the utmost relevancy as anti-immigrant rhetorics on cultural diversity, based on cultural fundamentalism, are still of use in most European countries, mainly by nationalist parties. This discourse triggers cultural exclusion, segregates cultural minorities by categorising and erecting barriers to differences, hindering the participation of ethnic minorities in the construction of national identity. These topics, related with discussions on immigration policies and hospitality, only partially addressed in this dissertation, constitute one of its limitations.

Multiculturalism and interculturalism represent current approaches to integrate diverse cultures in the society and mitigate sociocultural conflict. Multiculturalism emphasises the involvement of immigrants while preserving their cultural distinctiveness. In contrast, interculturalism advocates for the establishment of a space – a platform for intercultural dialogue – wherein cultural identities can engage with one another and mix. The aim is not for the mainstream society to assimilate the cultures of immigrants but rather to leverage this

diversity, taking advantage of its richness, embracing principles of equality of rights and opportunities. Integration processes suggest an active role from the integrating, that the interculturalist observes considering the unequal access of individuals to resources (people of colour, marginalised communities, the disabled, women, or anyone outside the hegemonic group) as pinpointed by notions of capability (Zapata-Barrero 2013; Robeyns and Byskov 2023, explaining Sen), acknowledging the relevance for its inclusive dimension.

Pondering postcolonial discourses, the responsibility for fostering integration and inclusion relies on European hegemonic cultural groups, as Western cultural colonialism persists in imposing languages and cultures on former colonies and ethnic minorities. In the context of power struggles between the dominant and the minority, non-inclusive societies and the retention of a system based on cultural differentiation perpetuate. Both essentialist perspectives and certain multicultural applications can cause such a situation, creating social boundaries that exclude, marginalising minorities groups. This underscores the importance of the intercultural and reviewed multicultural perspectives, especially in examining the formation and upholding of intercultural communities and groups, as they encourage interaction. Bhaban third spaces are significant as they place themselves in-between, free from power relations, they embody “free space[s] of speech” (Gomasca 2013, 74), and attempt to negotiate identities, claiming that individuals bear differences even within a culturally homogeneous community. This is particularly crucial at an age of super-diversity where cultural subjects do not want their identities to be miniaturised (CoE 2021b; Cattle 2016).

Enabling third spaces in our culturally diverse cities is crucial for social cohesion as they facilitate the hybrid formation of identities, a process strengthened by CSOs. The associational sphere of civil society proved that intercultural dialogue has the potential to address everyday challenges in a manner that extends beyond the capabilities of governments alone (Council of Europe 2008). Intercultural dialogue is efficient when set up within educational spaces, youth and sport activities and cultural/creative activities involving aesthetic challenges (Frost 2008). Moreover, leisure activities, particularly those involving civil society actors, serve as catalysts for intercultural dialogue and contribute to the integration of immigrants. Civil society embodies places for potential cultural hybridisations, surpassing binary systems of differences, playing host to cultural transformations and blending (Gomasca 2013, quoting de Certeau).

Surely, differences exist and rise complexities, but diversity has to be safeguarded in our societies. It has crucial advantages for creativity, problem solving, human resilience, identities and meaning, productivity by expanding the reservoir of available knowledge (Council of Europe 2021b, 11), for the “love for variety” (Zapata-Barrero 2012, 11; Council of Europe 2012, 4, quoting Hannerz); it is decisive to the elaboration of a “community of sense” (Rancière 2009), vital for minorities groups’ individuals to vindicate their citizenship status in a context of uneven distribution of political power (Rancière 2004, 12).

The phenomenon of hybridisation within civil society constitutes a valuable experience that encourages the exploration of innovative modes of coexistence (Gomasasca 2013, 78), processes in which creativity is involved. This underscores the imperative to safeguard creativity, diversity, and the autonomy of spaces within civil society. It also suggests that to mitigate exclusion, segregation, and social conflict inherent in maintaining a system of differences, it is essential to actively seek policies fostering hybridisation. Such an approach facilitates the democratic engagement with differences (García-Canclini 1995, xxxi). Promoting policies of hybridisation involves demonstrating that diversity can be advantageous when addressed through intersubjective dialogue and the co-construction of shared meaning, an argument made by interculturalism. Furthermore, the *mestizo* democracy recommended by Gomasasca (2013, 72) stands for a society where diversity must be pursued to achieve unity (idem 73). Interculturalism stimulates hybridisation, going beyond the hinderances of diversity, transforming differences into resources and advantages. Intercultural policies aim to foster subjective interactions between diverse identitarian groups in society (CoE 2018, 2021b), keeping the sense of shared values, vital bridges between these groups, as a central objective (idem).

Nonetheless, it has been seen that grassroot intercultural initiatives are not always supported by the CML, which tends to prioritise funding its internal projects, the prevailing approach remaining characterised by a top-down policy, resistant to the appreciation of differences (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2017, 212). This sheds light on the significance of funding bottom-up projects as much as top-down ones. For example, providing financial support to musical projects like KF is warranted due to the importance of the preservation of third spaces and social integration reinforcement, while the OT merits examination due to its possession of tacit knowledge related to intercultural dialogue. The advancements developed by interculturalism and the advocacy of hybridity in a democracy are efficient in

a society that builds upon the tacit knowledge acquired by practitioners and fosters dialogue among policy craftsmen, researchers, and practitioners (van Steden 2020). Consequently, the linear model of dispensing policies in a top-down logic should be supplanted by a virtuous circle grounded in feedback, networks, and engagement throughout the entire process, spanning from policy creation to implementation at all levels (idem). This perspective is one of the most important feedback given by the ICC report of 2018 on Lisbon's intercultural lens. Moreover, intercultural musical activity is a vector of integration. Engaging in collective musical activities has the potential to foster foundational levels of trust and understanding between newcomers and established residents (idem), fostering social cohesion. The success of intercultural work in terms of identities construction relies significantly on the intercultural knowledge and experience of the collaborators (Wren 2015).

The project of *mestizo* democracy underscores the need to conceptualise a dynamic common good, which naturally emerges from a democratic process of dialogue among diverse groups and entails political commitment (Gomasasca 2013, 72, 73, 74). This approach includes hybrid identities while prompting a participative integration from non-hegemonic groups like immigrants. The commonality and recognition of sharing something in common (idem, quoting Craig L. Carr) fundamental to this political model is the understanding of the importance of civil society and the allegiance to it, to justice and to human rights (Gomasasca 2013, 76), and to civility (Bauman 2000, 104-105), as defended by multiculturalists.

Besides, we have seen in this dissertation that it exists many approaches to the elaboration of a commonality, refining the theoretical proposal of intercultural dialogue: intersubjectivity (Bhabha 1994; Grossberg 1982; Kalua 2009 quoting Turner; Marotta 2014; Kant), hybridisation (García-Canclini 1995 ; Gomasasca 2013), cultural humility (UNESCO 2013; Gomasasca 2013), positive interaction (Zapata-Barrero 2012), the constructivist perspective of learning (Packer and Goicoechea 2000, drawing on Cobb and Yackel 1996), reciprocity (Packer and Goicoechea 2000, Schiavio et al. 2019), mutual search for a common understanding (CoE 2008; Plato; Gomasasca 2013; Schiavio et al. 2019; Zapata-Barrero 2013; 2017; Perks 2021), cultural knowledge acquisition (Shelemay 2011). All these methods, some of which are particularly pertinent to musical processes of creation,

underscore the fundamental role of learning in the development of any intercultural project, thus proving inspirational in the broader context of societal construction.

Initiatives like KF and the OT are hybrid and hybridising collective musical projects, as they comprise and mesh several music influences, placing themselves at the crossroads of different cultures. It has been clarified that KF can be defined as a music collective, whereas the OT is more accurately characterised as a musical project. The community around the musical projects – shaped more in terms of affinities for KF and of dissent for the OT and delineated by the Lisbon area and context – acts as a network that supports the musician’s processes of creation, integration and agency in the Lisbon scene. Both communities around KF and the OT overlap, as they are based on common interests and similar situations between members. These shared interests initiate a commitment to collaboratively develop and sustain commonality, referred to as a “community of practice” (Schiavio et al. 2019), emphasising the importance of a healthy negotiation of individual and collective subjectivity and identities. In musical collectivities, the common interest is further explored and coupled with mutual understanding which is essential to the proper functioning of a culturally diverse society (Schiavio et al. 2019).

Both musical projects’ values are close to the concepts of “community of sense” of Rancière and “participatory sense-making” as an essential component of collective music-making (Wren 2015; Schiavio et al. 2019). The emphasis on learning together, progressing through intersubjectivity and developing a profound understanding of musical partners reflects the pursuit of “true jazz” moments, as advocated by Ralph Ellison (1972). Both KF and the TODOS (reflecting in the OT) embody intercultural values, while their specific missions address distinct facets of cultural interaction and integration within their respective contexts.

KF established their common ground, serving as the foundation for their collective identity, during jam sessions and collective residencies. Notably, the collective’s structural and creative framework remains sparsely influenced by hegemonic groups or societal constructs, embodying an informed space for intercultural creation (DeNora 2008, 150, drawing on Adorno; Chin 1989). The passion shared among collective members is evident in their common tastes and interests, particularly in the intersection between “world music” and music fusion¹⁹⁵ (Appendix C). The establishment of a robust common ground, both

¹⁹⁵ Duvale, interview.

musical and moral, is deemed indispensable for KF, impacting not only their creative process but also their daily lives as a closely-knit community. While initially, the mutual knowledge and reciprocity applying principles of constructivist learning process played a significant role, the commitment to shared meaning gradually decreased in the later stages¹⁹⁶ (Appendix D). In a parallel vein, Sebastian Scheriff (interview, Appendix Q) highlights the essence of the OT, where musicians proficient in various styles come together to create an orchestra with diverse musical languages, mirroring the basis of commonality observed in KF.

The interviews underscored the creative potential of cultural diversity in shaping music influences, contingent upon an extended common understanding of the musicians' languages and capabilities. Instances of non-constructive tensions and conflicts arise (in the case of KF), particularly when cultural differences are not openly expressed and leveraged for constructive advancement. In intercultural music practice, acquiring cultural knowledge is crucial for interpreting the expressive mediums of another culture. The composition process of intercultural music projects, transcribing expressive elements of music influences, is a pinnacle of music hybridisation. It aims to create a musical language that transmits the collective's cultural and identitarian plurality and aligns with the transformation and retranslation of music influences from various countries into hybrid music.

The establishment of a common ground in musical collectivities hinges on interactions, both verbal (underscoring the importance of verbal language and sociocultural boundaries) and non-verbal, particularly during music making and performing (stressing the pivotal role of musical languages). Collective music-making demands "in-the-moment" interactivity (Schiavio et al. 2019), formed by a web of interactive and non-linear communication processes (involving body, affective, sonic, aesthetic, or socio-cultural messages).

In examining the trajectory of the music projects, KF's attempt to identify its capabilities and delineate agency through "spheres of action" (Appendix D) resulted in structural shifts, internal conflicts and eventual dissolution, highlighting the delicate balance required for collective cohesion. Verbal language, identified as a communication barrier in certain interactions, was found to have minimal impact on the creative process in both projects. This underscores the significance of non-verbal communication, musical languages and shared experiences in fostering unity and effectiveness, as enlightened by the OT's case. The construction of a common musical language was deemed essential for carving out a

¹⁹⁶ Roldão, interview.

collective identity, although individual expression in personal musical projects retained its importance. While verbal communication was not universally judged indispensable for music creation, it held relevance in specific contexts, such as expressing musical ease during rehearsals or conveying lyrical nuances. Both projects faced the common challenge of leveraging diversity for common objectives, with the OT ascribing a higher degree of adeptness to managing diversity, potentially influenced by its professional framework and experienced members. These insights underscore the complex relationship between communication modes, diversity management, and the pursuit of collective objectives within intercultural music practices. Cultural differences predominantly surface in verbal interactions during composition and arrangement processes, showcasing the significance of non-verbal communication in music creation.

Improvisation assumes a crucial role in the efficacy of intercultural practices and the negotiation of identities (Perks 2021; Wren 2015). It allows non-hierarchical relations among participants, enabling ethical cultural representativity and a healthier elaboration of individual and collective identities (DeNora 2008; Schiavio et al. 2019). This significance is heightened by the primary concern of cultural imperialism in intercultural processes of creation (Chin 1989), rendering essential upstream cultural knowledge acquisition.

Gebhardt's observation about the constant evolution of a music collective in response to artistic ideas (2015) finds resonance in the experience of KF, where individual identities assert themselves within a hierarchy-free space, fostering improvisation moments and managing the tension between individual and group dynamics (Ellison 1972). The creation process of KF involves jamming, individual practice, collective rehearsal and collaborative decision-making. The OT explicitly embraces hybridity in its repertoire, meshing elements from diverse music influences. Conductor Carlos Garcia serves as a facilitator, encouraging creative participation and collective decision-making during rehearsals. While the claim that music is a natural product of each musician's influences is challenged, the active participation dimension aligns with the constructivist strain of interculturalism. The OT's musical composition and arrangement process contrasts with KF's music creation stemming from improvisation, with the potential to yield manifold hybrid derivatives. Overall, the discourse and practices of both projects underscore the significance of improvisation in navigating intercultural practices and negotiating identities within the realm of music creation.

The dimension of knowledge accessibility and knowledge transmission takes centre stage in the two musical projects' performances, reflecting a didactic approach to researching and conveying music influences from various styles of popular music from distinct areas of origin. Both projects share a commitment to translating these styles into accessible forms, bridging diverse influences with uninformed audiences. This process involves acquiring, translating and delivering a contemporary and hybridised version of musical compositions, sparking audience interest in the main music influences at play. This process highlights that a collective's identity is more palpable in its compositions and performances than in its initial inputs. The "concert-commented conversation" (Appendix N, Appendix I) of the OT aligns with the TODOS' recognised good practices in intercultural mediation, migrant integration, and challenging cultural boundaries, that constitute inspirations for intercultural urban strategies and set examples for other cities and cultural actors (CoE 2016). This reinforces the didactic mission of the musical project's hybridity. The process emerges from the projects' exploration of various music influences within hybrid spaces, demonstrating a commitment to teaching rooted in cultural humility and interactional skills. Musicians stress the importance of openness and mutual influence, reinforcing intercultural principles.

Interculturalism emerges as a compelling call to engage with and embrace the diversity of the alien. Júdice's perspective (interview, Appendix K) underscored the potential for gradual commitment to civic duties and the consolidation of the values of citizenship and interculturalism. Within the Portuguese cultural policy framework, cultural associations play a central role in preserving national culture, emphasising the pivotal role of civil society mobilisation in sustaining Lisbon's cultural hybridity. The TODOS exemplifies good practices through field research, contributing to the improvement of the intercultural lens. However, uneven integrative capabilities among immigrants suggest the need for nuanced considerations in fostering an inclusive intercultural society. Grassroots organisations like BOTA contribute to the intercultural music circuit, offering inclusive spaces and support for musician immigrants. The case of the OT, receiving municipal funding, contrasts with the precariousness of grassroots movements like KF, highlighting potential contradictions in intercultural policy paradigms. The APC's proposal for a multidisciplinary task force emphasises the need for pragmatic, problem-solving and collaborating councils. The observed precarity in the cultural sector, compounded by rising living costs, prompts

reflections on the impact of immigration policies and the potential positive correlation between inclusion and creative capability, which constitute an interesting avenue of research.

The importance of openness and mutual knowledge extends beyond cultural distinctions to encompass broader differences and diversity, urging a holistic approach to interculturalism that subjectively addresses the Other with their individual identity, which connects with the literature on hybridity. This redirection, from dealing with cultural diversity to embracing identities, emerges as a pertinent consideration for a more inclusive and collaborative intercultural future. A more proximate and constructive collaboration must arise in Lisbon, reconciling debating spaces of politics and academia, as stressed by Bhabha (1994), in order for a *mestizo* democracy to be articulated (Gomarasca 2013). Interculturalism should encompass all aspects of identity, acknowledging that individuals are multifaceted and that their cultural backgrounds are just one facet. Governments and institutions, through closer collaboration with civil society, should establish hybrid spaces for the exploration of various identities and encourage interactions that transcend cultural boundaries. This approach can facilitate a deeper understanding of both individual and collective identities, promoting collaborative growth beyond surface-level diversity, allowing musicians from diverse cultural backgrounds to delve into the intricate nature of their identities.

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APPENDICES

A) Interview of Alexandre Weisz - March 9th, 2023

Biography (based on the interview)

Alexandre Weisz is a French keyboard player, drummer, and producer living in Lisbon since 2020. Involved from the beginning and therefore partly responsible for its creation, he is one of the core members of KF. He often takes care of organisational and logistical matters for event production. He plays keys with Orchestra and drums with Dolu. During jams, he plays both. Alexandre grew up in a suburb of Paris. Son of jazz musicians, he found his feet as a musician on the Paris jazz scene. His mother, born in Djibouti, grew up in Laos, Madagascar, Reunion Island, and other places; his father grew up in the USA, which predisposed the way in which he was introduced to and influenced by music practises. He confides in the following interview his aspirations towards music as a child. Several members of his family being professional musicians, he assures that from a young age, he did not want to become one.

As the conventional pedagogical approach to musical instruction, particularly when undertaken under the guidance of his father, did not align with his disposition, Alexandre autonomously learned to play the guitar and later the piano and the drums. Both in his influences and in the panel of music styles he can play, he is very versatile: from electronic music to jazz, salsa, samba, or Turkish psychedelic music. He concedes, though, that mastering them all is extremely tough, but highlights the need of “transversality of genres” for composer-producers. This is perhaps an identitarian similarity shared by culturally hybrid subjects’ aesthetic interests and imaginary framing their creative research. Alexandre’s musician name is Mr. Perroquet. He has various collective musical projects like the salsa group La Tremenda Sonora.¹⁹⁷

Interview

Arthur: Can you tell me about your music roots, how did you get introduced to music, what are your music practices, how did you learn, and do you have a music formation?

Alexandre: Yes. Basically, I’m from a musician family: both my parents have been professional musicians, performer, composer, teacher as well throughout their lives they had different types of position. I always grew up in this kind of environment. I started my first instrument when I was 4 years old, I started with accordion. I was a big fan of this music, music with accordion, music from Louisiana because my father grew up in America. Both my parents didn’t grow up in France: my mother grew up in Africa and Laos, Madagascar, Reunion Island and other places. She was born in Djibouti. And my father grew up in America. So, my culture is kind of mixed around that. They were both mostly jazz musician and made their whole carriers in Paris. I grew up in this environment, I’ve always been surrounded by music. Most of my family members, outside of my parents, are musicians as well. I always live with that and with the feeling that I didn’t want to be a musician as well. I was playing music just for pleasure and I didn’t want to make it a profession.

Arthur: How did you get to play music?

Alexandre: I started to play accordion but then my father found out that the teacher was not good enough, so he wanted me to learn piano because he is a pianist. He entered me to piano lessons, but

¹⁹⁷ On this video posted on the Instagram page of La Tremenda Sonora in November 2023, we see the group playing at the Lisbon club B.Leza: https://www.instagram.com/reel/CzeJ-s8Iy1O/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&igshid=MzRlODBiNWFiZA==.

the teacher was not good enough, so he decided to teach me himself. Actually, it is the worst thing ever to try to get music lesson from your parents because they have such a big expectation and you just don't care, you are like a child, I was seven years old. It degusted me of playing music. I stopped more or less one year after terrible arguments with my father and my mother was just tired of it and I stopped playing music. Two years after, my mother asked me one day if I wanted to play again. I said "Yeah, but I want to play drums." [laugh] So, I stopped playing music, but I started to play drums, which is a joke in the family as well. I started to play drums, but I wasn't very accurate, rigorous to go to my lessons. My teacher was bad again, I've only had bad music teachers. I was just faking being sick not to go to my music lessons. Until I was 15 years old: all of my friends started to play guitar. I found them so bad, they were all bad, spending so much time to learn one song. I was still playing drums, going to drum lessons, but not really practicing, but I was thinking: "I'm sure that in one month, I can get better than all of them." This is what I've done, I started to play guitar and for the first time of my life I start to play without a teacher, I start to learn as an autodidact. From there, it just became very natural, I stopped taking drum lessons, I arrived in high school and I met again one of my friends, that was a very good guitarist – he still is. We started playing music together, and I was playing drums playing guitar or I was playing guitar and he was playing guitar as well. I was more focused on guitar than drum I would say but I was just playing for fun, I never wanted to make it a job. Then I arrived at university, I started to build on a brass band, because I wanted to play music differently. I was playing at a lot of jazz venues in Paris with all the sons and daughters of the musicians that used to play with my parents. But I got disgusted by the scene, jazz world is not very tender... I was not feeling that people had the same aspiration with music. This brass band was made of people that had a weaker level for sure, but I had more time to dedicate to create good music because for me artistic process is something that takes time to develop. You can be with the best technician ever, the best virtuosos, if you don't take the time to develop a world together, the music is still going to feel superficial even if its sophisticated. For me, a big turning point that made me do what I'm doing right now as well is the fact that I understood very early that if I want to do something powerful and deep, I need to take the time to create it and to create the field to make it grow.

[...]

Arthur: When you arrived in Portugal, did you meet them directly?

Alexandre: It happened very fast actually. But it's not only KF. For me, everything started with the encountering of Lucas, the other French guy from the collective. We have met in jam session, and instantly feeling good, morally as well. Lucas is an accomplished musician; he had been living from it for 10 years and I've been doing music on the side for all my life. We recognise the value of the other, artistically and humanly as well. Even if technically, I was lacking a lot – and I am still. We started to live together. I was living in a hostel, in Lisbon, because it was COVID times, no one was in the hostels, so it was very cheap. When I moved to Portugal, I moved with a piano and a studio to record. I set up the studio in the hostel room. I invited Lucas to live with me, as he was at the time in Portugal only to record music clips for his projects. We lived in this hostel room, more partying than playing music but still thinking about it. It lasted one month, with another French guy, a friend of Lucas, that came with the drummer, called Steven, part of the collective as well [KF]. He is the one singing on the single released, Papa n'aime pas. He is a very important person for me within the collective. We were still going to these jam sessions where I met Lucas, and we met Ollie [Olivier]. We instantly understood that he was a great bassist and that we could do things together. Then we lived in an Air Bnb, very fancy and very cheap. Everything was closed so the only thing we could do was producing music. We produced an acid-jazz, breakbeat, hip-hop EP, that we are still working

on today [laugh]. I think we are going to release it one day. Then Ollie rented a house in the countryside. Lucas went to France and brought back a shit load of material to record and at this moment, Kris and Sjoerd arrived. We all started to live in this community house in the countryside for almost three months.

Arthur: I know the rest of the story.

Alexandre: We played music all day, partying together, living together. I found what I was looking for. That was kind of a turning point. I was sharing things on a deeper level than just meeting different mercenary musicians for a gig. I think we were very friends. Partying together, cooking together, doing everything together. I'm a team person. I always liked team working. I had this hope that we could create something that would fit with my moral values, where I could practice my arts and live for my heart, in a way to which I relate morally as well. From the starting point of this collective, it was only true relations. For a long time, we had to live in the same rooms, piled on top of the other: a lot of sacrifice but comfort. At some point, for me the journey became very interesting in the sense that I knew that the results would be random.

Arthur: What music influences you in music creation?

Alexandre: Everything actually. I'm forcing myself to stay as open as I can, taking most influences that I can take because every type of music has its own difficulty, and you can create. There are different types of direction that are more advanced in some types of music. Something is going to be completely neglected in a musical style is going to be very developed in another. You should take for example reggae music: harmonically you cannot compare it to jazz. The richness of the harmony is way less, but there is another type of work that is done in reggae that is very interesting to work and most of the jazzmen cannot play reggae and the other way around. It's nice to have as much tool as we can from any type of music. I will listen to electronic music, then I will play like hardcore jazz, then I will play salsa, then samba, then I will create Turkish psychedelic music... I think in the collective, I'm one of the persons that can play diverse types of music. But it's kind of difficult because you cannot be mastering everything. But the transversality of genres you can play can help you to be a very good composer and more aiming to be a producer-composer than to be a performer. [...]

Arthur: You introduced me to the KF project and to the origins of its formation, about what your expectations were but can you come back to the original objectives of the collective? Why did you create it in the first place? Was it just for music?

Alexandre: For me, they were a big statement we argued before: to create good music you need to spend time to it. I needed to spend time with people to create a world together. Then, you need to find the right people and we started to live together during quarantine, and we were living well. We wouldn't have struggled for too long (it did come at some point) but for long time no. We spent all our time working together, playing music all the time, partying together as well. We had - and I found very beautiful - a self-organisation at the beginning. We had no rules, and it was working very well thanks to the people's moral standards. We had an intelligent way of working and doing things. It was obvious to me that I could do things with these people. I didn't want to spend my time creating stupid rules that are going to restrain everybody. I love to be free; I love that everybody is understanding each other, that we don't have to count because everybody is like clever enough to do it well. The moral setup was natural. All that time, I didn't have any objective outside of playing and making the best music I could.

Arthur: And as a collective, is it the same objective? I'm trying to see if there is a distinction between the members of the collective. The academic theorisation of jazz music explains that a band is a

group of individualities that are creating harmonies and tensions playing at the same time together and separately. And I'm trying to understand if the collective is an entity by itself, which has a will or objective to achieve or if it is a mostly your individual objectives and morality that join together in a collective setting.

Alexandre: This thing changed a lot on the way. If I take the first people that were there as a standard for what were our thought and what were our dreams, our goals, and what there are now, it used to be to play the best music for everyone and I'm sure everybody agrees on that. And producing. Not only playing live but also producing the best music. Bringing the richness of trances from traditional music to something more contemporary. To refresh very cool trances that have been going through ages, centuries, sometimes thousands of years and try to make it in a way that it is accessible for people that don't have this historical work that we do for them in music. Incorporate our musical language into it and trying to create something that is ours by this depicting these beautiful different influences. Each of us would have different influences, have a different background, Lucas and Gülami with Turkey, Kris with Mali, for me it was the Big Jazz influence, Ollie had king of pop... We had a lot of different powers we could bring together to reach new heights as well. Also, to me the objective was to learn together.

Arthur: That's what I started understanding: it is also a project that aims to trigger learnings, it's a progress, a journey in itself.

Alexandre: Everybody tried to learn things from each other, to progress, as personal individuals but also to build up this common foundation I told you before: "Oh I know where you are going with that, because I know your musical language." Someone who wouldn't know this musical language wouldn't understand. But, if you understood what I mean by doing that, you're going to react in a more appropriate way bring it higher, a bit further. So, an open musical consciousness to an extent that we can communicate. It is very funny. With Ollie for example, humanely, it hasn't been the best between us, but as soon as we play together, it is instant connexion. Because we did all that work together. As a pianist and a bassist, we don't need to look at each other to know where we're going to. We know each other musically, where we are changing part, I know what he is doing.

[...]

Arthur: You jam a lot, right? And jams are complex and interesting social settings.

Alexandre: We used to jam a lot. Four days a week. No, all the days. When we met, we used to do this.

[...]

Arthur: Do you think that it is related to cultures? If you compare your cultural background with the Portuguese culture.

Alexandre: Yes, it is. I think that it used to be really the case, but it tends to disappear now. The access to all types of music on Spotify, YouTube is way easier. For example, when I grew up, I had to ask my parents to listen to music. My father always told me "You cannot create your own music if you always listen to music of other people," which is partially true, I think. When I ask to figure out more music, I asked about the music I was listening whereas my dad was listening to music he was listening when he was young in the US and black music, funk, lots of things that people don't really have access to. I got to research about this music from a very young age. I guess it really drove me to some direction. This is my first musical background. For me it is more about experiences. People you're going to encounter are going to drive your musical journey as well. I will never have played Turkish music without having met Lucas. Now, I'm part of a big Turkish band in Portugal. And I'm playing with Turkish musicians graduated from the Conservatory of Istanbul. It's surprising

[laugh] and I don't relate but I'm trying to make it as part of my culture. It is the same for Brazilian music. For me, there is another point as well when you associate cultural and music. I knew a saxophone player in Paris. He learned all the salsa, all the things about Latin music, and he was always telling me "I don't know Alex, like I know how to play all their songs, but they never called me for gigs..." I look at him and I said, "But do you speak Spanish?" "No." Most of these people playing this music in Paris are all from Spanish speaking countries and speak Spanish together. They won't call someone they can't talk with or won't have fun with because they want to have fun in Spanish. You have to go through the culture.

[...]

Arthur: How does the cultural diversity inside the collective KF function and how does it influence the working methods and different languages?

Alexandre: There is an important point: historically in the collective, we've been working together for two years almost two years and a half and for a very long time, people were speaking different language and some people couldn't bridge together. For example, Duvale, the percussionist speaks only Portuguese, he doesn't speak English and most of the people from the collective learned to speak Portuguese after one year living with him. So, for a very long time I used to be the bridge between everyone translating from Portuguese to English, from Portuguese to French from French to Portuguese, from French to English for some French people who were not speaking good English. I don't speak Dutch so I'm outside of a couple of interactions with the Dutch, I would say the Dutch crew somehow. And when it comes to work and when it comes to party and have fun, we still tend to go by languages. Even if we share a lot of things and friendships, we tend to stay with what makes us more comfortable. Most of the people have the English as a basic. But native languages bring a natural division, subgroups form naturally inside the group. On the long run, it is getting easier to build a relationship with someone who speaks your mother tongue. Unavoidable. There are different mentalities according to the culture, how people tend to do things in their own country. I think the biggest opposition because we're both the organisers, but between Dutch and French, we had this duality from the beginning. It's very subjective, but where Dutch tends to be working a lot in the urgency, without many feelings engaged, without much work ethic as French we do, more emotional, more related to strong values, strong opinions. How negativity can be interpreted. For example, French people are critic, for us the critique is construction, we need critic to evolve. But it can also be seen as negativity, which doesn't always help to accomplish projects. So, it's a very thin border, because where you put the border as a French person is not going to be where you want to put the border as Dutch person or as a Brazilian person. The conflict as well, how you can raise your voice during conflicts, how you deal with conflicts is going to change with culture as well. It can create a distortion that is not something that you think truly harm the group, but it does. It's very hard to transform these cultural differences into building, dealing with variety, diversity, it's beautiful to see, it is beautiful to have different types of opinions, different skills but sometimes it can create more struggles. Furthermore, creativity takes a lot of time and it's not like cooperating. For example, we don't have business interests there because we don't make that much money. We have to spend way more time together to tackle the matter of cooperation between different cultures. Ollie is a Latin rooted person that has to be able to create with a German person who is more linked with the logic reasoning and facts while a Latin person will be more emotional and caring. It's a really tough question.

B) Interview of João Simões Arez - February 16th, 2023

Biography (based on the interview)

João Simões Arez is a Portuguese saxophone player and producer living in Lisbon. Playing in Orchestra and often at Krusty jams, he joined the team while they were incubating the musical project in the country house but is now a very active musician in the collective. His artist name (saxophone player and producer) is Jeezas. He is part of several musical projects for different artists like Vasco Ribeiro.

João is from the Algarve; he lived in the countryside, in Silves and Portimão and moved to Lisbon after high school. He started DJing with a mixer around 12 years old and started producing music at a very young age. He went to Lisbon to study music production, did not get accepted into the school, and undertook his “plan B,” a professionalising jazz course at high school that made him start playing saxophone at 16 years old. João considers his music influences, ranging from EDM to hip-hop, to be his main influences and the contemporary London jazz scene to be the current major scene he is studying and drawing inspiration from, aside from “world music,” notably due to the influence Islamic cultures present in Silves had on him.

Interview

Arthur: Would you tell me about your cultural roots? Where you have lived, what’s your nationality, you can tell me your age if you want, where are your parents from, anything that is relevant for your João: So, I’m 22, I’m from Silves, in Algarve. I’m not from Lisbon, I didn’t grow up here. Most of my family is from the Alentejo, so basically my roots are in the south of Lisbon. I’ve lived in the countryside for half of my life almost and the other half in Silves, one year in Portimão at the end of high school, and then I came to Lisbon.

Arthur: Where do you feel is home more Silves or more Lisbon?

João: Silves. For sure. For example, if I go there, I feel like home because I have all my friends, my family. It is the place where I grew up, it’s very small place so you have everything there. Nothing changes almost so it’s all very comfortable but culturally for me Lisbon feels more like, not home but what I always looked for since I started playing music.

Arthur: Okay, and what is your relation to mobility? Do you travel a lot, do your travels relate to music purposes?

João: I would say no. I don’t travel. I almost haven’t travelled outside of Portugal in my life. I would say no.

Arthur: Can you tell me about your music roots, so you pass how you get introduced to music practicing how did you learn if you have a music formation

João: I started in music when I was 11 and I started as a quote-on-quote DJ [laugh]. I bought a mixer, and I was messing around with it a year or something and then I started to produce when I was around 12-13. So, I felt in love with it and then when I came to high school, I wanted to come to Lisbon to study music production in high you know I didn’t get into the school and my mother wanted me to have a plan B and she found this jazz professional course in high school and that’s when I started playing saxophone.

[...]

Arthur: What music do you like what music influence you the most in music creation? Do you think these influences are visible in your music? What do you like and what inspires you the most?

João: Hip hop is my main school, that’s what I would say. I came from EDM before that, but I think hip hop would be my biggest school. Then it was a lot of jazz and when you come to jazz, it’s already a lot of stuff, right, but I think that during my study periods, what I got most interested in was London

jazz. The current scene. That's what I would say. That really touched me in terms of playing jazz. But then along the way, I really got interested in "world music" let's put it like that. I don't like the term. A lot of world music because Silves has a lot of Islamic tradition.

[...]

Arthur: When and how did Krusty Fondant start?

João: I'm not the one that can tell you that, because when I met them in Anjos 70, there wasn't KF yet. But they already had a group of friends formed, musicians and non-musicians. So, I was not a complete outsider, but I wasn't part of the group yet. I was part of the group of friends, but they would go to Coimbra together and spend a week there, I didn't have those experiences with them. I felt that it was kind of when KF started, in those settings, because they were already starting to compose originals in their escapes, to craft their music. And I remember that they did a concert, I don't know if they were Krusty already, but they did a concept of originals in Anjos 70 before the collective was officially formed, I think. I don't want to lie but I think. So, I cannot precise when. They are the best ones to say when it started. I can say that it came out of jams, it came out of these spontaneous moments, playing a lot.

Arthur: Did it formed around Anjos 70?

João: Anjos 70, Arroz Estudios. The two main spots, maybe I'm forgetting somewhere, but those were the main hubs we were always at. It's very funny I have to tell you, I remember when they started playing around Taberna Boutique and out of a sudden, I checked my Instagram and I reacted as such: "Well apparently I'm part of the collective." They did the page they identified a bunch of people on a photo, apparently, I'm part of a collective now. They didn't ask me if they I wanted to, it's just like "You're there. You're part of it." It was a lot of people, even a lot of people that are not playing with KF anymore, Dell, Miguel the drummers for example.

Arthur: So, was it a movement at this time?

João: Yes.

Arthur: A bunch of people.

João: A bunch of people, a bunch of people and friends. I think that was it you know, and it was really nice. I remember being very happy when I saw because I didn't know I was supposed to be part of it. Suddenly I'm part of something that I didn't know I would be part of and never expected to, but it was something I wanted maybe. I think everyone just embraced it. "OK Krusty, okay nice." [laugh] That's it, that's the brand, that's the name, that's the collective, let's go. We are Krusty.

[...]

Arthur: So, it's not about commitment it is about life continuing.

João: Yes. Because I can't speak for another person about the commitment level.

Arthur: Would you say that the creation was so spontaneous, the dissolution is as much spontaneous perhaps?

João: It's not a dissolution. They played a lot already together. They made their money. You come to a point when you realise: "OK it's low season, so...I want to travel or something." Those kinds of stuff and everyone is free to live their life because it was not something that is like "OK we are starting this thing and we go until the end, no matter what." I don't think it's that, I don't think that's how they see it. It's a project and when we can play together and have concerts, we'll do it.

[...]

Arthur: What is the status of KF now? Is it a collective, a label, a movement?

João: A collective. It's a group of people.

Arthur: A group of individual entities?

João: Individual entities and some groups within the collective. It's still not a label, it's on hold to be a movement. It has the potential to be a movement, I don't think that now it is. I think now it's a collective.

[...]

Arthur: What does the Krusty house represent?

João: Firstly, the whole building is a hub of artists. For me it was really nice when I started to go there because it was maybe the only place I had to, besides the venue or Anjos 70 or something, to be able to play with musicians that I like. Besides my house. I had one or two other spots, but it was really different, it was maybe not even musicians or rappers or stuff.

Arthur: Does it facilitate the creative process to be all in the same building?

João: Yes definitely. You just knock-on doors. They have instruments, they have things to record, they have what they need in there you know so firstly that's what I would say that's really important to have a space like that when you know you have everything you need to make music.

[...]

C) Interview of Duvale - March 15th, 2023

Biography (based on the interview)

Duvale comes from Bahia, Brazil. He learned from an early age to play Brazilian percussions: congas, atabaques, and timbales at the *bloco*¹⁹⁸ close to where he lived in Salvador. Duvale's musical essence is characterised by the *blocos* movements that promote music of African origin in Brazil. He is rooted in the “*candomblé*'s family” (ketu and jeje), which gives him versatility in playing many rhythms from Africa. According to the researcher Luciano da Silva Candemil citing the ethnolinguist Yeda Pessoa de Castro, *candomblé* refers to “a specific model of socio-religious organisation of groups led by a priestly class whose supreme authority is popularly called the mother-of-saint or father-of-saint [“*mãe-de-santo* ou *pai-de-santo*” in the text]” (Candemil 2019, 95–96, my translation). Music is central to the *candomblé* cult and “strongly characterised by the rhythms of atabaques and agogôs, by songs and dances that symbolise mythological narratives” (Candemil 2019, 95–96, my translation). Duvale mentions his influences in music from Senegal, Madagascar, Cuba, and obviously Brazil. He is extremely interested in applying his rhythmic “respiration,” thriving from his influence from *candomblé*, to his interests in “world music” and his desire for fusion. Duvale lived in Lisbon for four years and is now progressively settling down in Germany. His personal musical project is called Afrogame.¹⁹⁹

Interview (translated by the author)

Arthur: Are you influenced by certain genre of music in your music?

Duvale: No. No, I play all possible music styles imaginary, from any country, without borders, that's for sure.

Arthur: Yes, and could you repeat those first influences that you had, that passage on the rhythms of Mali, of Senegal...

Duvale: Afro and *candomblé*. *Candomblé* family. So, when you come from that root, from *candomblé*, you have a complete connection with Africa. Nigeria, which speaks Yoruba, has a very

¹⁹⁸ A *bloco* or *bloco afro* is a cultural and social group constituted of dancers, musicians, and percussionists that reunite to play together. The different *blocos* of Salvador (Brazil) parade during carnival.

¹⁹⁹ Duvale (Afrogame) plays in the following video with the group Ensemble Sesiones del Sur (Berlin, November 2023): <https://www.instagram.com/p/CzTgIVLsw1T/>.

strong connection with Bahia. So, it's a different afro, but when you come from that afro principle, from candomblé, you have a great openness to easily play any African rhythm.

[...]

Bahia is a piece of Africa. Africa is very "world music" in relation with rhythm. And the richness of the rhythm comes from Africa and is directly linked to Bahia, with all the countries in Africa.

[...]

Arthur: What is the situation of a musician living in Lisbon, in your perspective?

Duval: I won't say that it's easy, because it's never been easy. You have to have a much higher musical level, so that you can develop better and reach where you want, if you have a goal. Because that's what will make you move: you're open to the world to play all the rhythms, to have the choice. You have to understand that there are many musical genres for you to get where you want to be. There is a big difference between rhythmist and percussionist. When you're a percussionist, you play one or two instruments at most. When you are a percussionist or you play from Cuba to Asia to Madagascar to Brazil, to everywhere. So, you really are prepared to play with any artist of high level, without worrying too much about what genre the artist is going to play. [...]

People are never prepared. People are always preparing. It is the difference with the rhythmist. The rhythmist cannot create as much or they can create, but they can't fit into certain songs because they will find it difficult to play music from Madagascar, for example. If you haven't gone through this process. Not knowing the instruments that exist in the city. It is necessary to know how to assemble a specific percussion for a singer from Spain, considering the clothing codes or language, I will adapt with the instrument, but with my breath ("respiração") that will always be there, connected to Candomblé. The creation process and training that I have, from several countries. So, I have this freedom, I don't need to follow what is traditional, pure traditional.

[...]

Arthur: When did you join KF? How did it happen?

Duval: 2 years ago. There is passion between us and the music, it brought us together, even before knowing each other. It was really the music, because when they saw me playing, and I saw them playing, I automatically wanted to play with them and they wanted to play with me. Regardless of whether we know each other. So it was music that decided for us to join. It wasn't us deciding to be together.

Arthur: Because you share the same tastes?

Duval: The same tastes, the same research. Which is a wide thing in the world. So, people in this search of the "World music" are sparse. So when we met, it was very quick, very easy. Because we are on the path of "fusion". In Holland, one will play Dutch music and stay there forever. He's Dutch, but he wants everything. He wants music, he wants the genre, he wants the fusion. So, they are people who are in the middle of the fusion, without barriers, without borders, so when they meet, there is marriage. That was what happened.

[...]

Arthur: Do you think that the language barrier is a restriction for creativity? For example, as a Portuguese speaker, do you sometimes feel that it is difficult to create collectively?

Duval: No. Because it's really musical. It's a universal language, as if it was English, and when you start playing, those who speak other languages will automatically understand what you are thinking. In that moment, communication happens. The only things we will say is: "good," "not good." That's enough.

[...]

D) Interview of Maria Roldão - April 12th, 2023

Biography (based on the interview)

Maria Roldão is a Portuguese event producer, artist, and band manager based in Lisbon who, inter alia, works with KF. Part of the Promotion Team and deeply involved in the management and organisational processes of the collective, she often takes care of the hospitality of artists during events, welcoming and taking care of artists and audiences. Consequently, assuming these roles which she particularly likes, she rarely gets to see the concerts. Maria does not partake in the music creation, but she reflects on and commit in the organisation and production of events. She is from Sintra.

Interview

Arthur: So, we were talking about your story with the collective. When have you joined?

Maria: I was telling you about how I really started my job there, where my inputs for them started more with the festival.²⁰⁰

Arthur: And the fact that it was not so structured. And I asked how you felt about it.

Maria: For me, the fact that we didn't have functions wasn't that bad at the time. The problem was elsewhere. Because there was no communication, Ollie took over a lot of things, so not everyone was informed of the progress of things. So, what happened was that they came back from the tour²⁰¹ with a line-up for the festival. Everything was done: line-up, artwork, everything was ready for the festival. I was working in another festival during the summer and I also stopped working a week before, so I was knackered. They came back from the tour, so they had a bit of issues, that I didn't even know of, at some point they didn't even want to play at the festival, it was a whole shebang. So I did artistically liaisons for the festival. I was welcoming all the artists, I was making sure they were comfortable, making sure everyone was fed, basically I did a lot of things. But I feel like if there was more communication then we all could have done a better job. You were there, you didn't feel it maybe, but it was a focking mess. I'm telling you. Everything. I didn't stop I was running all day, every day, sweating, running up the stairs, down the stairs, making sure they had water...

Arthur: There were a lot of people involved in the end.

Maria: A lot of people involved, a lot of volunteers that nobody knew, that no one was introduced to. I'm not a shy person so I don't mind introducing myself to people but there should have been more structure. So, we're having these volunteers, these are going to help out, they are assigned to this but then imagine the volunteer takes drugs and then the volunteer doesn't want to work anymore because it's midnight and we're still going on for two more hours and we need to. So, at some point, there was nobody at the door. Which could have been avoided, if there wasn't one person in charge of everything and also playing 6 gigs. So, imagine you need him, he's on stage. You're not going to go on stage and ask him about the coffee for backstage. There were a lot of things that became an issue because we didn't have a structure and because we didn't communicate while they were away on the tour. There were a lot of things that were just accumulating: nobody really knew how much

²⁰⁰ "Krusty Calls London," the festival organised by Krusty Fondant at Fábrica Braço de Prata in September 2022.

²⁰¹ Some members of KF (Sem, Kris, Olivier, Alex, Lucas, Steeven, Duvale, Kike) and musicians external to KF (Riwan, Isaac, Talula, James) went on a "Krusty" tour in the Netherlands during the summer of 2022. They call it a festival tour, as they were booked in multiple places to play mostly in Amsterdam but also outside of Amsterdam. A video of one of the performances during the tour has been published on KF's Instagram page and is available on this link: <https://www.instagram.com/p/ChxCjIuPO62/>.

was being spent, at some point all we knew was that we were losing money... it was a bit messy. For events, I would love to have more structure. Because it makes sense. You're in charge of writing and social media, I'm in charge of taking care of the production, he's in charge of the musicians: some sort of structure. For an event, for the collective itself, which was then your question, I think on all honesty that we're over structuring things, which makes people a bit either unaware of what their role is in the end even though it's more specific now or more bored. Even the meetings. It's good that we have a meeting but then let's meet whenever we have something to talk about.

[...]

Arthur: But isn't then, why it needs structure?

Maria: A bit of structure. We can have things documented and stuff, but I don't think that we need roles.

Arthur: That's also the point. The other members told me about the original objectives of creating such a collective, it was for love, for fun, for sharing and making the best music.

Maria: And the structure for me, brings the love, the fun and the sharing away from it. It started a few months ago, after the festival we had some meetings with more people that were apparently already part of the collective. [...] and the first meetings we were talking about what is the collective. And with this question, everyone was so confused because we had to write it down and put words into it and make it so official, that I think it all started going in any direction. When we started creating a structure for it. Because it was the name, what do we do, what are our spheres of action, how do we describe the collective, who is the collective, what are our roles... Fuck that. I think that was the moment that things got messier in terms of the collective, not the band, the bands have their own issues, personal issues. I think that when we started talking about this, everyone started getting a bit bored. I remember looking at people's faces at the meetings and everyone was like "Really?" But then again, I don't feel like anyone speaks their mind honestly, truthfully. In general, but in meetings more because there's more pressure. If we're having a meeting right now and I need to go directly against everything that you are saying, maybe will I think twice.

[...]

Arthur: I'm thinking about two things. Are there some people that are more into love and fun and sharing and also producing together more staying at home or in the studio creating stuff and not so much into the event creation, production?

Maria: I'm honestly not sure actually. It's a bit messy right now. There's no love right now. I can't feel it at all. There's a lot of biff, too much mess right now for anything to happen. I would love to do events. But then what? And with whom? Alex refused to play in the last event we had, we didn't have a keyboard player last time, last minute. Because he said he wasn't going to play, but he told everybody that he wasn't going to play, except from the people organising that shebang. Do you see my point? I had a feeling he wasn't going to play; I ask you can you make sure; do we have a keyboard player? Nobody's really upfront about this type of shit. So even if I want to organise stuff what do I do? I can grab you as an individual and have a DJ set, but then how is that Krusty related? And then if the band is going to have a different name, then how is that Krusty related still? That's why it's all getting very confusing to me because I'd love to, I have I have some ideas, I would love to do a jam at the *miradouro*, like a Krusty jam or something but with who? If some of them are not even playing. And what are they going to play? Because they even argue about that nowadays. Some of them don't even like the African music they're playing in the other ones like the funk that they play but again, nobody is really open about it. Not even the genre and the songs that they're playing

is clear at this moment. For me, as a person who merely produces events and who's there to call them into question, even for me is hard to have ideas because what can we do then.

[...]

Maria: To give a hiatus? But it also annoys me that everyone complains about Ollie and Kris, but when they are not here, nothing happens. Come on. Then stop complaining about the man.

Arthur: Now from an intercultural perspective. Do you think that cultures are involved in the interrelationships?

Maria: In our collective? Yes. There are a lot of nationalities, a lot of different cultures, a lot of different people, a lot of different egos. The way to communicate with each other or don't, comes a lot from their own culture. You've seen it there's a Dutch versus French biff. And it's very obvious, because they are doing their things their way, the Dutch like doing things their way and then they don't communicate with each other. I do feel in that sense that there is a bit of difference. But regardless of that, I feel like it works to our advantage most of the time. Because they have different perspectives from different backgrounds. It does work to our disadvantage when there is a lack of communication and all that jazz, but regardless I think it does work to our advantage: it's different perspective.

Arthur: So, it's a weakness and a strength at the same time?

Maria: A 100%.

Arthur: Because it's supposed to converge, if it doesn't it blocks.

Maria: Yes. So, it's a bit of both I think. We could use it 100% to our advantage but sometimes there are clashes. I wouldn't say they're specifically cultural. You are French and I'm not going to extrapolate what they do to you. I'm not sure if it's personal or cultural but it could be cultural.

Arthur: A part of your person is the culture.

Maria: For example, Dutch people are not that communicative. So I understand if there is a gap in communication.

Arthur: French people are apparently really critical, according to Alex, criticising, sometimes appearing to be too negative.

Maria: That's important, good point, thank you. I have heard for example that whenever they are playing together, rehearsing or creating a new song - when you create a new song, the idea is to jam, if the idea is good, you continue working on it, if it is bad, you ditch it and you start a new one - the Dutch want to play and get ideas, while the French want to talk philosophy. So, they're talking philosophy, "What is the philosophy of this song? Where is this song going?"

Arthur: So, they don't have the same process of creation?

Maria: Not at all. And then it could be again a disadvantage, cultural disadvantage when it could be an advantage. Since they are not open, I don't think they really told this to each other. I just grab it.

[...]

E) Photo of KF's members contacts, sent by Olivier via What's App on the 6th February 2023

1	First name	Last name	Email	Phone number	Birthday	Location	Specialities	Projects/Bands	Genre/Info
2	Gulami		g.yesidal@gmail.com			LX			
3	Joao		jeezasprod@gmail.com			LX	Vocals, Saz, Percussions	Dolu	Turkish
4	Raquel	Andrade	raquel_e_andrade@hotmail.com			LX			
5	Simone		simonelorenzo.nola@studio.unibo.it		8.12.1993	LX	Vocals, guitar	Swilaw	RnB, Pop, I
6	Sem		braduwpridmusic@gmail.com			LX	Percussions	Goes Mali	
7	Olivier	de Jong	olivierdejong1@gmail.com			LX		Goes Mali, Orchestra	
8	Kris	Heres	krisheresh@gmail.com			LX	Bass, Production	Orchestra, Goes Mali, Kunuku	
9	Duval		tamborexplorado@gmail.com			LX	Guitar, Vocals, DJ		
10	Goncalo		goncalo.csousasoafes@gmail.com			LX	Percussions	Orchestra, Goes Mali, Luigza	
11	Lucas		luaspreleur@gmail.com	33674450019		LX	Saxophone		
12	Alex					LX	Guitar, Bass, Ud, Guembri etc Prod	Dolu, Orchestra, Kedi Sultan, Theate Trad to Exp	
13	Myriem	Abakarim	musickazba@gmail.com	004915255417817	20.10.1992	LX	Keys, Drums, Production	Dolu, Orchestra	
14	Maria	Roldão	maria.roldao@hotmail.com	351 919344245	16.12.1994	LX	Management, DJ	Kazba, Krusty calls	House, Ele
15	Dinesh					LX	Management, Hospitality	Krusty Calls	
16	Sibel					LX	Finance, Catering/cook		
17	Sammy					LX	Vocals	Dolu	Turkish
18	Valerie					NL	Guitar		
19	Steven					FR	Management		
20							Vocals, Percussion, DJ	Orchestra, DJ Kwa,	Groove, Re

F) Interview of Olivier de Jong - February 9th, 2023

Biography (based on the interview)

Olivier de Jong is a Dutch bass player who takes part in the music production and performance inside Orchestra and Goes Mali and often initiates the organisation of jam sessions in different venues in Lisbon. His name as a music producer is Kunuku. He releases under this name, notably with the music label INI Movement.²⁰²

Olivier has a cosmopolitan perspective to his cultural roots. His mother is Chinese, his father Dutch. They lived in the Netherlands and on Bonaire, in the Caribbean, for ten years. Based in Lisbon since 2020, he returns to the Netherlands several months per year. While influenced by hip-hop, afrobeats, and Cape Verdean music in his creations, he has a natural influence, due to his enculturation with Caribbean dances and Latin-American music (salsas, bachatas, merengue, etc.). Olivier started playing on his sister's guitar before turning to the bass guitar during secondary school after having seen his teacher play. He decided to study music and ended up studying it for seven years in two different schools, including at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam. He is therefore one of the musicians in the collective with the soundest academic music background. Finally, Olivier wants to dedicate more time to his own project, as the majority of his time is until now dedicated to collective projects.

Interview

Arthur: Tell me about your cultural roots. Where have you lived, what nationality are you, where are your parents from, anything that you may find relevant for cultural socialisation.

Olivier: Well, I feel like a broad citizen. My mom is Chinese, she is born in Indonesia. My dad is Dutch. I was born in the Netherlands and when I was 6 years old, I moved to the Caribbean's, to a little island called Bonaire. It's part of the Dutch Caribbean. I lived there for 10 years, so most of my youth and then I moved back to Amsterdam. So, most of my roots lay within Dutch, Chinese, and the cultural community of Bonaire.

²⁰² Olivier's latest release as Kunuku, "Songou" (2023), is available here: <https://open.spotify.com/intl-fr/album/2GY8F5VuXZZLnNuISM5cNH?si=2nNmwe9VTLKxh8zpwKdHlw>. He collaborated with João Simões Arez on this song.

Arthur: When did you arrive in Lisbon?

Olivier: 2 and 1/2 years ago.

Arthur: What cultural background that you have personally experienced influences you the most in music? Specify if its rather from the listening or the creating part.

Olivier: Because I grew up the Caribbean's, I have got a lot of these dances, Latin-American music that is very related to dance, as in salsas, bachatas, merengue: these types of dances and music. This is something that I've been listening since I'm quite young and that I try to incorporate also a lot. Other things that I've experienced also, in the Caribbean's there are also a lot of Latin-American music, I got in contact with that, but I studied music in the Netherlands. So, my music contact was not necessarily that type of music, it was more popular music. Nowadays I play quite a lot African music, different styles of African music. I've been learning a lot from people from Gambia or Guinea-Bissau: they also play a lot of different styles. I've been in contact with music from Mali, Desert blues kind of things.

Arthur: How did you get in contact with these?

Olivier: Two very good friends of mine with whom I lived with, brother and sister, there Mom is from Mali, and we went together a couple of times to Mali events in Amsterdam. It was a tribute to Ali Farka Touré, it was also his band but his nephews singing the songs. It was the first time I got in touch with this kind of music, it was really nice. Then I started listening to it a lot.

[...]

Arthur: Do you want to share your music route? How did you get introduced to music, practicing, how did you learn?

Olivier: My sister bought a guitar, first time I got in contact with a guitar. I started to practice a little bit. Then in secondary school, I had an amazing music teacher. He is the father of a really good friend of mine. He plays everything but his main instrument is bass. And when I came to that school, everybody was playing guitar and when I saw him playing bass I was like "Yeah that's dope." so I started playing bass. That's when I was around 16. Then I finished secondary school and I went to do a kind of specific music study, "lower" study than in academic university, I did it for three years, finished it, then I did the conservatory (of Amsterdam), for four years, so in total, 7 years in a row I studied music in two different schools. I got introduced like that to music: just playing music via school, finding this amazing teacher. He inspired me a lot.

[...]

Arthur: What music do you like and what music influences you the most?

Olivier: influences come and go. Mainly hip-hop when producing, African afrobeats or Cape-Verdean music, I do think you can hear that in the music. Some are really like hip hop chops but with an afrobeat construction. It's funny how it reflects. The music that you listen to, that you are interested in, and what kind of music you are recording and producing. It comes almost naturally. When you think about The Beatles and the different genres that they listen to and you hear these genres in their music, it's almost natural: you're going to channel it in your music.

[...]

Arthur: If we take the concrete example of the Krusty Fondant's last release: the 2 singles. How did the creative process go?

Olivier: It was a very collective way of working. The composition happened while we were living together in a country house during COVID's lockdown. We had a living-room with all the equipment, we lived with different people from different countries, we all met in Lisbon during a jam session. Dutch, French, Brazilian, Spanish people. We rented this house for four months; we had a whole set

up. “Papa n’Aime pas”, really came out during a big jam we did there, then worked out the parts, really collectively, making decisions together.

Arthur: So, each musician would contribute its own way in an open dialogue?

Olivier: Yes, it was an open dialogue, even the guitars could say something about the keyboards’ parts, drum fills, everyone had its word in that song. The other one was a bit different; it came from Kris. Kris has a strong influence from Mali and from West African music, he’s been traveling there for a while, he’s now in Morocco. He came up with that idea and probably while travelling through those countries. We worked it out, the three of them [future members of the group Krusty Goes Mali] kind of rehearsed playing that type kind of genre, for like three weeks, every 2-3 days playing the song, that is looking like a pattern so it’s like singing a mantra. So, the rehearsal was getting really down into this meditative mood. After three weeks or practicing to just get the field, we worked together until everyone would be tight, and we did the recording everyone together. Very different process.

Arthur: How did it go for the dialogue, the language first?

Olivier: Most of it was English.

Arthur: How did the cultural background interfere in the communication?

Olivier: We were talking different languages: French people were talking French sometimes, Dutch people were talking Dutch sometimes, Spanish also, Portuguese also. But it was a nice mix, because English is a good tool, it’s a bridge that enables all these people to be able to communicate together.

Arthur: And on the musical language? As you don’t necessary share the same musical and cultural background.

Olivier: This is the funny thing about the language of music, it doesn’t really matter where you are from, the musical language binds us together. I’ve had some projects where I couldn’t communicate linguistically with the people, but we managed to make music together. You can communicate through music. Deciding things, we did in English, but you could communicate through gesture, and in music you can actually communicate in a lot of ways. It’s quite fun to play with people from other cultures.

It triggers different types of skills, different types of rhythms come open into play.

We only wrote scores for horns, they like it because they can write on it the different forces and add some more details and if the horn player switches, there are still the indications on the scores. Scores are really irrelevant.

[...]

G) Interview of Kris Heres – March 15th, 2023

Biography (based on the interview)

Kris Heres is a Dutch guitar player, vocalist, and DJ living in Lisbon. He plays in Goes Mali and Orchestra. He is often called, with Olivier, to play with the kora²⁰³ player Mbye Ebrima.²⁰⁴ In search of freedom in Amsterdam, Kris decided to visit his friend Olivier, who was making music in

²⁰³ Traditional West African string instrument often associated with the griot tradition. The kora is a plucked string instrument, similar to the lute, distinguished by an elongated neck and a resonator crafted as a calabash.

²⁰⁴ As seen on this excerpt from the promoter Carolina Rodrigues’ Instagram page, playing at Fábrica Braço de Prata: <https://www.instagram.com/p/C17GHKMNLO5/>. Or here at Village Underground (Lisbon) for the opening of Terra Livre’s concert: https://www.instagram.com/p/Cly_mFCDSxE/ (November 2022). Or on this video from my field work: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uf8gKBleQMU> (Rua Productions, “Concert of Mbye Ebrima at B.Leza (December 2022),” 2022e).

Lisbon, with the need to express himself. Being part of a collective of DJs, part of the free party scene, and powering a sound system in the Netherlands, Kris has a strong culture of tekno and electronica. He also has significant influences from hip-hop music, jazz, blues, and soul. His dad, a punk drummer, and other members of his family who are musicians (his uncle, for example) starting from a young age, took him to their rehearsals in “shady attics or basements” and performances. But his journey as a musician experienced a new momentum with the discovery and the research of West African music. He started travelling to Africa and practising playing the *guembri*. After several stays in Morocco, he asked a traditional manufacturer of the instrument if he would let him buy one and play it. Convinced by his demonstration with an instrument, he agreed, and since then, Kris has progressively learned to use it. His knowledge acquired during the travels is extremely valuable for the Goes Mali formation, whose repertoire comprises covers and originals, and also more generally for any West-African-oriented music the collective comes up with. In his relations with Moroccan musicians, he did not feel a strong conservative inclination towards their musical tradition. He explains that seeing African musicians studying their music, their instrument, he realised that they had worked hard, like anywhere else.

Interview

Arthur: Do you feel inserted in a certain genre of music or do you have music influences?

Kris: Oh many many many many many. It depends on the timing... So, one of my musical influences is classical music but my dad was always a punk drummer like hardcore punk [mimics the drums of hardcore punk]. So, at two years old I always went with him to rehearsals you know, in like shady attics or basements [mimics again]: it's also big influence for me. And my mum and my uncle come from the squatting scene, so I come from alternative scene in Amsterdam you know so I was always electronic music and punk music; I was always really inspired by that. Then I mean when I was 16-17, I started to really love hip-hop of course. Of course! Hip-hop urrrh. And then music education, we went through many things, so you go through all the classics or the blues or the soul the funk, but I think the thing that inspires me most is one thing: it's Afro American music. Jazz or blues or soul like or hip-hop are things that really inspires me. Afterwards when I moved to Amsterdam when I was 18-19 years old, I started to be evolved into the free party scene as well, so electronica music. My friends and I have a sound system in Amsterdam we throw massive illegal parties like tekno [he mimics the tekno rhythm]. I started to really fell in love with this as well. I mean it started pretty cute, I was 18-19 I go to drum-and-bass parties whatever, but slowly I start to grow in the scene, we start to squat our own buildings, to get our own speakers. So, for a few years, I forgot about guitar a lot and I was just doing tekno, with the lifestyle that comes with, which I still have a big heart for. Especially the music. Somewhere in the middle of this I started travelling more because sometimes I needed to get out of this crazy life, to be healthy, and I started to travel to Africa and this is the music of which I'm still really inspired with and I think many of the projects we are doing right now – the projects I'm involved in - has a lot to do with African music and mostly the music from West Africa, the music from the Sahara. Also, North African influences like this string instrument the gimbri, is like more North African traditional instrument. And then it's a mix of all these things, sometimes I have a gig as a DJ sometimes I play traditional string instruments and sometimes I put Bach the whole day in my room. And hip hop is still important, when I walk, I typically listen to Hip hop.

[...]

Arthur: Is your music formation and music practises specific to your cultural and social environment and therefore different for the Portuguese cultural context?

Kris: No, not so much. I don't think so. Can you ask the question again?

Arthur: If they are existing practices, music practises specific to your social or cultural context and I refer too specific practises inherent to do music or the professor the mentors you have the school of music you studied.

Kris: Well of course. One of the persons who inspires me most is my old guitar teacher, who by coincidence, is one of Gülami's best friends [another member of the collective and a musician of Orquestra TODOS]. We found out later, we started living in the building [in Penha da França]. It was like "Do you know this guy? What!?! He is my best friend" - "What he is my guitar teacher". Beautiful story. But this guy studies *sarod*, it's a traditional Indian instrument. So, from a young age, he always showed me Jimmy Hendricks and all the stuff. He showed me guitarists, but he also showed me little bits of how he felt in love with World music, and that's something that really inspired me, he inspired me with that. And of course, in its traditional form. The Indian music is super conservative, so when you go there, you wake up at 6:00 o'clock in the morning you wash your face with cold water, you say your prayers and then you start to play or even before you start to play you need to talk to music. If you can talk to music, then you are allowed grab your instrument. In India they have a lot of rhythms. So, two is "tiki" and then three "tiki ta" [mimics a longer phrase with the Indian onomatopoeias]. So, all the rhythmic patterns, before you are even allowed to touch the instrument, you need to be able to speak them. It's a really conservative way of doing it. So, he kind of showed me certain things of that. He wasn't so strict to me. Now I found my own traditional music I like, from Morocco and this totally different, they're not so conservative about it. They really keep their tradition as well, but they like to smoke and to drink, they're kind of more hippy inside the Moroccan society. So, I don't know if there's a real cultural background that makes me study. I don't think so. When I see Moroccan musicians studying, they have studied hard. I think that practising your instruments is something which is done everywhere. Everyone has worked hard. Maybe as a Northern European, I am more punctual so I will be more on time for the rehearsal and maybe an African guy will be 10 minutes late, but we both practised like spark. So, to answer it one more time, I have many different cultural influences, which included not per se my cultural background (the Netherlands).

Arthur: Now, more on your personal journey to Portugal: did you feel a change in terms of music creation when you moved to Portugal?

Kris: Absolutely. But I think it is personal. Because I was kind of stuck in Amsterdam and I was not happy there. I was getting depressed because one of my good friends committed suicide and some people were getting really addicted to drugs, everything was dark. So, I came to Portugal with a reason also, I felt like expressing myself. I was ashamed of myself that I stopped focusing on music so much. Ollie was here making music. I felt it was perfect, I felt like expressing, I wanted to go back to music, so when I came here for the first time to meet these people, I was I was on this focus. It was easy, everything came out and everything found the place. I was surrounded by musicians and recording equipment. I was surprised it all came super naturally. For me this place, Portugal and Lisbon, in my soul and in my head it's a place for creation and place to work on music. So, whenever I'm here, I'm automatically focused on that. But whenever I'm in Amsterdam, I automatically lose my focus on that, so it's double. So, for me, Portugal is a special place for that, I don't know if it's for everybody. My girlfriend's brother is a really good drummer. When he was eighteen, he went to England exactly for this reason: I'm a good musician I don't know what I'm going to do here in Portugal, really wants to be a big cat playing with big cats. He left for England when he was 18 years and has been living there for six years now. So, it depends. I know a lot of Portuguese musicians who

leave Portugal actually because it didn't have enough chances. For me, what gives it this freedom is most of all because I work in all and then I got a wage from Holland. I work three months as a painter and then I have nine months to be here and to focus on music. That's what makes it comfortable. If I would be living here as a musician and had to make my bread with music, it would be so hard, and I would maybe grab a totally different vibe from here. Because they actually need to do all these gigs and go into town four days a week, play all the bars and play music you don't love so much maybe. But for me personally this is a place to be creative.

[...]

Arthur: Do you think that the cultural pluralism – having different cultures - inside the collective influences the process of composition?

Kris: Absolutely. Everybody brings on his own layer on top of it. So maybe I had the idea of this song from the beginning so I have this structure of rhythm, colour and tastes, but then everybody I invite on it will give his own influence. Sometimes I invite certain people for specific reason. Maybe I want this guitarist for this song because I know he understands this colour, this vibe more than the other one. Actually, really knowingly getting the right people on there, but also trusting them. “Oh for this track I trust that guy”.

Arthur: Okay. For the rehearsals for example, the same question so this cultural diversity for rehearsals, does it impact them?

Kris: Yes, for sure. I think that it doesn't have to do so much with cultural as it is also personal: how everyone practises a song. Sometimes people want to go faster, and some other people want to go slower so you always need to find a consensus where everyone can work in. Sometimes you find the perfect balance and you can go so fast and sometimes not. [...]

But every individual is formed by its culture as well, I guess. That correlates back. I don't know if the French and the Dutch are so different, maybe a little bit in the way how we speak. [...]

So, the language of the music from my culture if it correlates to the language of KF? Yes, for sure because all music correlates. If you go to countries where you can't speak to each other, if you play together you understand each other. *C'est mondial quoi!*

H) Discussion with Lucas Prêleur on Dolu's repertoire – May 22nd, 2023

Arthur: What is Dolu's repertoire? The setlist, with the genre(s)/influence(s) of each track, what are the originals/covers/arrangements?

Lucas: In Turkish music, there is a big big big repertoire of folk, “trad,” classical music...a lot of things that everyone knows, very popular. Because people have always played covers from other repertoires, of all styles, all moods, all set ups, groups, whether it's people in bars who play with the oud, the darbouka, or others who play in folk mode with a *saz*. And it's been happening for so long, that everyone covers a lot of songs that don't even have a specific style anymore, but if you want to trace them, yes we can know that there are songs that are folk, other Anatolians, other Istanbulites, Gipsy or from other ethnicities and cultures. The aesthetic barrier is not problematic anymore in Turkish culture in general. So, you will find pop bands doing techno, doing covers of the same songs as well. With Dolu, we are currently working on originals, thus, so far, we haven't played solely originals. Just like Altin Gun²⁰⁵, it's the same, even though they are doing different aesthetic choices, doing covers. We do a choice more psychedelic, because music is psychedelic from the basics there, there is a *trance-psyché* aspect. Even classic music is like that. So, we have a traditional bias,

²⁰⁵ A contemporary band from the Netherlands, playing rock and folk inspired by Turkish psychedelic music.

because there is violin, clarinet, sad, each on which is amplified, there is also a rock edge with the 70s standing out. But we are not especially trying to go out of the Turkish music straitjacket with the covers as we are playing them. It's half-way between traditional, vintage 70s and a vision of the colours lighter, more contemporary, with a "pocket" sound that can be heard in the Turkish rhythms adapted to the drums. So, it straddles several aesthetics. Now we are trying to move towards post-indie, almost jazz and rock at the edges, sometimes, depending on the compositions and the way they are developed. If there are long developments, there are lots of passes for riffs, melodies... All this is embedded in the Turkish music context.

I) Interview of Miguel Abreu by email (translated by the author) – April 10th, 2023

Arthur: What is Festival Todos? What is its concept?

Miguel: The festival TODOS - Caminhada de Culturas ("Everybody-Walk of Cultures") is an annual moment of affirmation and celebration of Lisbon as a European capital city, of intercultural matrix, through contemporary arts. At the same time, it is a socio-cultural development project that, based on contemporary art, in its various languages, promotes intercultural, interpersonal and intergenerational coexistence. Referencing, also, the socio-economic asymmetries of the territories where it works. Privileging spaces and times for artistic and cultural work before, during and after the festival, at TODOS community artistic works intersect with shows of national and international scale; stimulating feelings of belonging to the territories by giving voice to the resident populations, organizing guided tours to the material and immaterial heritage of the territories, promoting site specific shows, including apartments and shops beyond monuments, gardens, churches; organizing community meals with food from around the world, etc.. The TODOS documents and records, in photography, video and audio, aspects of everyday life in each work area, perceiving, among others, their possible racist and xenophobic behaviours for instance; draws up, based on unformal/casual observation and documented street practices, independent Reports for the Lisbon City Council (CML) that help to recognize the levels of violence, discrimination, insecurity, loneliness and isolation, school dropout, attractiveness for illicit practices, living conditions, urban hygiene and poverty, latent in the same territories, as well as the identified good practices and charismatic and discreet people who ensure the defense of rights and the affirmation of duties in several disadvantaged communities, and namely where immigrants and refugees live or work . Thus, the festival divides the city into zones, currently coinciding with the Parish Councils (Juntas de Feguesia) - which were expanded in 2013 - and promotes a work of recognition and great proximity with the resident and working populations; based on the information gathered, it prepares the artistic program, inviting national and international artists of great quality and from diverse disciplines, who identify with the problems of each territory, or serve to question and/or provoke them. The TODOS occurs, by rule, 3 years in each territory promoting informal and accelerating training of local artistic and cultural agents, artistically illuminating the territories, crossing people, detecting opportunities for social, artistic-cultural and even entrepreneurial, but never competing with the already existing fabrics of socio-cultural and entrepreneurial affirmation – hence the departure every three years from each territory – the TODOS should not be seen as a threat but as an opportunity for the socio-cultural projects of each neighbourhood.

Arthur: 1) How was the Festival Todos created? Are you the unique inventor of the festival? 2) I originally thought that it was a governmental initiative to promote their intercultural policy.

Miguel: 1) Yes, I am the creator of the festival TODOS, in 2008, and in response to the invitation sent to me by the councilor for international relations of the Lisbon City Council (CML), Dr. Manuela Judice. The CML wanted to hold a party, in Terreiro do Paço, to mark, in 2009, the signing of the agreement to integrate Lisbon into the Intercultural Cities Network of the Council of Europe – Intercultural Cities (ICC). I declined this invitation and the idea of a party with immigrants at Terreiro do Paço but, in return, I suggested a project that would bring people from Lisbon to meet the daily lives of immigrants and vice versa, namely in the territory where, at the time, lived many immigrants – Intendente, Mouraria and Martin Moniz. The CML accepted this idea as well as the condition that, if the first edition went well, at least two more editions would be held in that territory, in order to consolidate the interpersonal relationships of trust that were being built, thus creating social capital. And that’s how the TODOS-Walk of Cultures was born (an invitation to people from Lisbon, also called Lisboetas, to walk around their city and, little by little, get to know the “new Lisbon people,” who have settled/are settling here), taking place in September 2009 on its first edition. The first territory was my choice, the rest were always proposed by CML.

2) Therefore:

Yes, as I answered earlier, the TODOS was born out of political incitive - it is true that the CML wanted (and wants) to promote an intercultural policy, transversal to all governance in the city.

Arthur: 3) Are you the initiator of the Festival Todos and of the Orquestra TODOS (OT)?

Miguel: 3) Of the festival, yes. Of the OT, yes and no: I approved the creation of the OT at the festival, and ensured and continue to ensure its administration, following the proposal of an Italian programmer that I had invited to join my work team: Giacomo Scalisi. Our co-programmer Giacomo Scalisi spoke with the Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio, created in Rome (and made up of immigrants residing next to Piazza Vittorio), which we presented in the first edition of the TODOS, and challenged maestro Mario Tronco to make a similar Orchestra in Lisbon. The Italian maestro agreed and, in 2011, the Orquestra TODOS was created, with the same social, artistic and philosophical model than the Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio. The social mission was to create professional opportunities for immigrant musicians to play and get to know each other and help each other; the artistic and cultural mission was to give musicians the opportunity to play and inspire from their music, and from new compositions by maestro Mario Tronco. But the repertoires would be different, with Lusophone sonorities influences being the main source of inspiration for Orquestra TODOS, and in their intersection with the sounds of other musicians from other non-Lusophone countries and also immigrants in Lisbon, such as Spain, Turkey, Germany, India, Romania, England, Italy, which intersected with Cape Verde, Brazil, Guinea, Portugal...²⁰⁶

Arthur: Did you come up with the idea of the festival and looked for funds at the CML or did they contacted you to create this project?

Miguel: I have already partly answered; as for funds, when I designed the project of TODOS I also made a Budget that the CML approved. The Budget is always decided by the CML based on my proposals, but it has varied a lot over the years. If there is less money, I schedule fewer activities, naturally. I didn’t look for funds, I propose a Budget and then the CML decides and I work according to that decision and value – in the last 5 years it has been 250 thousand euros.

²⁰⁶ From around the same time, these are two albums from the Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio, *L’Isola di legno* (2013), released on Parco della Musica Record (<https://open.spotify.com/intl-fr/album/5uud24Fn6CNbgG0CUeIuzb?si=-sfD-c4USVmtct6AUnrAew>) and from the Orquestra Todos, *Intendente* (2012), released by the Academia de Produtores Culturais and recorded at Pontozurca studio (<https://open.spotify.com/intl-fr/album/49OkihLIGKggEsQArgMuI?si=S1WCq8g9R1-hkdmC5Ij7MA>).

Arthur: Did the CML use the festival as an example of implementation of intercultural practice in their reports?

Miguel: Yes.

Arthur: What are your intentions with the creation of Orquestra TODOS? Did these intentions/objectives evolve with time?

Miguel: In reality, the intentions and objectives remain: to promote, through the OT, the encounters of musicians from different places and offer the public a repertoire from various parts of the world. But with the change of maestro in 2019 (Carlos Garcia replaced Mario Tronco), the OT's sound, repertoire and artistic profile naturally changed significantly. However, the vast majority of musicians have remained since 2011, and there are always, every year, musical experiences with new musicians and, also, with guest musicians. Due to the high costs of travelling and presenting the OT (involving 18 people on the road), since 2021 we have created a model of "concert-commented conversation", with 3 or 4 musicians from the OT and a cultural mediator from our association (the Academia de Produtores Culturais), promoting reflection and dialogue on what interculturality is today, namely in Europe and in the world. This much more affordable version is beginning to be much sought after by schools, cultural associations, museums, etc... each musician talks about his experience as an immigrant in Portugal, about his instrument and his country, his gastronomy, his encounters in Lisbon with other musicians from other origins, etc. etc. always framed by the discourse of our intercultural mediation.

Arthur: How do you think that the Orquestra TODOS insert in the discussion on multiculturalism and interculturalism?

Miguel: From its symbolic meaning and musical discourse with a narrative that travels through very diverse musical and cultural sounds. It serves as testimony that, in this case through music, an artistic project can be built that, by bringing together people from different cultural, economic and social backgrounds, promotes intercultural encounters and interaction. In other words, culture at the service of an political, economic and social intercultural strategy fulfils its objective of creating opportunities for people from different cultural, social and economic backgrounds to meet and interact, facilitating processes of cultural negotiation. The OT has also helped musicians to get to know each other, with some of them joining together to create other groups and musical projects that have nothing to do with Orquestra TODOS, but which, without it, probably would not have met! Unfortunately, the OT is unable to keep up with great regularity, due to lack of funds and because the concerts are expensive and the market is not very available to buy the OT's concerts; and also the high-quality conductors we had (Mario Tronco) and still have (Carlos Garcia), don't have time to dedicate more to the project; with subsidies that we have not been able to obtain (only from Gulbenkian for the edition of the CD Intendente) it is difficult to guarantee a project of greater continuity, namely to guarantee an open door to all immigrant musicians who seek us out. The presentation formula in mini-concerts-lectures is perhaps a possibility to maintain a greater regularity of the Orchestra's work.

Arthur: Do you think that the settlement of musician (im)migrants is difficult in Lisbon?

Miguel: Well, effectively, making a professional living from music in Portugal is difficult for any artist, whether or not an immigrant. The insertion of immigrant artists in Lisbon's musical milieu varies greatly depending on the artistic qualities of each musician, their interest in settling in Lisbon, etc... Even so, there are quite a few immigrant musicians living in Lisbon and playing in various musical groups and projects, while maintaining other professional activities.

Arthur: What would you identify as being a facilitator or an obstacle for this settlement (short and long term)?

Miguel: The irregularity of concerts since the Portuguese market is small. Lack of strategic thinking, either by promoters or artists, to place more serious bets in the intercultural musical context, in Portugal but also in Europe and around the world.

Arthur: Do you think that more social protection must be implemented? Like a professional status of “intermittent” (occasional worker)? More financial help?

Miguel: This is already a topical matter for the jurisdiction of Portuguese cultural policy in general. Subventions to the “intermittence of artistic work” and more financial support are naturally important, even fundamental; but it takes more than that – it takes a public-private cultural policy that gives Portuguese musicians an international scale, or those living and working in Portugal, namely promoting actions that give them greater visibility – for example, trying to get agents to promote musical projects created in Portugal, inviting these agents to come to Portugal and get to know the projects, or co-promoting music festivals in Portugal and/or in strategic countries, which invite programmers and international agents to get to know the musical projects that develop in Portugal; finally, there are multiple possibilities but many of them involve the idea of travel (with the associated costs) – and many of these artists would need to be subsidized by the State, by Foundations, by patrons and sponsors, and also by ticketing profits from live concerts organized with a view to its greater dissemination and projection.

J) Second part of the interview of Miguel Abreu by email (translated by the author) – May 10th, 2023

Arthur: What are your selection criteria for the festival program?

Miguel: We program according to sub-topics/themes and artistic areas that have to do, directly or indirectly, with interculturality and with the best way to provide encounter, thought and interaction between the different people who live in each territory.

Arthur: And how do they identify the “problems of each territory?”

Miguel: Through meetings with local associations (Community Groups, sports and artistic groups) teachers and schools, churches, priests and pastors, local artists (amateurs and professionals), parish council (councils and employees), local businesses, etc.. Always in open and informal meetings, and also listening to conversations in cafes, bus stops... and “thinking with the feet” (method in everyday life sociology proposed by Professor José Machado Pais) that is, walking through the territories and observing what goes on there, how people live, what local businesses exist, transportations, etc...

[...]

Arthur: Coming back on this aspect of social capital that you mentioned in your previous email. I don't know this notion of social capital properly, but I imagine that a capital must stay in time, and in this way, social relations too, which could be contradictory with the ephemeral nature of a festival. How could we observe this social capital created by the TODOS - Caminhada de Culturas?

Miguel : The social capital we are talking about results from Pierre Bourdieu's concept - in this sense, the observation results from understanding the multiplicity of opportunities for relationship and development of belonging to certain communities - and pride of belonging - that TODOS provides, as well as the possibility of traveling and seeing many shows that, otherwise, many people would not see, etc... even more concrete things like finding jobs for people, knowing that every year they earn some extra money with TODOS, etc. And for Orquestra TODOS? The OT provides exchange between musicians, and other possibilities of playing together in other contexts that they themselves develop, it also provides meeting and knowledge of new musicians as there is always integration of new guest musicians each year - what has not yet happened is the maestro and the musicians

appropriate the OT as their own, community project... maybe because it didn't start that way, it started with an audition and hiring by the festival, so the festival is always the producer and that's why it may never be able to transform in this community project of musicians...

K) Interview of Dr. Manuela Júdice (translated by the author) – April 11th, 2023

Arthur: What was your role for the whole festival and for the OT?

Manuela: I was invited to be councillor for international relations, and I declared that I wanted to work with foreign citizens in Lisbon. There was a journalist who announced my declarations and then I received a letter from Miguel Abreu saying “Madame, I saw your declarations, I would really like to talk to you, I have had a project for many years.” I didn't know who Miguel Abreu was. I asked my chief of staff who Miguel Abreu was, and she said, “I know him very well, I worked with him in Europália in 1991, and he's very good, and he's serious, and there's no problems.” And Miguel Abreu came to talk to me and presented the project. And I had in my head the issue of foreign citizens in Lisbon that had arisen when I lived in Paris, and I had seen the film by Sérgio Tréfaut and I had seen a film by Inês de Medeiros in France and both films were focused on what was a foreign citizen – Inês' - and Sérgio's were foreign communities in Lisbon, and the fact that I lived abroad in a foreign city and see those realities woke me up to cosmopolitan Lisbon. And when Miguel Abreu came to see me, I said yes, I will receive him and let's talk. But integrative, respecting the cultures of others because integrating is not forcing others to accept our culture, so acceptance has to be mutual and we are going to do it in the area where these films were filmed, which was Rossio and Martim Moniz.

[...]

Manuela: For example, in the case of a city council that gives authorisation for construction, you have to think that, for example, in a social neighbourhood that will welcome Portuguese people coming from Beira Baixa what will welcome Gypsies what will welcome people coming from Morocco or from Syria, you have to think that, for example, the use of water in the domestic space is different for each of these situations. For the Arabs, with all the washing they do because of their religious rituals, water has gained importance in a bathroom, washing has a value that, for example, a Gypsy does not have. But they will all have to live in the same neighbourhood. Maybe the same neighbourhood has to have houses with these characteristics, those characteristics and other characteristics and even others necessary. This is how we think that houses have to be accessible for people with disabilities, for example in the case of a Town Hall and that was it, it was this role that I played in the Town Hall that was innovative. That is to say: the Mayor listened to me even when it was a matter of making a law for a housing estate or for the installation of a Mosque. I was there like a bell, attention because who are we working for? That's it and that's how the TODOS was born, Miguel and I had TODOS in our heads. I had never been able to do all of them and I said let's do ALL of them, I arrived at a Chamber meeting and said to all the colleagues, the public space colleague, the housing colleague, the culture colleague all of them, I explained that we are all going to work on a project, a festival, in an area of the city and in fact the first TODOS was a revelation for Lisbon. We worked in the Martim Moniz, Intendente, Mouraria area, which was degraded, with a lot of prostitution, a lot of drugs, a lot of rubbish in the streets, a lot of aggression. It was really a very tough neighbourhood and we left there with the support of services such as garbage collection from the Council, with housing services, with sanitation services and the first year was still complicated. It was complicated. We wanted to bring the OT and the OT needed a stage. And we had two options:

to put the stage in Martim Moniz to put it in Intendente. We had a meeting with the Mayor, and he said, “go to the Intendente.” Not only the CML, but we also had to notify the national authorities: police, SEF, immigration reception, we needed them to work together. And he did that, he got everybody together.

[...]

Arthur: So, for you, the success of an edition or an activity depends a lot on...

Manuela: From the area where it will be located.

Arthur: Of zones and participation?

Manuela: About participation. Today TODOS, where it is today, I think it has a great participation, I still haven't been there to the recent TODOS, but Miguel says that he recovered the first experiences of TODOS. Another thing that I don't have as proof, for example, the TODOS da Mouraria, the 3 years of the TODOS da Mouraria were also for those responsible for the Lisbon City Council, the revelation. And delivered to the project.

Arthur: And that's why now in 2023 it still has funds.

Manuela: Yes. As it was at the beginning, we are talking about the subprime crisis, when everything was down, so the bet was also financial on the part of the Lisbon Chamber. I believe that from the moment it entered a routine, in an annual festival, it was launched and...

Arthur: It's very difficult to do spectacular things every year.

Manuela: Exactly! Is very difficult. And it depends on the public and then it depends on the funding too.

Arthur: Miguel wrote me that depending on the budget, he makes decisions, if he has less budget, he does less activities.

Manuela: Or do fewer spectacular things, because the show pays for itself. Good and the OT. In the first year, the first ALL, when we decided that we would go to Intendente with the stage in Intendente, it was to host the Orquestra di Piazza Vittório, which is an Italian orchestra created by Mário Tronco. We brought Mário Tronco and the Orquestra di Piazza Vittório to Lisbon. In 2009. And it was a success.

[...]

Manuela: Arthur: Was there a time when the Town Hall was also in Largo de Intendente?

Manuela: After the second TODOS, we held a press conference in a building in Intendente. It was a morning in winter - because we introduced everyone in the winter to then do it at the end of the summer - and when we left the Mayor was talking to people who lived or worked or who were owners there, who saw the President arrive of the Chamber, curious, they said that it would be very important for the Chamber to give a signal, the Mayor said “I will give a signal, find me a building, provide me with a silent building for my office.” And so, it was. He did. There was an owner who made a building available, the Council invested in the recuperation of that building and the Mayor went to work there. Then he was there while everyone else was there, another year passed. It was a whole 4-year term. The mandate began in 2009, he went there in 2010, he was there until 2013 and then he returned to his office, which was resolved. I remember, for example, when the OT rehearsals were held at the Intendente, at the *Clube do Intendente* and he would usually come out in the late afternoon - because people were working on other things, the rehearsals were held in the late afternoon - and he would leave the office and watch to orchestra rehearsal.

[...]

Manuela: [...] When the Council of Europe started, there was a Ukrainian city that asked to join the Intercultural cities and joined the ICC and it was the mayor of the city who came to the meetings, he

was not an official like us, it was the mayor who came to the meetings. And they had no foreigners. They needed foreigners, they wanted to come and learn how to live. The mayor wanted an open city, and with a population entirely Ukrainian, they needed to open it to other horizons. Today, 15 years later, I wonder if it was an attempt to move away from Russia, opening up more to Western Europe. Today. But at the time, I wasn't able to make that connection. So, people came here for the city's interculturality for various reasons, including because they didn't have enough diversity in their cities... To learn how to open their cities.

Arthur: Because it brings creativity, it brings openness, it brings many things.

Manuela: Barcelona, for example, for me, this city was a spectacular discovery. I think that Barcelona joined Intercultural cities in a very effective way and brought something that we had never thought of, which was entering interculturality through the economy. From Chinese medicine centres, acupuncture centres, Brazilian dental treatment centres... They had a community of entrepreneurs both in the area of medicine and in the area of commerce, Chinese stores. They had to adapt their laws to these communities, which were economic communities that were fundamental to the city. Because a Chinese wedding – I don't know if you've ever seen Chinese brides taking photos in the gardens – is an extraordinary thing. There is a specific business in Chinese weddings and Barcelona with all its decor, with all its monuments, with the Mediterranean Sea there, it is an ideal setting and they realised that this was business. Barcelona entered interculturality through business. Here, in Portugal, it was culture. It was mainly through photography and music. The photography, music and food, the gastronomy that led to sharing. That first start of increasing self-esteem was a huge thing. Here it was a lot for the music, it was a lot for the food, it was for the street parties. I also imagine that it is much easier to have a party, on the street here, with the climate we have, than to have a street party in Norway. I remember a Norwegian city that was very active in the network of intercultural cities – it is an oil city, oil platforms. The foreigners there are the engineers and technicians who are working on the platforms. It has a huge foreign population. But with which they shared nothing. They are there to work and when it comes to live, they return to their countries. They don't live while they're there, they don't share while they're there. So, it was reaching, sharing, reaching them politically... Interculturality is the denial of xenophobia. If you want, a political party that has xenophobic characteristics, as far-right parties often have, would never admit the concept of interculturality, which is much less practical.

Arthur: Integration and inclusion, I thought, are also related lately to each person's personal values, that is, their openness, which we can relate to extroversion and introversion. For example, I am very extraverted, and there are people more introverted and whose preferences are being in their space, accepting or being available to other culture without participating. Just cohabiting, just respecting the rules.

Manuela: As if I were a spectator.

Arthur: As if they were spectators, but that is also a personal preference.

Manuela: It is, in that aspect, it is personal. But what happened many times with the TODOS festival, people came once as spectators of the TODOS, but eventually became "*habitués*" [regulars], and became *aficionados*, over a period of time. It didn't happen from one moment to the next, it took a while for them to do so... There are people who watched one or two TODOS, as assistants. I know a case of two people who lived outside of Lisbon but in a periphery not far from Lisbon and who contacted me last year to get in touch with Miguel Abreu. And I said yes, I know him. They wanted to talk to him to propose – but they are normal citizens, they are not politically responsible or anything – something to the mayor of their municipality, something like the TODOS, a festival there,

and they wanted to talk to Miguel because of that. They remembered the TODOS now, 10 years later, because at that time you went there even if they had stopped showing up. The survival of the TODOS is a seal, which means that a festival like that, is a project that is stimulating, driving, inspiring.

L) Interview of Francesco Valente – March 27th, 2023

Biography (based on the interview)

Francesco Valente is Italian, migrated from Milan after his degree in Literature. Once in Lisbon, he graduated in Music, attended the Master of Ethnomusicology at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa and is undertaking a doctorate in Ethnomusicology. He plays bass and double bass. He is now playing with or a member of “Orquestra Assíntomatica de Martin Sued, Ayom, Coladera, Cordel, João Pires, Orquestra TODOS, Chibanga Groove, Anonima Nuvolari, Susana Travassos, Maze, Suzie & the Boys, Danilo Lopes 5tet, Pandeiro in Jazz, Xafu, Terrakota, Tora Tora Big Band...” and the bandleader of MoFrancesco Quintetto, as specified on his website. He is also the director of Rádio Olisipo, a non-for-profit online radio based in Lisbon, in the Largo Residências²⁰⁷ which aims at promoting independent music and “develop[ing] and disseminat[ing] ethnomusicological research” (Valente “Rádio Olisipo”).

Working in a radio, he listens to “all the music genres” but his main influences are jazz and “world” music, music from Latin America, Africa, Asia and classic music. Francesco has participated in the composition and recording of a large panel of music albums, which are accessible on his website (Valente “Discography”), amongst which are the albums Terrakota²⁰⁸ and Coladera.²⁰⁹

Interview (translated by the author)

Arthur: Now let’s move to your creation process, what are your music influences in a nutshell? Is there any?

Francesco: No, I work at a radio station. I listen to music, all genres of music. But if you want, as there are many of those who have a lot of music, it doesn’t get out of their heads, it depends on what jazz progressive jazz is the music of the world in quotes. Same for being music from Latin America, Africa, Asia a little bit of everything, classical, jazz.

[...]

Arthur: About musical languages. Do you think your musical cultural background is different from the one of the OT? Or do you use the same language?

Francesco: Using the same language in a group of 16 people is impossible. You have to adapt to others. Because the orchestra has 4 or 5 singers, we also have to take care of, let’s say, each one’s expression. Each singer has to sing at least 2 songs, musical proposals from the director and then they can have originals or not. We have to make an arrangements for each song. That’s why I don’t like the music at first, but I chose to help arranging it. I may like some songs and others less. I really don’t know what I would do if it was my group. If we are there, it is to contribute, to accept a little bit of everything, the proposals of various people. Working in a group means opening up, this ability to be available for other people’s proposals, for the musical ideas that could arise. There might be a

²⁰⁷ Cultural space located in Anjos (Lisbon) hosting artistic residencies and cultural sector associations and organisations. It encourages the cultural activities and social enterprises driving artistic creation, dynamism, community involvement and integration.

²⁰⁸ This link includes the album (Terrakota, *Húmu Sapiens*, released on Zona Música, 2004): <https://open.spotify.com/intl-fr/album/1qyxdmrHBHXizk7a6hyxxp?si=jlj112mmQQKLyEZIWta7qw>.

²⁰⁹ This link includes the album (Coladera, *La Dôtu Lado*, released on Agogo Records, 2019): <https://open.spotify.com/intl-fr/album/7bHw0HcCttVhHsKb7TO3Ew?si=N32kzqLOS20lw1de9MmsLw>.

musical section that I don't like, but I have to do it. Therefore, language is a common, unitary language. A language that we all make together. But it's not the same language I have when I work on my project, for example, where I'm more responsible for the arrangement and composition. But I'm used to playing in big orchestras. It's a contribution from several people towards the same goal, as there are some things that I like more than others.

Arthur: So, there is a group, collective, project language and personal languages?

Francesco: Obviously. Clearly. As with any group, the goal is to find a band sound, a signature sound. And in a band as big as this one, sometimes it's not easy. But sometimes yes. It depends on the repertoire of the songs, the people, the astral situation. [laughs] But it's not easy. They require work, rehearsals, decision-making, whether you are a musician in composition, arrangement, or orchestration, for example. We can have the whole orchestra play 3 or 4 rehearsals and stay until 10 or 12 at night. [...]

Orchestra exists in several countries, it exists in Italy. There, too, it was performed as an act of political opposition against the policies of the right-wing governments of Berlusconi and Fini. Therefore, in the words of the former maestro, I wanted to demonstrate that together we can create beauty. That is, a message of opposition to this anti-immigrant policy that still exists today. Therefore, political engagement is not part of this awareness that it is better to integrate people working together and in a way that allows them to express, communicate, make art, music, with each other's languages. This was the initial idea. And they still exist in OT today. We are musicians from several countries who get together to work on something together. Just the act of being together working with a common goal, creating friendships, socialising, creating a learning process and I learn from the other, learn from me. Then, it's socialisation because we work together, we'll have lunch together, we'll have dinner, and we'll go on stage together. This process creates friendships, creates a communication that, instead of closing doors to the integration of immigrants who come from other places and other continents, this idea of an integrative process through music. [...]

Now, in that case it was a case of an orchestra also financially supported. Of course, when I go to play in another orchestra, my objective is to make music to be played on stage, to have performances, to sell the shows, to make a living from it. There's a side, let's say, that fills the soul of making art, music together, another side that is either you're a musician and you make a living from it, or I'm going to work in whose office? I don't know. For example, I thought about making music. Well, now there's the radio office [laughs], but always in music. Of course, in that case I joined that orchestra, there was support, did that mean for us what is it? That the essays would have been paid for. We had paid trials, which is not very common. So, when you join a band that is very well placed on the market with an agency, it can be paid rehearsals. But in other cases, not. Rehearsing is a hidden job that disappears. But nobody pays. Now in France, you have flashers.

Arthur: Yes.

Francesco: Okay, but an intermittent when they have rehearsals, they can declare the hours of work he has developed. You can declare that you worked, imagine 100 hours to create that show. Which was later sold and played 40 times. This alone, gives you a minimum wage. Not here. You don't have paid essays here. No hidden work here does not exist. This is to say that those supports at the beginning gave the possibility to create with all these people first, create the orchestra and go looking for the songs, secondly do rehearsals for whole weeks to create the first repertoire, and then record on that disc. And as a musician, I left, I got paid for those rehearsals, and it was a lot of work. Even a lot of work. Now to answer why it is not today an example of cultural policy. At that time, António Costa was the Mayor. Because there is a transformation around the Intendente but then there was no

more support. In fact, then, the orchestra for the size it has is 17 musicians, but the producer, but the technician: it's a bus. Therefore, the cost is very high, and it is difficult to sell. What I remember we haven't played at the Chamber events for a long time. So, I don't know how to answer because it's not, let's say, the project that is cherished, it's not yet an agitated example of integration on the part of cultural policy. Now, the Mayor is a different person, maybe he doesn't care about that kind of speech.

[...]

Arthur: Do you think cultural pluralism within the project influences the composition process?

Francesco: Of course. Because firstly, we have to accompany the singers when it is not instrumental music. The singers also need to say "look, it's better this way, I feel more comfortable this way." We have an Indian singer, a Portuguese singer, we have several Cape Verdean singers, etc. Well, we also have guests. It is something that has to be discussed, it is necessary. And therefore, this pluralism, the idea brought up by each person, each person's proposal, or their creative attitude when making the arrangement, when making decisions. I think that, in this aspect, the pluralism, since we are almost 20, impacts musical decisions. Of course, we have a conductor, because we have to organise everything.

Arthur: One person explained to me that in a music-culture, as an entity, as in a genre that comes from a cultural tradition of a certain culture, sometimes the melodies are greatly influenced by the language of the place, the way of placing the words influences the melody too. This person is Dutch and have been learning to play Moroccan music, Gnawa. He plays the *guembri* and told me "I need to learn Arabic to continue, otherwise I won't be able to properly understand how these sounds make." And I don't know if it also makes sense in the context of the orchestra, if the conductor – I'll ask him about this concern – has the idea of thinking about the way this part or this mixture will be sung.

Francesco: The OT has Rubi, who sings in Hindi. Andi, who was in the orchestra before and sang in a dialect that no one knew, Romanian. Daniel is Cabo Verdean, Susana is Portuguese. It is obvious that music *is* language too, because otherwise it would not exist. There is also the idea of the musicality of poetry which comes from the language and the sound of the syllables in the verses, in the rhymes. There are many songs, so to speak, from other cultures that also use instruments that are not exactly local. Therefore, an electric guitar in an Afro-Berber, is an instrument that is not exactly from the desert, the guitar is but its electrical transformation is not. There are always overlaps between, for example, in this case a Berber dialect, and a guitar playing in the style of Jimmy Hendrix. There are always adaptations and ways of putting in the same song things perhaps considered different. In this case, for example, Rubi sings and we are Argentines, Latins, Brazilians, Cape Verdeans, Italians trying to follow her, and we are going to put in all the efforts possible, we will listen to originals, we will see what we can do. There are things that are incomprehensible to us, such as sometimes the duration of melodic phrases in terms of number of measures, rhythmic and melodic accents. When you hear an original, you understand. Sometimes phrases start in the middle of the bar and end in a place we are not used to. Therefore, I think the conductor has difficulty transcribing it in an understandable format for us. And us, based on the conductor's effort, we begin to perceive how things are untangled within that music. Of course, what we do is creating music that is accessible: first for us, as we have to play, and then for the audience. Many of the processes of the so-called "world music" are transformations of musical genres from other countries to become music accessible to the global public. I don't know if this is good or bad, but in this case, we are 18 from 15 different countries, we have to find a musical language to convey this plurality. So, the first thing

is choosing the repertoire. These different languages are sung in this repertoire. Then comes the arrangement made by the conductor and then the musicians interpret these scores, which are classical scores let's say, Western, in their ways of transcribing the music into music scores. Hence, there is interpretation. I can listen to the original and listen to Gnawa music to understand how it works, but I will never play it like Moroccan musicians play it.

[...]

Arthur: But in the end it is a human experience. Of course, I guess that you won't go there with expectations, like "it'll be cool, I'll make friends...", having a good experience is a bonus.

Francesco: Exactly, but this is also because we are musicians. We always need to renew these opportunities within the job market for us to survive. Of course, it is different to be invited to create an orchestra like this from the beginning or simply go and learn the repertoire and play a tour with a group of 4-5 of Portuguese and Spanish psychedelic rock music, flamenco. The meaning here is 2 different things, it is much greater. Because we created an orchestra, we only made one album, but we could have made 5 albums because we rehearse different repertoires every year. We have already explored 45-50 different areas of music, different musics. If we had the money we would have already recorded 3 or 4 albums. Now of course, each year, you will play more and more and more. If you stop recording, you play less. It's logistics and money. I thought about this because there is already a lack of money, above all. Now we are recording songs, but slowly. In these 10 years, we could have recorded another 3 albums at least. Even the question of meaning, I'm going to play, they call me on tour for a Brazilian music group, etc. It doesn't mean the same thing as being asked to create for an orchestra like that. The meaning is much greater and involves many more things, hopes, the idea of relating to others, creating new friendships and working on this social aspect of integration with immigrants. Especially those who come much further away with less economic capacity.

[...]

Arthur: Ok, and finally, do you think that the orchestra project provoked conviviality, if it had a social repercussion among the musicians who are outside the collective.

Francesco: At the beginning, I think it was, even though the concerts weren't always full. Today a lot of people came to see it because each musician brings other friends who are musicians... At beginning there was some criticism, but from other musicians I felt companionship. Within the OT, this is obvious. From the OT, 2 or 3 musicians created projects after. Now with other musicians, as we already have many guests... For example, on the guitar that I remember having seen 5-6-7 musicians at this position. On the trombone I've already seen 3, on the trumpet maybe 2 or 3, also drums it changed 3 or 4 times... How many musicians have passed by there. On the percussions we had several musicians, on the bass when I can't get there also there is a replacement. So, singers, we had several Indian guests, 2 or 3 times we had the boys from Afghanistan who came in the last concerts. If you think of TODOS, the musicians who have passed through there are quite a lot of people. It's already open.

M) Interview of Henrique Costa Santos - March 10th, 2023

Arthur: When did you join the orchestra?

Henrique: My first contact with orchestra was in 2017. But I only started to be officially responsible from 2019.

Arthur: So already four years. who was the person doing that before you?

Henrique: there wasn't actually a person because the Orchestra used to have Italian conductors. Maybe should I to go back a bit. The orchestra was born from Festival TODOS, which is the festival.

So, the Orquestra wouldn't happen without: first came the festival and then the orchestra. The orchestra was built and inspired by an Italian orchestra called Orquestra di Piazza Vitorrio, and so these conductors from Orchestra di Piazza Vitorrio were invited to come at every festival, in September, every year, to come and try to reproduce this model with immigrant musicians living in Lisbon put them all together and create a show. So, until 2019 the orchestra would only be depending on the physical presence of these conductors that had their own career and work in Italy. After 2019, there was a change in the orchestra: these Italian conductors left the orchestra and the new conductor, Carlos Garcia which is Portuguese and lives in Lisbon, started to direct the orchestra. This opened a new chapter in the orchestra.

[...]

Arthur: What is it changing and what did it change to your life?

Henrique: I mean it's a project that inspires me a lot, it's one of the most challenging projects I work in because there's loads of both personal and logistic challenges so I would say it's always challenging but it's also a great experience to learn not just because - and it's the objective of the orchestra, to put musicians from all around the world in the same rehearsal room preparing a show in the same stage and that brings loads of richness when it comes to cultural references, cultural backgrounds, ways or he not just being an artist but also being person in terms of socialising.

Arthur: So, apart from the composition process how does the governance of the orchestra work the governance? The management.

Henrique: I would say these institutions that organises the festival is Academia de Produtores Culturais, is I would say the owner of the concept of the orchestra. OT is registered by this institution. It has loads of cultural projects all around the country and it organises the TODOS. The director of this institution is called Miguel Abreu, he's like the "ultimate" responsible for the future of orchestra, he's always in charge also of getting funding and also getting options of partnership and opportunities to play. Then me as a producer and Carlos Garcia as the conductor we work close. Carlos is I would say the ultimate artistic responsible for the Orchestra that works the repertoire also the arrangements and I am the bridge between these institutions, Carlos and the musicians and then the places that hosts our concerts in our performances. Making sure all conditions are gathered.

Arthur: Are you alone doing this task?

Henrique: Yes. I mean we are never alone in this process. If we get to Coimbra for a concert and something is missing, it's my fault. If everything goes well, I just did my job. [laugh] That's the life of a producer.

Arthur: How about other partnerships or institutions involved? because I've seen that it was related with the Fundação Kalouste Gulbenkian at the time.

Henrique: I don't know neither because it was previous to me joining the orchestra. I know that in the first years they had funding from Gulbenkian, I know it was a structural funding that permitted to give some concerts out of the festival. It was funding to make the orchestra have more conditions like the rehearsal and to show themselves. I know that it was only for a few years, it was just like two or three years of funding.

Arthur: Now, you don't have a relation with Gulbenkian?

Henrique: Not anymore.

Arthur: Other institutions or partnerships?

Henrique: Partnerships, the most important is the Lisbon City council [CML]. Lisbon City council funds Festival Todos, and that is the major finding of also the Orchestra because the orchestra every time since its foundation played at Festival Todos, and this preparation to these concerts normally

and sometimes and represents being for weeks in a territory rehearsing to get close to the community of a place. The orchestra of the festival and the festival are promoted by Lisbon City Council. Obviously, there are also other partnerships, punctual, for example, now when the OT was 10 years old last year there was kind of a small tour throughout the country and we had as a partner the Ministry of Culture [Ministry da Cultura] and the General Direction for Arts [DGArtes] it was a special funding called Garantir Cultura, that was supporting cultural and artistic projects during the pandemic. So, they were our partners for those shows.

[...]

Arthur: What are the origins of the project of the OT? what were the original objectives? What are you feeling are the moral values, the social impact?

Henrique: The OT's main value is interculturalism. The dialogue between different cultures, backgrounds, religions, ages, generations. And the orchestra has that as the primal value and also primal objective: exploring through music this intercultural dialogue. So, when you listen to the orchestra or see or whatever. When you are in the presence of the orchestra the objective is that you are present facing these challenges but also richness that comes from putting together people that are different and come from different places. On one side the challenge because there's no intercultural dialogue without challenge, not only language, but then also trying to make it precious. Trying to celebrate the difference of all musicians and try to contaminate the audience with this value.

[...]

Arthur: OK so still for the repertoire, everybody can propose something?

Henrique: Absolutely and we try to promote that everyone is invited to share suggestions, sometimes we even include - almost always - one or two originals from one of the artists in the orchestra. So, they bring their own projects to be arranged and played by the whole group. So, there is also a participative dimension.

Arthur: Do you think that linguistic barrier for non-native speaking Portuguese can restrain creativity?

Henrique: I wouldn't say so. Not really. Music has that magic as well: when you're dealing with professional musicians, they almost communicate exclusively through music. For example, we had last year 2 musicians from Afghanistan that had just arrived here. Until today they have a refugee status. They didn't speak well English so we had some barriers, but I wouldn't say to creativity, never. To talk about pragmatic stuff perhaps, but as soon as they start playing there's no barriers.

[...]

Arthur: Have you observed social inclusion? I want to emphasize social inclusion, as the process of individuals' self-realisation, more related to the audience of the OT or other stakeholders that would be included in the project: how do you observe this inclusion from their perspective? Then, I would link up the concept of social integration more with the members of the collective. Because social integration is through study, through employments, it is included in inclusion. In my understanding of the two terms, it would relate more to the members.

Henrique: When it comes about the audience, I can tell you straight away that I've seen in concerts, people really getting surprised about us trying to deliver a concert there. In their neighbourhoods or in a poor place, in a not really selfie friendly place, instagrammable environment. Last concert of orchestral was in a square called Galinheiras, which is considered one of the most dangerous and hostile places in Lisbon, kind of an excluded area from Lisbon. And we really felt with the local community, with local inhabitants that they were puzzled and they were even coming to us - I was there at 7 in the morning, booting up the stage and whatever - "But why are you doing this here, why

are you bringing a concert here, there's so many beautiful places in Lisbon, why are you coming here with this, you shouldn't, this is dangerous." Then in the day we had the police there, always passing by and telling me "you're crazy, you shouldn't do this here, this is really problematic, you'll get in danger, something bad will happen" and we insisted to do the show there and in the end it was beautiful because everything went well, there was 0 problem and the local community partying outside in this square. Some people in the audience, you could tell that they were from bourgeois areas of Lisbon, this second public that follows the concerts everywhere but then there were mixed with the local community, that never saw a concert in their neighbourhood, never saw anything with this scale happening there and you could tell objectively, that people were firstly surprised and then happy and even joyful. Because they understood what we were trying to do, it wasn't just the concert, it was the orchestra, so it was even more special, as they explore both rhythms from all around the world and this is also a very diverse area when it comes to social origins. There are mainly from Africa but not just Africa also for Asia, and from different regions of Portugal. I can tell that the impact is big. We needed more work, we needed more fieldwork and we needed to be maybe there working every week and not just one show sometimes, but I would say with no doubts that the impact is strong. About social inclusion. I mean, it is obviously symbolic, it doesn't solve any problem, but at least, while it's happening you can see there's some change on people's faces and how people feel. On the other side, about the musicians, looking at the musicians that passed through the orchestra, they were almost all professional musicians already before. So, they have their own projects. I'm telling this because there are some other projects that really have these integration purposes, of putting musicians together almost grabbing them from the streets. Firstly, the orchestra had some musicians that were also not professional but then it evolved rapidly, none of the musician is a superstar, but they all have their own projects, they are established, and I would say that the orchestra has a role here. Not fundamental. Because they're also talented and they have their own connections but putting them together has also contributed for them to meet, they all share projects since then. Some of them played together for the first time in the orchestra and now they are playing together in other bands. Obviously, none of their careers would be the same if they didn't meet. It's also a really heart-warming experience, not just professional, it's a really human connexion that is built there.

N) Interview of Carlos Garcia by email (translated by the author) – May 9th and 10th, 2023

Arthur: What is the repertoire of the Orquestra TODOS? Did you keep some songs from your predecessor?

Carlos Garcia: The OT's repertoire brings together traditional music songs from various corners of the world, authorial repertoire of several musicians in the orchestra and other themes by singer-songwriters that are representative of styles or messages that we intend to transmit. When I was invited to direct the OT, they gave me the freedom to renew the repertoire. So, at the time I opted to assemble a new one. Which doesn't mean that we can't play some of the themes from the older repertoire again.

Arthur: What practices characterise the intercultural dialogue that you have with the musicians?

Carlos Garcia: The respect for the individuality of each musician is something very important. In the orchestra we try, on the one hand, to meet the potential of each musician (in choosing the repertoire and the function of each musician in each song) to better try to take advantage of their capacities and, on the other hand, to welcome the suggestions they may have to the enrichment of each theme. There is room for everyone to have an active voice.

Arthur: Did it already happen that a musician come to you to ask if a certain music tradition or system from their culture could be inserted or respected?

Carlos Garcia: There have been a few requests to add songs to the repertoire, which I try to agree to in most cases. Fortunately, this is a collective where all musicians are very respectful and flexible, so the issue of disrespect does not arise. But of course, when someone has something to say to improve the music (stylistic issues), it's always welcome. Although I am responsible for the collective, there are many situations in which there are musicians who know more about certain aspects than I do, and therefore it is in everyone's interest that this message be shared.

Arthur: What is your ethical approach to the different music-cultures²¹⁰ represented in the OT? In other terms, how do you esteem, how do you include, and how much do you include each music-culture in the arrangement or composition?

Carlos Garcia: The music we make is a natural product of the influences and characteristics of each musician. On the other hand, it's wonderful that we also have a lot of musicians who are flexible and can play different styles of music. As it is natural, there are also some styles in which certain musicians are more comfortable and others in which they are less comfortable. But we managed to find a balance so we're not all uncomfortable. Each concert is a joint celebration of all these ingredients where it is utopian to think that we are going to play traditionally pure songs, since our collective is quite heterogeneous. But the fact that each element can contribute, whether in terms of composition, arrangements, interpretation, solos, opinion, means that there is a constant dialogue aiming at improving the way we want music to reach people.

Arthur: What is the part of improvisation in the live representation? Why? Is it related to the presence of different music-cultures or not necessarily?

Carlos Garcia: It is through improvisation that we learn any language (musical and non-musical)²¹¹ and therefore, for us, it makes perfect sense to have this fundamental form of spontaneous expression in our music. Improvisation is always present in several of the themes throughout the concert, either through some moments of solos, or through sections that are a bit more open. In this kind of section, there is flexibility for the musicians to develop their approach in terms of accompaniment / filling²¹². It is in improvisation that a musician can achieve a more unique voice.

Arthur: Do you think that the cultural pluralism within the collective influences the composition process? Of rehearsals? Of improvisation? Of musical performances more generally?

Carlos Garcia: Yes, undoubtedly. We are all positively infected whenever we get together (whether is it to think, socialise, dance, rehearse or play). The orchestra is a living organism that grows and evolves each time it comes together to celebrate culture and music.

Arthur: What is the mission of the Orquestra TODOS? What are its values? What are the identitarian narratives it generates?

Carlos Garcia: The mission of the Orquestra TODOS focuses on making universal music, from the world, trying to make known different languages, styles, ways of being and listening. Our hope is that these songs resonate with the audience and that they can feel, on the one hand, the different

²¹⁰ Music-cultures: "All musical qualities, idiomatic conventions, performance practices, material objects and ontological meanings ascribed to a music tradition" Richard Perks, *Strung Together: Realizing Music-Cultural Hybridity Within a Limited Time Frame*

²¹¹ "Language ("idioma") or language ("língua") (Portuguese, English, Danish...) or any other form of communication... (gestures, dance...) in short, everything that serves as a means of communication and interaction is a language for me..." precised Carlos Garcia, answering my question about what he meant by "language".

²¹² A fill is a short musical or rhythmic passage that adds onto the break to bridge different phrases of the melody.

expressions and, on the other, the union that binds us through the love of music, diversity and life. We (“Todos”) are all Humans, We (“Todos”) are all Music. At each meeting, this is what we celebrate.

Arthur: What are your perspectives towards the future of the Orquestra TODOS? What do you want to improve or to keep?

Carlos Garcia: We would love to record a new album soon, to record the various themes/arrangements we have been working on for the last few years. We want to continue to give concerts but also to develop more projects linked to different communities, so that everyone can share this way of making music, with open arms, which makes us grow and better welcome the other.

O) Interview of Múcio Sá – February 16th, 2023

Biography (based on the interview)

Múcio Sá was born in Bahia (Brazil) and has studied music at the university in Salvador for four years, before moving to Israel for one year. Despite his attachment to the country, his willingness to travel made him move to Europe. From Portugal, where he confesses that he had to make lots of efforts but could not find jobs; he travelled to Switzerland with an African band, to Germany with a Brazilian band; he played in Italy, France, Mozambique. Nowadays, he often travels to France. Most of his travels are for music purposes. Realising that he was consistently returning to Lisbon, he decided to stay. Additionally, he was concurrently performing with the Sinfónica Orchestra (of Lisbon and Porto), which factored into this choice. He explains that from Israel, it would have been harder to travel throughout Europe, playing in different countries as he did. Múcio feels that Lisbon is convenient for travels, but in his perspective, the mobility is more difficult compared to the 1990s. He was able to travel by train easily from Lisbon to Madrid, which is not the case anymore.

He worked for the Portuguese private television from 1994 to 2002 and with musicians, singers from Cape Verde, from Angola, from Portugal. He explains that Portuguese pop-rock had a lot of projects at the time. From the incitation of the television producers, he bought and learnt to play the Portuguese guitar. Today, Múcio can play acoustic and electric guitar, bass, mandolin, ukulele, banjo. While his first music influence as a student was contemporary music, the composer Pierre Boulez for example, he can play a wide array of repertoires, from fado to Brazilian music, Hindu music, Angolan music (he played with Waldemar Bastos, a renowned Angolan singer), Cape Verdean music, French music, considering only the examples given during the interview. He testifies his fondness for playing with musicians from other cultures. Múcio composes and has composed music for several musicians from different cultures, for several bands (the band Doña Maria for instance). In 2010, he released an instrumental album.²¹³ He is also learning piano and how to be lyricist (in fado), even if he has already written lyrics, composing songs from the melody to the lyrics.

Interview (translated by the author)

Arthur: What is your cultural road? Where have you lived, what is your nationality are you, where are your parents from?

Múcio: I was born in 1967 in Brazil, Bahia. I was listening to Brazilian music. I started playing when I was 12, acoustic guitar, then the mandolin, the bass, a lot of instruments at the same time, and then when I turned 16, I went to Salvador to study music at the university. There I started to get in contact with contemporary music, that means the music from Pierre Boulez (a great French composer of

²¹³ This link includes the album *Que Alegria* (2010) by Múcio Sá: <https://open.spotify.com/intl-fr/album/1st9VKgSiZhJrQ57FXINtK?si=Bo24uc0vQRq89w5fJ3QqjQ>.

contemporary music). I studied it for 4 years and then a friend who was going to live in New York and then to Tel Aviv, told me “Do you want to come and play with me in Israel?”. I stayed Israel 1 year. There was the war, the invasion of Kuwait with Saddam Hussein. But I liked to be there. It worked well. But I wanted to travel, I spoke in English already. At the time I knew Portuguese who told me: “Go to Europe! If you go to Portugal, it’s the entry point to Europe.” So, I arrived in Portugal and unlike the situation in Israel, I didn’t know anyone in Portugal. I made a lot of effort, they were a lot of job offering, in studios and all, I was happy. I stayed in Portugal and the first 6 years I worked mainly with Brazilians and Portuguese and then with Africans, they were a market as well, I even went to Switzerland with an African group, in Germany with a Brazilian group, while based in Lisbon, even if at the time, I was very opened at going out of Portugal if it would have been necessary. In 1982, I remarked that I was consistently coming back, so I decided to stay here. I had even more work especially in TV, there was a lot of competition, a lot of projects in TV. At the time, private tv had 4 channels. I worked a lot there, from 94 to 2002 more or less. It was a lot of concerts, a lot of program series, I played for amateurs for competitions and also, I played with Africans. Thus, I was the perfect musician to play for the Orchestra TODOS, I mean that I went all around Africa, I played with African musicians, singer.

[...]

Arthur: So, at that time what were you playing?

Múcio: Acoustic and electric guitar, and the mandolin sometimes, the ukulele.

Arthur: And there they ask you to play Portuguese guitar.

Múcio: So, I’m going to start the Portuguese guitar, but not in the concept of fado. It was the technique of guitar classic, but not fado. Because I can read the music. There are a lot of people, Portuguese, that can’t read the notes. I also played sometimes with the symphony orchestra (of Lisbon, of Porto) because he needed a banjo. Especially this made me decide to stay in Portugal. But surely because in the 90s, there were a lot money for concerts, for the instruments, there was money, and the prices were super low. It’s not the same things here now: the gasoline for instance. It's thanks to that too, it’s thanks to this conscience of financial viability. For example, I am often in France now, I forgot France because I was in Germany, I was in Italy, everywhere, and I always returned to Portugal. Not France. I don’t know why.

Arthur: Do you think there is also the aspect of mobility? Would you have stayed in Portugal if you hadn’t been able to go anywhere other than Portugal?

Múcio: Oh it’s true, for example Israel it’s more complicated to go out in Israel. You can for the United States maximum, it’s difficult to travel. Here no, you’re going to play in Spain, in Germany, Italy, England and above all the African countries, in America for example Brazil, it’s extra. It is like a friend – he is percussionist, he lives in Belgium – told me once “In Belgium it doesn’t work, there is few concerts, but I like to live here because I know that in 4 hours, I’m in Paris, ect... Belgium is to sleep.” [laugh]

Arthur: And do you think that you can link this ease of mobility with the policies which are in place, of movements, the Schengen area?

Múcio: Yes, but even before it was already working like that. In comparison to my friend who lives in Bruxelles, here is the Finistère, and it’s a lot more complicated. Before, I was taking the trains to go to Madrid. Now there is no train to go to Madrid let’s say. Very few. You can go north, Vigo, but not Madrid.

[...]

Arthur: Do you compose, do you play originals?

Múcio: Yes, I play originals. For example, I play with Hindu singers, I went to play at the Portugal embassy in São Tome. It was June 10th. She sang 3 pieces that I composed, and I have a lot of instrumental compositions, even an instrumental CD. But I did something for the group I participated in. With the band Doña Maria for example. There are a few bands I recorded things with. And I started doing some investigation on the fado, to get in touch and learn how to write how to be a lyricist. I already wrote texts but it's not my main strength. I'm better if you give me a text and I make the music. But I'm also in the process of learning how to write texts.

[...]

Arthur: What is the situation of a musician living in Lisbon.

Múcio: The situation for a musician who lives in Lisbon... Hum, it's a complicated question. Because as I have lived here for a long time, I have a network of people who invite me to record. Sometimes I have nothing. But for people who arrive in these times, and even the new musicians among my music students, I think that it is more difficult today. Before, I remember well, there were small bars with 2 musicians 3 musicians but there were bars with 5 musicians. In groups I played pop-rock, Portuguese bands and African bands in the 90s, we could play a lot in a band. Fado is 3 persons. It's nothing, it's not electrified. Before, there were lots of situations where you could play, in hostels, anywhere. I don't see these kinds of work anymore. There were a lot of concerts with Portuguese artists, that there aren't now anymore, at least I don't see. This is the bad side. The good side is that my students are learning to play the guitar and are starting to make tracks. They don't think "Ah I'm going to play with this guy, and then...". It's good and it's bad. My composition, my music has a lot of influence said the people I worked with. And travels. I played in Mozambique with Waldemar Bastos, a great Angolan singer, this doesn't have a price. It's about learning with the artist the way of thinking. More than of playing and singing. And this, for my students, I think that it's going to be more difficult. Because there is not producer for instance. Before you had a team. Of people who have the sense of music. When I started to play, to be professional, in the 80s in Brazil, this type of production, these sidemen were very strong in Brazil and all around the world. It was a profession. There is no roadmen nowadays. Thanks to this I could imagine being a musician. It's a miracle of adaptation. It's the metamorphosis of a musician in capitalism. It's a miracle that I can continue to live with my music. All these things I learnt how to do are gone, finished. Before yes, you had a lot of work in music live. At the end of the year, you had concerts in television, they had an orchestra.

[...]

Arthur: Now we will move towards the OT. You already talked a bit about your creation process. Is it distinct from the one you have in the OT? How is it working in the OT?

Múcio: Well. That's a big story. From when I entered and today, it's not the same. I think that now, it's much freer. That means that it was not super closed, but there were indications of the Italians, the maestro had his very strong ideas because it worked well with the Orchestra di piazza Vittorio. They had some openness, but I think they already had a very tight idea of what they wanted to do. I didn't like that. It was never too tight. But at the same time, it was a job. I was finishing my master's degree and I was freer to play because when I was in school to study I started in lessons and played less. They called me, I did a test, and I was taken. And for me it was good because was working a lot as a teacher and I had 6 schools. A lot as a teacher and not a lot as a musician. Being a teacher is great because you work with children, you gain energy you lose a lot of energy, but they pay less than if you play as a musician. It's sad because like that the system will not discover talents. In Portugal today, there is a big confusion, with the situation of teachers, professors, there are strikes...

So, they gave me the opportunity to play electric guitar at the OT. It was a good experience. I remember that the first concert was at Intendente. At that time, it wasn't the Internet of today, in 2012 it was something else. I understood that our thing was linked to the Lisbon brand and I think that now it's not. We went to play at Galinheiras, a neighbourhood next to the airport...

[...]

Arthur: What does it symbolise or mean to you personally and to you as a musician, if have a distinction, with musicians from other cultures.

Múcio: Ah, for me it's normal. It's every day. I played for example with French musicians in a casino in Lisbon for three years and a half, French music every day. With a Gypsy touch. Two bass guitars and vocals. I really liked that. I also like to play with people from other cultures, like in the Orquestra TODOS. Sometimes they had guests from India, super good music. I've been living here for a long time but the fado is always a new story because even for the Portuguese musicians fado was considered of bad taste also because it was associated with the old regime, something incomplete, with too simple harmonies, acoustic... Originally, Lisbon wasn't in the radar of tourism and culture. 92 and 94 changed the story. It was the first time I would see Lisbon truly stand for tourism, because here you know during summer, everyone would leave for the Algarve. Even musicians had to go there to play and record. Because in Lisbon there was nothing, no one during this period of the year. 2004's football competition, Lisbon took off.

[...]

P) Interview of Rubi Machado – February 17th, 2023

Biography (based on the interview)

Rubi Machado is a Portuguese singer, born and raised in Mozambique and Portugal and from Goans parents. Rubi grew up speaking Portuguese and learnt Hindi later, as well as English and Konkani (Goa's language), to be able to communicate with a part of her family in India. She travelled to India for the first time when she was twelve. She often travelled to India, in Europe and Canada but not for music purposes. She went to Mozambique in 2007 and 2013 to perform concerts.

Rubi started singing Hindi songs in Mozambique, when she was twelve years old, for Indian communities' events. Her major influence is the Indian singer and composer Lata Mangeshkar. She used to sing Mangeshkar's songs when she was six years old. Fado is another great influence for Rubi. She is influenced by Amália Rodrigues and Linda De Souza and singers alike. Rubi recorded an album, "Meri Awaaz Me (Na Minha Voz)" (n.d.) all covers from emblematic Indian singer like Kishor Kumar and Lata Mangeshkar, singing in Hindi and Konkani.

Interview

Arthur: Tell me about your cultural roots: where have you lived, what nationality, where are your parents from...

Rubi: My nationality is Portuguese, because I was born in Mozambique. My parents were born in Goa, it was a Portuguese colony and Mozambique was a Portuguese colony also. So I grew up in a Portuguese colony, then we came here. After the Independence of Goa my parents moved to Mozambique, after the Independence of Mozambique, we came to Portugal. That's why we are Portuguese from the beginning, we say from the "raiz".

Arthur: And where do you feel your "home" is?

Rubi: My home? My home is Portugal. We grew up in Mozambique speaking Portuguese. I learnt Hindi later, when I was 20 years old. My parents were speaking Konkani – the language of Goa -

between them and always Portuguese to us. The first time I went to Goa, I was 12 years old. My old aunty didn't speak Portuguese nor too much English and I wasn't speaking English nor Konkani at the time. So, I was like that "Oh my god, I love her so much, I wish I had to learn some of her language". I decided to learn a little bit of English and Konkani.

This is home, here, but the culture connects us to India.

Arthur: What is your relation to mobility? Do you travel a lot?

Rubi: I used to. We used to go often to India, until 1995. After 20 years, I return with my husband and my daughter. Now I go, I like to travel a lot: England, Spain, Canada - my brother is in Canada - Mozambique, New York.

Arthur: For music purposes?

Rubi: No, for only me [laugh], me and my family. For the music, I went to Mozambique to do concerts, 2007 and then 2013.

[...]

Arthur: Yes indeed, this question does not relate to you so much, it was for other immigrant interviewees. Now about your music formation, do you have one?

Rubi: I started in Mozambique, when I was 12 years old, but just in the weddings and the parties, for Indian communities.

Arthur: Singing?

Rubi: Singing yes. I was young and I started singing Hindi songs from Hindi movies.

Arthur: Did you have any professor or someone to teach you?

Rubi: No, I loved one Bollywood singer called Lata Mangeshkar, she was my influencer. When I was 6 years old, I had never seen her face, but I had listened to her songs and thought she sang so well. She sings very sentimental songs and I was really young, and my mother, my sister "how you like these songs..?, it's so bad, she's very depressive" "no, but I like the sentimental songs". From that time, I always wanted to sing like her. Everything that I touched was my mic, the toothbrush, when I was mopping or sweeping, I started "La-la-la-la-la".

[...]

Arthur: Can you tell me a little more about your music influences? What type of music influences your process of creation?

Rubi: First comes Hindi music, especially Lata Mangeshkar, my favourite. Then, I listen to fados also. When I came here, I was 14 years old. Once I heard Amália [Rodrigues], the song "Povo que lavas no rio" and touched my soul. Then Linda De Souza, she passed away recently, and her songs as well, I was there and I was thinking that she was so pretty and that she sang so well too. And Amália too.

[...]

Arthur: So, I asked you about your personal process of creation. Now how about when it's collective. With the Orquestra TODOS (OT), how is the process of creation?

Rubi: There is a maestro, it's easy for me, they just tell me what to do. Of course, it is very good, so many different musicians. And it's a very creative framework for me, to be with the OT is gratifying. Because it is an experience with music from various parts of the world. From the inside, we realise that we understand music, with the differences of languages we talk about the same thing.

Arthur: This is what you were saying. Do you mean that musicians there do not talk the same language but understand emotions?

Rubi: Exactly, there are some that sing in Turkish, others that sing in various languages, I sing in

Indian. But when I sing in Indian, I feel the vibrations from people listening, that are the same for everyone. They don't understand but they do feel something. I think that music can be felt. [laugh]

Arthur: Do you think that musical language is different from a music-culture to another?

Rubi: Language no, but style can change. Language is the same, but the culture is different. You can understand the same way, you feel the same. If you listen to a Turkish song or to a Hindi song or to a Chinese song, the feelings are the same. You can think that the song is nice.

Arthur: When did you join the OT?

Rubi: In 2011, at the very beginning. It was the first edition of the festival.

[...]

Q) Interview of Sebastian Scheriff - March 16th, 2023

Biography (based on the interview)

Sebastian Scheriff is an Argentinian percussionist and drummer. Ex-technician-electrician (in lights) at the Argentinian television, in theatres or in military services, he used to play salsa on the side, with a band he had formed. His family members were musicians, but Sebastian did not consider himself as a musician until he was around thirty years old. One day, a Portuguese singer crossed Buenos Aires, developed an interest in the band and proposed them to play in Portugal. At the time, Sebastian had to study music a lot (especially the timbale), autonomously, to catch up with the rest of the band. The band was called Tormenta Tropical. Building on this experience, Sebastian returned to Buenos Aires, bought congas and studied. In the late 1990s, he decided to become a professional musician in Portugal. Sebastian is now graduated in Music (major in jazz) by the Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa and he is a music teacher, after having completed the courses Music Education Teaching at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. He is undertaking a doctorate. He particularly appreciated the cultural diversity of Portugal, and of Lisbon, as he could play with different cultural communities.

Sebastian confides, coming back on his life in Argentina, that he always wanted to be a musician. He was studied guitar, flute, played popular folkloric music. He communicates his overarching music influence to be Latin American music, primarily the music that he heard at home: Cuban salsa, tango, folkloric music (in particular *chamame*).²¹⁴ In 1998 in Lisbon, he formed his own salsa band. He has played music from India, from Turkey, in the flamenco band Ciganos d'Ouro,²¹⁵ although he explains that, when it comes to Salsa, the Lisbon music market is not developed enough for these types of music.

Interview (translated by the author)

Arthur: Tell me about your cultural route, where have you lived, what is your nationality, where are your parents from, anything that you may find relevant to your cultural socialisation?

Sebastian: [...] I always wanted to be a musician. I studied guitar, flute, played at folkloric parties, popular folk music. Later, my profession was the one of an electronic technician, I worked in electricity (lights) at the national theatre, the military service, the television.

When I worked at the television, I earned a lot of money (a lot of work) and I bought drums, guitar. I formed a salsa band with friends. I didn't have money to pay 10-11 musicians. So, we were 4

²¹⁴ The Chamame comprises music and dances native from Corrientes province, in the North-East of Argentine. The music is traditionally played with vocals, accordion, bandoneon, guitar, piano, violin and double bass or electric bass.

²¹⁵ This link includes their album *Maktoub* (2001), released on the label Farol Música:
<https://open.spotify.com/intl-fr/album/6y61rsVx9Eetl4DgsIkih7?si=U4tr45TCQ3eCA0EWPphs6mw>.

musicians using pre-recorded sequences. One day, a Portuguese singer went to Argentina and liked our band, Tropical Storm. He asked us to join him in Portugal to play in clubs there. So, we went, and I clearly didn't have the level at the time, so I had to study a lot. We played, we played. I came back to Buenos Aires, bought congas and studied.

[...] When I was a child, at home, I listened to a lot of Cuban salsa. It was tango, folklore (in particular "Chamame").

[...] I played cajon with the Ciganos d'Ouro, flamenco music. There is no flamenco market neither in Lisbon [he was explaining earlier the same for salsa and Latina-American music]. It is very difficult if you learn and there is no market: here it's more African music oriented. I played a little music from India and Turkey. I loved jazz, so I started a jazz group.

[...]

Sebastian: The OT's project is not to specifically show a precise folklore from each place. It is giving people who don't know it, a language of how music works elsewhere, a more realistic image, but not totally traditional. What the *Orquestra* always proposes is a journey, not a stay. You won't understand what Cuban music is if you haven't been in Cuba for a year. Or 2 months in Cuba, listening to salsa every day. It does not exist. The OT proposes a journey, told in the most realistic way possible and with all the language that music needs to be real, to be true and to transmit, and this is the most difficult thing, to transmit what these cultures transmit when they are played. That emotion... There is always a color of a country that stands out more than the others. If we play a Fúnana, the Fúnana you hear is stylised, modern because there are instruments that are not used to play Fúnana. We have a *sitar*. But the song is an arranged Fúnana.

[...]

Sebastian: We made the themes we already had plus new ones, with arrangements. Now the band is at an interesting level, it is already organized. The band is much more effective because it takes much less time to read the music they are playing, it reads, plays, passes it once, twice, "ah okay the music goes that way".

[...]

Sebastian: The rehearsals of the first part [with the first maestro] were chaotic, they were very difficult.

Arthur: So, the structure facilitated creativity.

Sebastian: Because there wasn't a structure, everyone was talking, everyone wanted to create... The director set that order, there was a lot of creation, but it was a chaotic creative process. The goal, the purpose, was still achieved, but it took much longer.

Arthur: And you think it's still democratic?

Sebastian: It was always democratic. The *Orquestra*, if there's one thing, it's democratic. It doesn't do well with something dictatorial. I don't like. It's like, no, I'm leaving. Of course, there is a lot of music that needs to be like this.

[...]

Sebastian: The association [APC] created the festival and after the festival came the OT to support the festival. In Portugal, the cultural policy is terrible. Here the culture works, thanks to these associations that exist because people really want with their hearts, they want to do things, and there are many. And it works great. It is only in associations that it works. Of course, the government does it, and when the government does it, it's for things that have already been done. But this alternative cultural thing, mainly, and things like the Orchestra only exist thanks to these associations. One thing that helped a lot was when I started supporting the European Commission. In this case, the

government has no option, it has to use that money for culture, it channels the money to all organisations and when people have money, they do everything.

[...]

Sebastian: One thing about each musician of the OT is their ability to open up sufficiently to include their music within the music that is happening, and to let themselves be penetrated by the music of others. Which is not easy. There are many musicians, for example rock, pop, even jazz, who only play that style. And they can't play other styles. Because they can't, because it doesn't interest them, or because they are not used to it. No, in the orchestra, the majority of us are people who have played other styles, we are well used to playing other styles and putting them together, leaving our comfort zone and creating other things.

Arthur: Do you think the maestro and the other creators were searching for musicians who know how to do these things?

Sebastian: Yes. The OT is built over an idea of another orchestra. And it starts with this idea of bringing together an orchestra with different languages from different peoples.

R) Interview of Lily Nóbrega and Rui Galveias (translated by the author) – April 13th, 2023

[...]

Lily: There are two words that tell a lot. Integration always implies that the social group wants to insert in its paradigm, in its vision. That's not it, we want to talk about integration. Inclusion already implies back-and-forth relationships [“do lá para cá e do cá para lá,” from there to here and from here to there]. Here, we also talk about interculturality, which brings us things that we don't have and that we can also bring to others, but always from a perspective of inclusion and sharing. And that word integration is always a tricky word.

Rui: Integration is tricky, inclusion is not.

Lily: Yes.

Rui: Inclusion because they want to include those who possess, the peoples arriving here with their language, with their identity, we want to include them. Here we defend them. This must be the path of inclusion. In discursive elements, and even in some directions, some things that are created by governments and city councils, the word rarely used is inclusion and the first word chosen is always integration. And the error starts there, the problem begins. This is compounded by a significant misunderstanding of reality within government bodies, as there is no framework in place to comprehend it. Either this structure is decimated, or it is very fragile. Within the populations, there is a lack of connection between the central power – that should be responsible for putting in place this structure, through policies – and these people arriving on the sites, whether they were free-will immigrants, or immigrants who were forced to leave their countries for Europe, or the societies themselves that now have their own identity. When we talk about this, we can talk about the peripheral neighbourhoods that have their own developed identity, whether from the limitations imposed to them, social and political limitations, or because there is war...

Lily: Gypsy people for example...

Rui: Yes, little is said. They are pushed, they are placed in their own isolated space, in social housing districts around Lisbon. An experience that we have had here and from which we have learned a lot. Recently, with the guys that came here to talk to us about the way a neighbourhood is named – as in sensitive neighbourhood, sensitive area, as it happens in the cities around Lisbon – already conditions the way its inhabitants come to enjoy their rights, whether social or civil, which includes culture.

Social and civil rights include culture. It is a social right and a civil right. And this is the first frontier, it is a lack of knowledge. The OT...

Arthur: About that, about the people who arrive, in what context do they arrive?

Rui: Here we have various types of immigration from Latin America – and from most of the European countries – who, in the case of artists, come searching for options and alternatives to develop their career and their work. They come looking for a new space and feel Lisbon as a place where they could do that, they feel that there is this diversity and this possibility of mixing with other things, making their work happen and growing. Well, for example, we have a recent phenomenon, the Afghan immigration – arising from an initial action taken by the Portuguese government. Many Afghan musicians came to Portugal, but they have rapidly been abandoned, that is, if they have not, they have been left to themselves months later because there was a hierarchy of migrations with the war in Ukraine. The war in Ukraine dictated that Ukrainian refugees should be received first. Us, here, personally understand that everyone should be received and well, we have no limitations. For us, this is an obstacle to the concept of ‘country.’ Our concept of ‘country’ is a country without borders, period. This possibility would solve many problems right from the start. But these immigrants who came – I will insist on the word ‘immigrants’ – look like they are only passing through and for me an immigrant is someone who comes and has the right to...

Arthur: Immigrant means coming from another border.

Lily: Exactly.

Rui: Yes. And we understand that they come to this country, that they are not here passing through. Of course, if they can return to their country, because it is a territory that they know, the territory that they love, if this is an option and if it is possible in dignified conditions, of course they should do it. But they came here. This is the place they were assigned as a place to live either because they chose it or because they were taken here. What happened was that there was a hierarchy in the immigration that came to Portugal after the war in Ukraine, especially defined by criteria that are European Union criteria. Well, this decision limits and greatly conditions the way in which Afghan artists, for example, are currently staying in Portugal. Because they don’t have any conditions to be artists. That’s not a possibility. They are immigrants like the others; all immigrants have their condition of working force that are fundamental in Portugal. But they were inhibited by the initial reason to do so while they were originally received with pomp and circumstance by the government: “Ah, come here, we are going there,” hugged them, “This is going to be wonderful,” and suddenly after 2 months they were left to their fate. Because the government needed their houses for political options. Political choices greatly limit the way people can survive in a country where they don’t speak the same language, where there is always a fundamental component of integration to be able to survive, the necessity to have some resource, to have a document that allows you to circulate, to have an identification document, to have the possibility of making a work contract with ease, to reach social security and to be assisted normally. To solve integration issues by learning the language of a country takes a long time. This country must create conditions to deal with their issues with dignity. We don’t do that, that is, we talk about integration, but we don’t even do it well. That’s why us, here, in our space, really want the idea of inclusion, because it implies that there are mediators, that there are people who have been here for a significant time, that there is a creation of a network that supports these people with their characteristics instead of intending to impose ours on theirs. We’re not going to gain anything from this, and neither are these people. In the end, the only thing we do is war. It is to separate. Separating, separating and keeping the universes separate, or letting lived extreme situations, situations of poverty, many times because people are isolated. The OT is a good example

of something that can be done from above. And this is important. Because it takes into account these characteristics: it is an inclusion project. And then you have examples like the KF, like our space, like workers from home, many works that have to fight for every crumb to be able to support things that are spontaneous and that came from the bottom. Because as there is no direct connection from the central power to the bottom. And I maintain this idea of central power over the municipalities: local power is important to guarantee things and must guarantee more practical things to guarantee spaces, to guarantee housing, to help to guarantee resources for work and spaces for culture in general. But the central power has a greater responsibility, it has to structure this in such a way that it remains democratic. Because of true diversity. What we feel, for example, the European Union here, is that there is a diversity conditioned by filters and options that change over time depending on the lobbies present and influential in the European Union's decisions. The strongest lobby in a given area conditions project choices, for example. When you want access to certain funds to develop your work, there is always an artistic choice that conditions the way you...

Arthur: Do you mean that the funds of the European Union are dedicated in these areas and...

Rui: They are not areas. They are artistic criteria, artists access criteria to funds – which are fundamental to guarantee democracy in culture. Because it is not a subsidy, there is dependence that happens. With guaranteed funds, it is possible to choose things that are not objectively profitable or mainstream. You choose what you want to do as an artist. This possibility must be guaranteed by the structures above. I think it should be the Portuguese state that guarantees this money. It is my view, from the point of view of the nationalist organisation – in that sense it is nationalist because it refers to patriotism. In that regard. It is not in the sense of borders and who is here. Who is here, is here. It is those who inhabit the place that are the “Portuguese” between quotes. And who dwells, is here. These are the ones we have to take care of because they are the ones we have here. Now, what happens is that many times, choices are subjacent to the funds. This issue or another issue, not all issues. And this diversity must also be guaranteed by the project selected. That is why I talk a lot about central power because the municipality is too close to take those decisions. It is very easily and naturally influenced and it's not because of bad intentions, it's because people create bonds. Now, the great difficulty we have is that, in opposition to the OT and the TODOS – which work towards inclusion, sometimes integration – there are many things that are born that don't have the right look because local issues don't reach the central power. Either they have a mass dimension, in which case they reach the central power, or if they don't have a mass dimension, it takes the government a long time to realise that these issues exist and that they must be supported and fed: artistic collectives, artistic phenomena of mixture as it happens a lot in Lisbon. Or you have a momentary collaboration with a private foundation like the Gulbenkian that supports Dino D'Santiago to enhance a certain characteristic of the city - and what happened there was just a barrier that was occasionally crossed - and it is within the very reality of the Greater Lisbon, 30 years ago or 40 to 50 years ago. It has to do with our past and with the history of occupation in other countries, it has to do with this heritage of Africa and Latin America, essentially Africa. You have these things happening here with people all over the world and you don't realise it because you didn't do the work of inclusion from above, you're not even present to assist, to accompany, to guide: this should be the role of the responsible entities. To create conditions to accompany, to create spaces, to create the means and guarantee survival and dignity. Much of the work done in Portugal, whether related to culture or not, is always on the edge of dignity. And living on the edge of dignity conditions your creative capability. When the circumstances are very free and very pure and very spontaneous in which people met, became friends and started playing together. We follow many encounters and examples like these in our

space. Through a series of happy coincidences, we created a space where this happens. Whether we deliberately sought it out or not, I think what we did was to read what was around us and let it happen. We were reading. Reading and maintaining landmarks without losing chaos. We always had our limit points, which are not limits from the point of view of a moralist language, it's nothing like that. They are operating limits, practical limits. These practical limits keep things consistent: marking things, organising room schedules, things like that. We were lucky, but it's a bit of a fluke that we are here, it's going well and for us it's an incredible experience. We're being integrated into all these things and we're learning a lot every day.

Arthur: And how do you relate what you have explained about the importance of maintaining structures, with the influence it can have on the creativity of the people who come. How do you think about the creativity of these people?

Lily: Here, are we talking about of BOTA's case in concrete or in a more general form?

Arthur: No, of BOTA's case.

Rui: Guarantee freedom.

Sara, who uses an office on the top floor of BOTA, asks to intervene.

Sara: Can I answer something?

Arthur: Yes!

Lily: The case of Sara. From here, from anthropology.

Rui: They are the examples!

Sara: I don't know, being here at BOTA allows us to have contact with artists and people from different areas who somehow value our work. We share things, we share knowledge, we share information that sometimes I don't have. We have a space – nowadays in Lisbon is absolutely impossible to have a space like this to work in these conditions – that allows us to create, make contact with artists and people from the field of culture. It allows the creation of partnerships and joint work, which is what we are looking for.

Rui: I think that what artists find here is the space, a space for creating freedom.

Lily: Arthur was wondering more specifically... We have a group, for example, that proposes a determined project. We don't have predefined marks for them.

Rui: Only the working hours [laugh].

Lily: The marks, from the point of view of creation, are only on their side. They propose to us. The only thing we offer is a time slot.

Arthur: Yes, but in this conception of space, you have a role in facilitating the creativity of these people, these groups.

Lily: Yes. For example, we have a group that offers us a concert. It's a concert, it's a date, etc. But we also have musicians who propose a concert or even other initiatives, performances, music and other things. They tell us: "We would really like to stay here for a week" – as it has happened several times – "To spend a week rehearsing, working and preparing here." We also manage these types of request – always with the limitations of the calendar, because a week has 7 days, not more, each day has 24 hours [laughs]. We've managed to do this more than once, many times. For example, with theatre works or dance works, concerts, musical works too, in which they had chances or had enough to be able to create a concert, which is a concert for BOTA. They make a proposal, we analyse it...

Arthur: As you have said yesterday, they can stay here like a in residency.

Lily: Yes, these are residencies. We also had 2 or 3 experiences when we have recorded works, for example, from musicians who needed a space to record. They recorded and then they performed a concert at the end to make up for it.

[...]

Rui: It is thanks to the place that this happens, that's why I say that this happened due to happy circumstances. BOTA, as an extension of Toca das Artes, which is the association, allows itself to do this due to a series of happy circumstances. There have been encounters at the time, and there are many encounters here right now, which generate new things. Which already surpass us, which no longer have anything to do with us, except from their origin...

Lily: But there are also things that have to do with us and are very funny. For example...

Rui: No, but when I say that they have nothing to do with us, it means that they no longer depend on us.

Lily: Yes. For example, there were, at the time of the Womex, many artists circulating in Lisbon, as the event happened in Lisbon.

Arthur: What is Womex?

Lily: It's a fair that brings together artists and promoters, etc.

Rui: It's a fair of the music industry.

Lily: Exactly. And it happened in Lisbon last year. And of course, there were 53,000 artists and we were here with a group called Raia, a group from Iceland. The group was coming to Portugal for the Womex. And one of the members said: "Look, I'm talking to Svatar" - which was a friend from the first time he had come to Portugal from what I understood, "Who is very keen, he wants to have a space to play, in addition to going to introduce promoters and such." And we accepted the proposal. Then, Rui remembered that we have a musician here who is Martin Sued, playing the *bandoneón*, from Argentina and he thought: "That would be super cool to get together, and we know each other" - they never played together here, but getting the 2 together like that, a little bit, from that perspective of the 2 ends of the world, being able to do a concert here. And they accepted, one and the other accepted the idea, it was super funny.

Rui: They got together the day of the concert.

Lily: It was very interesting.

Rui: This type of experience generated...

Lily: And we have experiences like this, for example what will be on Sunday, Cabuinha, who is from Angola and who comes here from time to time to perform here. He will now be in residence with us, as he was in the previous one for a few days. But this time, this is from the experience he had the last time he was here, he met Yakalakaya. And he's going to be now through Sunday, exactly. He met Joaquim here, so they're going to get together and put on a new show.

Rui: In other words, they are going to do an artistic residency here these days. And this is an example of *intercruzamento* (crossover). Now, these immigrants see their condition as musicians, for a long time now, and it is possible for this to happen because there is a place that allowed this.

Arthur: Do they do rehearsals here? Or how is it going?

Lily: Yes, exactly. From a calendar point of view, we manage to organise things so that they can also have space to prepare the show and have a residency.

Arthur: And also, I would like to come back to this subject of the association that deals with the bureaucracy, which supports the artists. My question was: why was it necessary?

Lily: Because of the precariousness in which artists live.

Arthur: The precariousness, and the fact that someone needs help at any time...

Lily: Exactly. There is also a lack of... for example, we are also in a universe, that of arts and culture, where the people have difficulties even from the point of view of their stay here. With difficulties

because they don't have [fiscal] activity opened, because they don't have papers to legalise. We also have a set of artists...

Rui: Not having activity opened has to do with the way work is treated in Portugal, not working with an employment contract.

Lily: They need an umbrella that allows them to work and get paid too. And to be able to make an invoice and work, they need to have some support in this type of work. Because the universe of arts and shows – particularly musicians – is very precarious. People depend on the Recibo Verde, many of them cannot or do not have open activity, it is super limiting. This also allows them to manage to have some work here, which is remunerated. We also support projects and gender equality.

Rui: That is, in order to have a formal relationship with those who support you, there is state support for culture – they are a misery, they are a disgrace, but they exist – just to have access to that support you have to be... I'll give you a symbolic example: you have to be super well prepared, have all the bills paid, have your whole life organised. To have access to the money that guarantees that you can have an organised life. Indeed, you don't have an organised life because there isn't enough work in the culture in conditions for you to have your life organised. And to be able to access this is to be organised. This means that many of these people have a lot of difficulties in accessing support or even a concert that is contracted in the most normal way in a City Hall. In order to access money and receive money from your work, there are a number of conditions. So, the form that was found in Portugal is these associations that do the “front men” for these municipalities to guarantee that there is a relationship between an association and public institutions, and a part of these problems comes from the European Union. It is not healthy, because it imposes social policies on countries that are within the single currency. So, the way that was found was - and it's a fair, legal way, it's not weird, it's not mafia, it's nothing like that - to allow people to work with municipalities and projects. For example, the OT. A part of these musicians could not work otherwise.

[...]

Arthur: You were talking earlier about the ecosystem. The importance of maintaining a healthy relationship between different institutions and the dialogue between them.

Rui: That's what fails right now. There is a problem of distance between the institutions that generate policies and reality. There is a fundamental problem in our culture, and specifically in Portuguese culture, between the guardianship, the government, and because it is the government that represents the state, and the state. It is managed by the government and the government currently has a fundamental problem of lack of communication with the culture sector and people's reality. And it's not just with culture, it's in general. There is a distance.

Lily: Yes, but it's an objective problem. Regarding the issue of culture and the way in which many times, starting with the government because of course this is later reflected in the work of the municipal councils, there is no public service of culture. It does not exist. And culture is often seen by governments, whether this one or the previous one or, for example, the City Council, which has a political force that is not exactly the same as the government, but the Vision is the same. They have a vision of culture as a propaganda tool and not a public offer or service, so to speak. For example, the concert they did at the end of the year - here the City Council holds an end-of-year concert - ...

Rui: That looks like integration.

Lily: It seems intercultural. It's fake. It doesn't match. There are things that are worked on and that are true. They put several singers of different nationalities or from different continents to sing. But that is a propaganda action, it is not an intercultural action, it is nothing profound. There is no work backwards or forwards, it brings nothing. It's a group of people who were put on stage.

Arthur: This is not interculturality, this is pluriculturality.

Lily: That's right. And it does not correspond to a continuous work of interconnecting these musicians with each other, etc. Therefore, I think the biggest challenge is facing the questions and then you have a group of more "conceptual" musicians, let's say that in quotes, who are willing to perform from stage to stage for the government or for the City councils show off saying "Yes ma'am, we do and we do what does not happen." There are some municipalities that do this type of work, which I think is positive, but they are few. You have work that is fundamental work, for example, we can talk about the municipality of Seixal because it works with local artists, with the population, and there is a jazz festival and so on. They have schools, they have work that is also interconnected with the community.

Rui: There are good examples in some municipalities, such as Seixal and others, because there is always this orientation to seek, to know the reality of the population. A difficulty that we sometimes encounter is that there are politicians, even in local governments, who make the mistake of thinking that the community reaches out to them. They have to reach out to the community. This is a very big mistake. It is a very big mistake that has to do with the vision of power and with the way in which power is reached as well. Cultural sector workers are used for that.

Lily: I'll see what's going on downstairs, if you had any...

Arthur: Last thing, if you can introduce yourself because I forgot to ask at the beginning.

[laugh]

Lily: Yeah. So, I'm Lily Nóbrega. I'm currently working here at Toca das Artes and at BOTA, which is the organised base of Toca das Artes, and that's it. It's a job that I've been doing since 2016 when we started Toca. I'm not a musician, I'm not an artist, I work more from a production perspective, which is an area that has always interested me and I've always been curious about cultural issues. I had different experiences before this, but that's it.

Rui: And you are the president of the association.

Lily: Exactly, I'm President of the association Toca das Artes, exactly.

Arthur: Thank you very much for your time.

Rui: Rui Galveias, I'm a member of the board and from there I do the programming and production at Toca das Artes.

Lily: You're part of the team.

Rui: I'm a musician, I'm an artist, I'm a musician, composer and producer. And I also do the technical direction of the space.

Lily leaves.

Rui: Now, just these notes about the importance of the absence of the public service of culture, the public service of culture. They are very concrete. This is what I wanted to ensure. In our Constitution of the Republic – we have a Constitution of the Republic that is one of the most recent in the world, it was written in 1976 and it was written by the people, by the local government, by the population. It was a revolutionary event that happened in Europe which is often forgotten, in a country that was very backward, which remains very backward in some respects. However, it preserved 5 fundamental rights: the right to work with rights, the right to health, the right to education, the right to culture and housing. These are the 5 fundamental rights that our Constitution seeks to guarantee, and which assumed that the dependent worker was the weakest. In our cultural sector, cultural workers were pushed a lot towards the idea that they were independent freelancers when in most cases they are not. They are precarious, in a situation of maximum precariousness in some cases. What was needed was such a cultural public service that would guarantee, for example, theatres or rehearsal spaces. This

would generate employment, of course. And it would generate jobs without many investments. And there would always be a yield, because one of the problems we have, for example, is the population settling outside the large urban centres. It always generates a yield. There is no other way. Then, this way of working with culture workers, who in some cases are creators that need the conditions to exercise their creative capacity, they needed to have such means as I mentioned earlier to be able to do this. Means that are the guarantee of their independence as creators. That is what is needed in a culture policy. It is to ensure that people maintain their independence as creators and an actor can choose to do television, soap operas, films or cinema or theatre, avant-garde theatre or classical theatre. This has to be a choice. And that possibility doesn't exist right now. The only thing they can choose is to survive. Together with this, there is an aging of our population, there is a paradigm shift in Western populations, starting with Portugal, an aging population, where there are advances towards the preservation of life but then guaranteeing the functioning of our society, the balance is missing. Today we have in immigration, be it convinced or forced, a very strong solution to our problems. So, these means that we talk about are also fundamental for immigrants. They are fundamental means for this to happen and we are back to the starting point. It is obvious that initiatives like the OT are very welcome, but it is essential that those responsible, the State, have the ability to read the cultural context in which they live. And the cultural context in which they live, for example in Lisbon, says, we have a lot of people doing very good and very beautiful things and they need the conditions to do that to keep doing it in an environment of freedom. Because that brings more people, it brings more life, it brings more joy, it brings more quality of life. It is a fundamental virtue, this virtue of access to culture and pleasure. It is just as important as the food on your plate, although you need to have food on your plate in order to have pleasure and have free beings to create. That is, there is this thing here, but that's what's missing. These policies and this vision are lacking to allow that when there are spontaneous phenomena they can be supported and can grow naturally and not worry about living. Because the problem with KF and other projects is that musicians have to have other jobs from time to time to be able to continue doing these projects when they could be doing just that. And these projects that would be much more, would be much bigger and would be much more capable of being critical, statements and giving the population, and giving critical tools of the context in which they live, which is what we lack at the moment. Misogyny still exists, racism still exists, and they have to disappear. They are still fuelled by very simple objectives: culture is not a profit generator.

[...]