

## Chapter 8

### SOCIOLOGICAL PORTRAITS: ORCHESTRAL SOCIALIZATION, PATHS AND EXPERIENCES

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#### **Introduction: the voices and trajectories of the young participants**

Sociological portraits are the methodology deployed in this study to lend a voice to the young *Orquestra Geração* (OG) participants. This is crucial because both proponents and detractors of *El Sistema* (ES) tend somehow to speak in their name whenever either positive or negative types of experiences are tacitly presented as universal. This chapter strives to give space to the lived experiences, ideas, opinions, and trajectories of those who are the targets of this social inclusion through music project. As such, it may be seen as the heart of this book, providing a platform for the expression of experiences, meanings, judgments and evaluations that emerge from the various standpoints of these young players.

Baker denounces the prevalence of an emotional discourse around the ES, which tends to idealize it and perceive in it nothing other than positive aspects. The author thus stresses the need for a rational, analytical approach (Baker, 2014, Introduction). We wish to contribute towards that aim and to demystify the somewhat magical assumption of music's "transformative power" (Tunstall, 2013) that tends to present music as a panacea that changes lives through its aesthetic power. We do not wish, however, to slide into a hypercritical perspective that limits itself to the aim of finding only potentially negative aspects. Following the perspectives of the participants themselves and restraining ourselves from over-interpreting what they say, we attempt to treat symmetrically both the positive and negative experiences and the reasons for their satisfaction and criticisms.

The sociological portraits also allow us to get closer to the participants' life stories or, at least, to key moments in their trajectories, while considering their socialization inside the orchestra and the internalization of dispositions and skills potentially useful to other dimensions of their lives. This is how this chapter

contributes to the aim of this book: to analyse how social inclusion may (or may not) be fostered through music in this type of project.

What follows shall flourish before the reader's eyes as a mosaic of singular experiences, rich and unique, both with aspects in common and with differences. After a brief discussion of some theoretical aspects, we then present a selection of thirteen sociological portraits of young OG participants, ordered according to their age and in which the singularities stand out. This is followed by the analysis of thirty-five sociological portraits that conveys a more general perspective by highlighting regularities in the trajectories and experiences of the young OG participants.

### **Dispositional plurality, skills, and trajectories inside and outside the OG**

The OG is a “life-world” (Schutz, 1967) of experiences and meaning but also a place where the socialization of its young participants may generate consequences by creating – or, conversely, inhibiting – dispositions to act, feel and think. The OG thus represents a specific framework for socialization that becomes relevant at certain moments in the trajectories of its participants. As such, it is important to “specify – describing and analysing - the *frames* (universe, entities, institutions), the *modalities* (ways, forms, techniques, etc.), the *times* (moments in individual trajectories, the duration of socializing actions, the intensity and pace of those actions) and the *effects* (the more or less durable dispositions to believe, to feel, to judge, to represent oneself, to act) of socialization” (Lahire, 2015: 1395-6). One must also observe the value of these dispositions whenever they act, pragmatically, as skills that foster the social inclusion and mobility of participants.

Sociological theory defines dispositions as principles that generate and organize practices and representations of individuals as well as their taste (Bourdieu, 1972, 1979). They are produced and structured by the living conditions related to the objective positions of subjects in social space (Bourdieu, 1972, 1990 [1980]), being internalized – or ‘incorporated’ – by them through the socialization processes that take place, for instance, in family, at school, or with friends. Dispositions are “durable” and “transposable” from one sphere of action to others (ibidem).

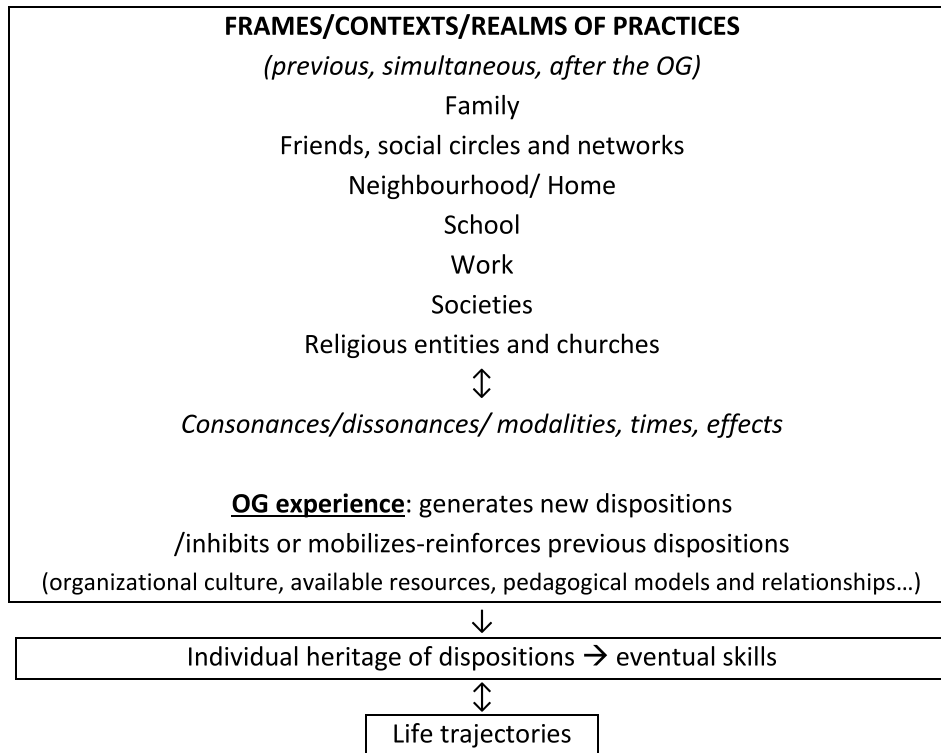


Figure 1. The social production of the individual – socialization within/by the OG

The sociological portraits allow us to ‘pull out’ the different strings that socially produce individuals. Following on from the work of Lahire (1998, 2002, 2003, 2012), we attempt to unveil the origins and development of the OG participant dispositions, as well as the plural forms in which those dispositions intersect with each other. This is a means to construct the biographies of social actors without conceptualizing them as mere fractioned post-modern identities unaffected by any sort of social structuring.

We remain open to different empirical possibilities: dispositional coherence (more likely to happen in linear trajectories in which the same socializing principles are constantly activated in different situations in a sort of (redundant) overlearning) as well as heterogeneity (as a result of exposure to contrasting multi-socialization processes taking place in different settings, frames of interaction, and social roles). There may also be varied nuances and subtle intersections in the “coefficient of singularity” of each individual that result from the crossover between the structural, institutional, interactional and biographic dimensions (Costa, Lopes, Caetano, 2014).

Each disposition carries its own specific origin and trajectory during which it gains or loses strength, depending on whether or not activated and mobilized by the contexts where action takes place in each moment (Lahire, 1998). Socialization processes tend to be multiple in complex societies such as ours, composed of multiple specific and institutionalized spheres of action grounded on various agents, values and “domains of practice” (family, work, leisure, sociabilities, etc.), and decomposing in micro-contexts, situations, and interaction settings (Lahire, 1998, 2012). This means that, during socialization processes, there is a multiple determination of variable degrees of homogeneity or heterogeneity of the stock or “individual heritage of dispositions” internalized by subjects (Lahire, 2003). A “sociology at the level of the individual” recognizes each social agent as a plural entity (ibid) who does not always have a habitus, a coherent and unified set of dispositions, a “structured structure predisposed to work as a structuring structure” in a linear way (Bourdieu, 1983: 61). This idea stimulates us to further explore the critical developments of Bourdieu’s theory of practice.

Dispositions are activated, inhibited and/or transformed by the various contexts and frames of action which individuals form part of and live in each moment of their daily lives (Lahire, op cit.). As we shall see, certain dispositions acquired in the OG do not manifest themselves in the practices of young participant taking place in other contexts of action (for instance, the music they listen to at home is usually not the orchestra’s ‘classical’ repertoire but rather other genres). In short, dispositionalism and contextualism are both complementary and dependent on one another.

We also consider the young participants’ intentionality, reflexivity and anticipation of the futures they imagine and wish for themselves (e.g. professionally), shaped by their expectations and perception of *what is possible* and the extent to which the range of possibilities may be widened. Every subject is conditioned by the constraints and possibilities defined by their positions in the social space. Those positions configure unequal modes of agency (capacity to act) articulated with structural inequalities (of class, gender, ethnicity), even if that agency does not necessarily overlap or reflect linearly those structural features. Framed by this, subjects are able, for better or for worse, to negotiate the meanings of situations, even

the future ones, according to their “project” and “potential for metamorphosis” (Velho, 2003). According to Velho, “project” refers to the ability to pursue certain goals, either consciously or tacitly, in organized or drifting ways, that translate themselves into multiple modalities, sometimes performative, of interpretation and definition of reality. According to the resources and skills of social actors, shaped by the flows between realities, contexts and social roles that configure a certain “potential for metamorphosis”, people are able to imagine possible futures (ibid). This means that those representations of the future are not disconnected from objective reality but, on the contrary, have consequences in the here and now by adapting, updating, and transforming the past that has been incorporated into each social actor.

To provide space and to listen to the voices of OG participants means that, epistemologically, we do not disqualify what they say as mere *doxa*, a belief that does not recognize itself as such, a sort of false knowledge (Bourdieu, 1994: 156). Instead, their discourses are acknowledged as a reflex and expression of their standpoints, experiences, practices, positions and possibilities (see Bourdieu, 1993 – ‘Compreendre’). Furthermore, we recognize that these subjects are capable of being reflexive about their own experiences, practices, positions and possibilities (see Melo, 2005; Caetano, 2011), which therefore means we take a critical stance on the bourdieusian assumption that subjects are unconscious of their practices (e.g. see Bourdieu 1990[1980]: 52-65).

It is true that the reflexivity of subjects does not necessarily lead to creativity or transformation because, in certain social milieus, this may foster social reproduction, for example when people are convinced it is impossible to make any change in the world and they act in accordance with that assumption. Despite this, reflexivity may also provide actors with agency, the capacity to act, the power to (re)elaborate the social structures (Archer, 2003), understood as means both of constraint but also of empowerment, constantly updated and rendered effective through actual social action. As Caetano refers, “to understand the relationship between reflexivity and agency, we must take into account what are the social conditions of possibility that allow reflexive deliberations to turn into creative action” (Caetano, 2011: 161).

In the sociological portraits of the young participants, we attempt to observe the extent to which the ‘work’ of erasure or strengthening of previously internalized dispositions, or of the internalization of new dispositions made *within* and *by* the orchestra, may lead to the emergence of resources and skills that increase their possibilities of inclusion and social mobility. Several studies suggest a positive impact of musical practices on language development, literacy, logical-mathematical reasoning, creativity, motor coordination, self-confidence, emotional sensitivity, social skills, team work, self-discipline and relaxation (see Hallam, 2010 for a literature review). Besides learning how to play an instrument and reading from the score, the orchestral (re)socialization and socio-musical practices may foster the internalization of dispositions to think and act in ways that may become configured as skills valued by society which are frequently seen as ‘personal qualities’, such as working regularly, being organized and focused when accomplishing a task, or the ability to collaborate in team-work. For this to happen, however, those dispositions/skills must be transferable to other realms of life, such as school, family and work (Lahire, op cit.; on transferrable skills see Bridges, 1993; Pellegrino and Hilton, 2012).<sup>68</sup>

Below, we present thirteen sociological portraits of young OG participants. We decided to attribute a title to each portrait, contrarily to Lahire, who thinks that doing so overly emphasizes one (dominating) aspect by “condensing the singularity of people into a relatively simple formula”, and the “diverse practices, attitudes... of an individual are not reducible to a general formula” (Lahire, 2002: 43). However, we are convinced that proposing a title may express relevant aspects of each portrait’s singularity coefficient without nevertheless forcing the reader into identifying any sort of artificial coherence. We believe the titles help readers detect the relevant singularities of each case as well as aspects in common and regularities between the participant trajectories and experiences.

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<sup>68</sup> It is interesting to note the parallel between sociology and education on the issue of transferability of either ‘dispositions’ or ‘skills’.

## Thirteen sociological portraits

*DAPHNE<sup>69</sup>, THE VIOLIN SECTION LEADER WITH A PASSION FOR THE DOUBLE BASS*

Daphne plays the violin in OG. She is in the 6<sup>th</sup> grade at *Apelação* school and tomorrow, just one day after the interview, will be her twelfth birthday. When she firstly tried out instruments, she loved the double bass but changed her choice to the violin, convinced by the argument that transportation would be easier. She still prefers the double bass but is no longer able to change instrument. In any case, she is section leader of the violins. What Daphne likes most in the OG is to play and she points out the importance of discipline, attention, punctuality and mutual respect. Besides African music, the preferred music style in her neighbourhood, she has started to listen to 'classical' music and even opera. She dreams of a job in music but her passions for cooking and fashion are stronger. When she grows up, she pictures herself as a fashion stylist, working in Angola where she never has been.

Daphne's parents originally came from Angola and she was born in Portugal. They are both unemployed but apparently her father will get a job soon. Her mother was formerly an assistant in a health centre but Daphne does not "really know" what her father's last job was. Her mother attended secondary school while living in Africa and there is no data about her father's academic qualifications.<sup>70</sup> Daphne's three sisters are older, and Tanishia also participates in the OG.<sup>71</sup> The oldest sister is twenty-four years old, gained a degree at a Brazilian university and works as a bank secretary in Angola.

Daphne enjoys living in her neighbourhood, *Quinta da Fonte*. There is nothing she dislikes there; as she explains, prices are affordable and she gets along well with everyone she is acquainted with. Because her father is not working at the moment, he "goes every day to the *café*, where he stays talking with his friends for a long time". The chocolates he buys for Daphne and Tanishia are important in the relationship with

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<sup>69</sup> All names are fictitious.

<sup>70</sup> According to data collected by *Apelação* school.

<sup>71</sup> See Tanishia's sociological portrait next in this chapter.

their father. “We go there, ask for a chocolate, they let us take it and then my father pays when he leaves”.

Daphne likes school and has never failed an academic year. Her average grade is approximately 3.<sup>72</sup> She always studies at school. At home, she plays with her sisters and friends. She enjoys all the subjects except maths, “because it’s difficult and your head gets messed up”. Visual and technological education is her favourite subject but she also likes music education in which she gets good grades. Usually, she studies “only a bit”.

Daphne started to play the violin four years ago when she joined the OG. Now she is a section leader and so, she explains, “I practice at home, sometimes I also help my colleagues because sometimes they ask ‘how do I play this note’, ‘how is the rhythm?’, ‘what is the right position?’”. She feels more responsible for having been chosen as section leader by the teacher, which is something that makes her “feel good!” In the beginning, she felt more important, but “not anymore now, I feel like a normal person”. However, she believes that “if I’m section leader, that’s because I have a higher ability than the others”. The socio-musical role of being a section leader implies responsibility for the performance quality of the whole instrumental section, tending thus to intensify the overall sense of responsibility and the development of dispositions for self-regulation of individual study (the added pressure to play without mistakes also favours regular practice). Simultaneously, this stimulates collaborative practices of learning and teaching because helping other players within the same instrument group is part of what section leaders are expected to do.

At school, Daphne is the best student in the Music Education subject at regular school – at least that is what people tell her. “Sometimes the teacher asks questions and I answer right away, then the teacher says ‘oh, you’ve already answered!’ and sometimes I don’t even realize that I have replied”. For her, that happens thanks to her participation in the OG and that is a reason of satisfaction. She does not usually practice with her colleagues from the OG but they schedule “rehearsals” at home, especially when there are new music pieces to be learned. Sometimes those sessions slide into all kinds of fun.

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<sup>72</sup> Grades run from 1 to 5 and the student needs to have at least 3 to pass a subject.



Being part of the OG does not seem to complicate her time management: “there is time for everything”, she says. There are sacrifices, however, because “sometimes my friends arrange things to do and I’d like to go too but unfortunately I have the orchestra and I don’t miss rehearsals. And I don’t want to miss”. Nevertheless, that has already happened, she confesses. Despite these getaways, participating in the OG has apparently developed her dispositions for self-regulation and time management skills, changing some aspects of her life. Before that:

*I always spent my time playing around... with all kinds of fun (...) I didn't go out or went for a walk with my parents. But now that I'm at the orchestra, we must start controlling because (...) we have rehearsals on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays and now it's not possible to play around and go out the way it used to be.*

Daphne joined the OG after the string instrument teachers visited her school. After trying out the instruments, she chose the double bass, “but then my friend said ‘but later when you take your instrument home, you’ll see, it will be very heavy’ and I switched to the violin”. “Now I want to play double bass but you’re not allowed to switch anymore”. She was not at all convinced with the instrument change and now she regrets it – “but I wanna play the double bass”, she insists. Daphne does not care anymore about the size of the double bass because she likes “everything” about that instrument. However, the choice had to be made on that day and now she must “remain on the violin”. This aspect stimulates us to reflect critically on the inflexibility that constrains the musical trajectories by preventing students from changing to the instruments they really like.

When she arrived home that day, she and her sister Tanishia told their parents they were going to join the orchestra. The parents replied by telling them that “it was worthwhile because it was a new experience for us”. They showed no fear that the new activity might distract them from school. Their parents and sister usually go and watch their concerts, take pictures and make videos and are “proud” of them. Maria Nascimento, who also plays in the OG and works as a mediator between the OG and the local community (where she also lives), is an important agent in the relationship between the young participants and the orchestra. Once, she took the two sisters to a

concert by *Orquestra A*<sup>73</sup> and even bought them an ice-cream on their way back home. That episode is clearly relevant in Daphne's memory.

"Fun is the word" that best defines OG summer camps. Despite the hard work and tiredness demanded by the intensity of the rehearsal schedules and performances, summer camps afford moments of conviviality as well as opportunities to discover other places. Daphne recalls that her first summer camp was "in a place with a swimming-pool and bedrooms". "The boys had a pyjama party and afterwards they were telling everyone about it all the time, making us jealous because the teacher allowed them to do anything as long as they did not misbehave". The girls also arranged a party "in secret" but they got busted by the teacher, who "turned on the light and saw us having fun". "Then, as punishment, we were not allowed to go to the swimming-pool for one day..." Daphne's words make it clear that for her, the fun and feeling of belonging to a group generated by the banned party, more than compensated for the punishment.

Participating in the 'Imaginarium' Street Theatre Festival at Santa Maria da Feira and a summer camp at hotel facilities in Serra da Estrela (INATEL) were also special for Daphne. Those moments got imprinted in her memory. Due to all this, "I would not change a thing in the OG, because (...) it's fun and I like it just the way it is". "If one day it would end, we'd be sad because we would miss summer camps" and even "teachers scolding and scolding us..." which actually is even "fun".

Before she joined the OG, Daphne already played the recorder, both in music education lessons at school and in 'Irmandista' church activities, which she and her family attend on Saturdays and Sundays and sometimes also on other days. Religious musical practices played an important role in her pre-OG musical socialization and might have already generated, in her, dispositions for collaborative learning and teaching that would subsequently be useful and further developed in the OG as instrument section leader in the orchestra. At the church "we play the flute and we sing" and "the older ones teach the younger ones". Her mother sings religious hymns, which Daphne also learns. "She sings at church on Saturdays and Sundays, and from Monday to Friday she sings at home".

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<sup>73</sup> On the organization of orchestras by different levels, see Chapter 2.

Playing – she stresses – is the most important thing in the OG, but one “must be punctual and pay attention to the teacher, to what he says and to his explanations, and to show exemplary behaviour”. Mutual respect between colleagues and teachers is equally important. Every school teacher, Daphne tells us, “says it is a good thing to be in the orchestra”.

Daphne’s musical tastes were partially changed due to being part of the OG:

*Before, I didn’t listen to any ‘classical’ music but now, when I’m watching television and zapping, I sometimes get the Mezzo channel and continue watching it because I find it interesting. Before I didn’t find it at all interesting but since I joined the orchestra I do.*

Having played the role of the Third Lady in the Queen’s service, in Mozart’s opera ‘*The Magic Flute*’ (mostly a playback performance as part of the OG’s activities but where she also had “things to say”) made her start liking opera.

The OG’s concerts, Daphne tells us, do not really match the taste of her neighbourhood, for ethnic and cultural reasons. “It’s not their style, they like rap, some like hip-hop, and others *kuduro, quizomba*... very few people listen to classical music here, because this is a neighbourhood inhabited by Africans”. However, since there are other children in this neighbourhood who play in the OG, there are other parents who attend their concerts.

Daphne herself prefers African music although she also enjoys “the classics”. Recently, their parents were in Angola and brought CDs that they “play and listen to every day”. She knows some Angolan singers but no hip-hop performers. In the neighbourhood, it is through her neighbours and their powerful sound systems that Daphne listens to other kinds of African music. There, the borderline between the private and public spheres of the sonic space is soft: “here, in *Apelação*, they have very good loudspeakers (...) In my building there’s a lady who plays music all the time and we can hear it in the entire building” – “she sets the volume very loudly with the windows open”. “She lives on the third floor and me on the first. If I can hear it like that, inside her house it must be like a bomb”. Daphne nevertheless enjoys listening to all that music because she finds it “interesting”.

As for her future professional project, despite her good results in the orchestra, she is not fully convinced about a musical career even if this does inhabit her dreams:

*I don't really picture myself [as a professional musician] but sometimes, when I'm sleeping, I have dreams of me playing and singing. Sometimes I dream about it but then my dream of becoming a stylist and a chef take over and then the orchestra falls behind...*

Actually, when she grows up, she wants to get a qualification in “cooking and also style and fashion”, “because I enjoy sketching outfits and also cooking”. Frequently, she watches and helps her mother cooking – “I also enjoy watching and learning how to cook”. That interest started very early, when she was a small child at the kindergarten, which shows the extent to which primary socialization may be influential upon future professional aspirations: “I got used to it at the kindergarten, because we used to cook there. We made chocolate cakes to eat. (...) I kept the recipe and I still have it”. Cooking together with her older sister, when she visits the family, further intensified that wish to become a chef.<sup>74</sup> Fashion is nevertheless even more appealing. “When I joined the orchestra, I thought I'd become a musician, but as time went by, I started thinking that... I began to watch clothes, I started to draw... and then I decided to be a stylist”. She spends her free time sketching outfits on paper.

Daphne expects to remain in the orchestra until the end of the ninth year. Afterwards, she intends to “go to university” and “do everything right”. Despite her passion for cuisine and cooking, her wish to “only” become a fashion stylist is stronger despite believing that she will miss the orchestra forever. She would like to study in Paris because “France is the country of fashion”.

There is also a strong desire to live in Angola: her big plan is to become a stylist in Luanda, where her oldest sister and other family members live. Although she has never been to Angola, Daphne does not want to go there “just on holidays”, but to “live there permanently”. Despite all these plans, her life is also here and now and she would “not change a thing”, she says, because she likes it “just the way it is”.

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<sup>74</sup> Daphne tells us that one of her sisters, who is currently finishing her 9<sup>th</sup> school grade, has already got “the papers” to register for a professional chef program.

**Tanishia is thirteen years old, is in the 7<sup>th</sup> grade at Apelação school and plays the cello in the OG. She defines herself as a “so-so student” who “tries to pass”. She does not enjoy studying much even if her teacher says she is “dedicated”. Besides watching television, she “spends time just writing without a purpose”. Tanishia tells us she enjoys the OG, but there is also simultaneously indifference and detachment. She has even at times thought of quitting the orchestra and she expresses resistance to the disciplining carried out by the OG, missing the times when she had more freedom in using her time.**

Tanishia is Daphne's sister and their parents came from Angola, where their oldest sister lives and works in a bank. Her mother is unemployed and she does not know what her father's job is.<sup>75</sup>

As a student, she describes herself as “so-so”. She “tries to pass” and has managed this so far. Her grades are “more-or-less, sometimes good, sometimes bad”. Studying is not really something she enjoys doing, she confesses. Her teachers, she tells us, say she is “dedicated” but must improve her behaviour, because at times during lessons – “many times” – she “talks a lot” with her colleagues. But “because I want to”, she maintains, her behaviour has been improving in the last few years and “now I don't talk any more”.

During her leisure moments, her favourite activity is watching television. Studying is not really attractive but she does enjoy “spending time just writing without a purpose”. It is not a diary. She simply writes on sheets of paper and exclusively for herself. The act of writing is clearly a space of freedom and self-expression: she writes about her feelings and wishes, things about school and life. She also likes to write during Portuguese lessons at school, even when this is a compulsory task. She assumes her Portuguese teacher thinks that she writes well but the teacher does not even dream about how much she enjoys writing in her free time because she has never told her about it. There is an evident and clear-cut distinction between the formal and

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<sup>75</sup> For more data on her family, see Daphne's sociological portrait above.

informal spheres in which the creative activity of writing takes place. Physical Education, French, Visual and Technological Education, Portuguese, and Science are her favourite subjects, “because I work more for those”. She does not enjoy Maths and English that much because sometimes they get complicated.

Tanishia joined the OG on the same day as her sister Daphne. “We were having a class and then they... came to show us the orchestra to see if anyone was interested”. She tried out every instrument and now plays the cello. The orchestra’s repertoire “is... getting harder”. She feels it more this year because preparing the musical pieces demands more work now. However, she shows self-confidence: “if I practice, I can do it”. She does not refer to any sort of practical limitations to studying the repertoire and likes practicing. She prefers to practice the cello at school, because “here [some] teachers help”.

Her parents, Tanishia says, like the two sisters participating in the OG. “They feel that we are changing”. Playfulness is substituted by a form of study: “instead of playing around, we are at the orchestra rehearsing”. However, she and Daphne, her sister who plays the violin in the OG, are relatively independent of one another. About practicing for the orchestra, “each has her own part” and they do not discuss musical matters. They like each other but as friends they are only “more-or-less”. She tells us that sometimes their parents go to the concerts and make recordings to watch a few days later. Their oldest sister, currently living in Angola, is also informed about what is going on at the orchestra.

Tanishia does not believe that her parents foresee a musical career for the two sisters but she cannot say what jobs they would like them to have when they grow up.<sup>76</sup> She pictures herself studying at university to become an architect or, “if not”, a lawyer. She does not know anyone who has any of these jobs but believes she would like them. After she finishes the ninth school year, Tanishia will have to move to another school because *Apelação* school only runs to the end of basic education (9<sup>th</sup> grade).

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<sup>76</sup> Daphne said in the interview that their mother tells the two sisters “to become doctors, to work in a bank, to follow in our sister’s steps”. The oldest sister is an important reference in the family.

She is uncertain on whether she would like to remain a member of the OG. There is detachment and even indifference: “I don’t know, it doesn’t matter to me”. She does not believe she will have a job as a musician or that she will go on playing as an amateur. Whether she will continue or quit the orchestra is something that remains undefined: “if I have the time yes, if I don’t, I won’t go anymore”. The future will decide.

This is Tanishia’s fourth year in the OG and says she likes it but “sometimes” she thinks of quitting, even if she has never actually taken that step. Currently, her enthusiasm “is not much” “because sometimes teachers are annoying” when they “stay a long time talking to the students”. She does not like what they say, especially when the issue under discussion is the young participants’ behaviour.

She expresses a certain resistance to the disciplining of behaviours carried out within and by the OG. This is particularly interesting considering that she is the cello section leader, which implies higher responsibility, and demands – or at least might afford – greater (affective) attachment.

Questioned about changes in her life due to participating in the OG, Tanishia gives us a somewhat cold answer, “nothing” – or at most, only one: before “I had more time”. And honestly, she misses the good old times when she could use that time freely to play around or watch television. Again, she resists and expresses her disliking of the disciplining applied by the orchestra, now specifically in terms of how it regulates her time and how she uses it. She experiences that process as a constraint, a sort of colonization of her free time.

When the interviewer insists, asking her if there were any positive changes, she says “yes”, but refers to only one aspect: now she is learning music. About this, she will not say anything else spontaneously. It is true that – Tanishia answers “yes” – she now has the summer camps and concerts, as the interviewer says. She is also asked about whether meeting new people or having played for the Portuguese President at an official state ceremony were also interesting. There are a couple of “yeses” but these seem forced and somewhat pulled out from her, and her facial expression indicates she does not really wish to continue talking about the topic. Nevertheless, she is

excited with the forthcoming concert at S. Luís Theatre, although “not that much” about the next summer camps.

Since she became an OG member, Tanishia has attended a couple of concerts by other orchestras. She recalls one given by a Venezuelan orchestra at the Gulbenkian Foundation which she found particularly interesting. Her favourite moment was when the musicians “threw” jackets in the colours of the Venezuelan flag at the audiences. She already knew some of the pieces they played. Amongst everyone in the OG project, maestro Olivetti (a guest Venezuelan conductor at the previous year’s summer camps) was the maestro who caused a stronger impression in her.

She usually listens to *reggae*, *kuduro*, *quizomba*, *funaná*.... “and that’s all”. “Sometimes I dance [alone, at home]”. She listens to music on the CD player with her sisters. The oldest of the three sisters living with the family is the one who picks the music – not because of being older, but “because it’s only her who switches on the music player”. This is surprising as Daphne and Tanishia are the ones who actually have been learning and playing music. The living room is her favourite part of the house because it is where she is able to watch television. In her bedroom, which she shares with Daphne, she listens to music, studies and does her homework. It is also there where she may be “quieter”.

Despite the ambivalence and some indifference in Tanishia’s discourse, when asked if she would change anything, she replies that she “would not change a thing”, either in the OG or in her life, because she enjoys the neighbourhood she lives in.

*LUCINDA, FROM A FINE-TUNED TIME AT THE OG TO THE OPTION FOR POP SINGING*

**Lucinda is thirteen years old, is currently in her 8<sup>th</sup> grade at Amarante school and played violin in the OG for several years. She lives with her parents, an older brother (who also plays an instrument) and an uncle. Her mother works at a factory and her father was unemployed at the time of the first interview session. Inside both the classroom and the orchestra, Lucinda stands out not only for her good results, but also for her ability to virtuously combine the two activities. The discipline of the orchestra made it easier for her to better**



**organize her time, without sacrificing the cultural activities usual amongst teenagers. When interviewed at thirteen, she wanted to be a doctor or a judge. Two years later, aged fifteen, Lucinda has substituted the OG for pop singing lessons at a music school and her imagined professional future is now more undefined. She nevertheless recalls her participation in the OG as something special and significant.**

Aged thirteen, Lucinda is a student with excellent grades, “fours and fives”, having always passed the year. She wants to be a doctor or a judge because she likes these jobs, but she sings as well. And she has been recognized as having a talent for it. Her mother, whom Lucinda “likes so much”, praises her all the time, she says, and supports her in everything she does. Lucinda acknowledges the dedication of one of her teachers who has encouraged her, with other colleagues, to participate in a local talent competition. Prepared by her teacher, Lucinda got extra inspiration from a winner of a prime-time television music talent contest and reached the final singing a classic song.

Participating in the OG proves one way of continuing to play and study music and especially to learn an instrument, which is something she did not previously do. The violin has been her friend for the last three years. Actually, it is not the only one, as she made new friends at the OG even though already acquainted with some of them from her school. Everyone gets along well and “learn with each other”.

Lucinda has already been the orchestra’s *concertino*, that is, the section leader of the first violin section and the musician who represents the whole orchestra. In that role, she says, “one must often control the others. There are boys and girls who have more difficulties and me and my friends must help them”. This sense of responsibility, intensified by the section leader and *concertino* socio-musical roles, increases not only with the years of orchestral experience but also due to the demands of the musical pieces themselves, which are becoming progressively “more difficult, but also more beautiful”.

Besides her availability to help others progressing and contributing to a common goal, Lucinda points out that participating in the orchestra made her more organized in

distributing her time and coordinating her school duties. She tells us she studies every day and has two orchestra rehearsals per week (a total of four hours) plus individual instrument practice at home. She likes both studying for school and playing in the orchestra but dislikes tests and exams because “they are very tiresome” and “stressful”.

Academic and musical performances take priority over household tasks. Lucinda shares dish washing duties with her older brother but, whenever she has a lot to study, her mother does it. The rest of her free time is spent at home, watching television or on the computer. Soap operas and some music talent shows are amongst her favourite TV programmes; she also engages on *Facebook* and plays computer games. She listens to music on her computer’s mp3 player similarly to many other teenagers, particularly to Anglo-Saxon pop music, even while she also includes the musical repertoires she has discovered through the OG.

Most of Lucinda’s friends are from school but many also play in the OG as well. Even though she “gets along well” with all the boys from her school class, she has closer relationships with the girls. Her best friend lives nearby, which is helpful for studying together. Besides her good social integration and performance at school, Lucinda participates in other school activities, such as walking, journeys, and parties.

The good student, a quiet daughter in harmony with the other family members and the responsible violinist seem to be social roles which reinforce and benefit from one another. The strong presence of family members in her life and good social integration and relationships with friends seem to play a role in her success.

Two years later, we meet Lucinda again, now fifteen years old. It is July and she has just passed into the eleventh grade. Time for us to get updated about what happened in the meanwhile. When she started her tenth grade, she recalls, she changed school, choosing Science and Technologies, and also joining a private music school to study singing. Feeling “overloaded” with the accumulation of school, orchestra and extra musical studies, she chose to quit the OG.

Her passion for pop singing was stronger than the violin and there was a sort of substitution of the orchestra. Although she had sung in a local talent competition a few

years ago, she had never had any singing lessons. Now, in the private music schools she attends, she studies singing and works on “more pop music and things like that...” The teacher is an “opera singer” but Lucinda does not think the difference between musical genres is relevant. “Of course it is helpful anyway” – besides, teaching pop songs is something that her teacher is already used to doing because, in that music school, most singing students work on that type of music.

Lucinda actually finds the lessons very useful. There, among other things, she does breathing and voice exercises. “I do not sing opera or lied because not only do I not really like it that much, but it’s also not something I identify with”. Another reason she points out is that those musical genres do not fit into the vocal tessitura that she likes and feels comfortable with. She sings “songs in a lower register, for my voice type. “But it depends”, she explains, “I sing whatever I like”, such as cover versions of Alexander Burke “or singers that have lower pitched voices”. “I like many singers” and “songs that are more... sort of commercial”.

At this moment, Lucinda makes a confession: “I’ll be honest with you”, when I first joined the OG “I practiced the violin every day and every time, but then when (...) I started playing better, I went to the rehearsals but didn’t really practice so regularly anymore”. This was so also because it was easy for her to play the pieces and do her role well without needing much practice.

Before joining the OG, “commercial” pop songs were already Lucinda’s favourite music genre. Even during her participation in the orchestra, she did not listen to the ‘classical’ music repertoire that much during her free time – actually, yes, she watched music performance videos of the pieces she was playing but only to learn them better, just as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself. Now that she has left the orchestra, she no longer listens to its core musical genre and repertoire. “I never liked it much”, she again confesses to us, “I always enjoyed playing them but not really listening to them...” In terms of taste, she clearly distinguishes between playing and listening: liking to play a certain type of music does not necessarily imply enjoying listening to it.

What Lucinda has learned and the musical development gained from the OG are applicable to pop singing, regardless of being “very different” musical genres. “There is

something important in both which is Ear Training and Sight Singing, having learned the musical notes, all those things... it's very helpful for singing pop songs, because there I also need to know how to start singing a passage *piano* [softly]... and that sort of things".

After having left the OG, it is clear that participating in the orchestra did not prove influential to her musical tastes in any direct way, in terms of the type of music she listens to as a cultural consumer. However, one must acknowledge that this did develop her musical abilities and skills that became transferrable and useful in learning and performing pop songs, which is also a cultural production activity.

Furthermore, it is worth asking to what extent did participating in the OG and getting familiarized with and being integrated into a context of non-formal musical learning have helped in opening the door and implicitly encouraged her to follow her musical interests and begin another type of non-formal musical studies at a private music school a few years later?

Reflecting retrospectively on her experience in the OG, Lucinda recalls that she "also" very much enjoyed playing the violin, her friends, and teachers, and misses the moments when they "went all together giving concerts". This experience had a "special meaning", "because I made many friends, met many people... I became a bit more adult because I had to be responsible, I had to meet schedules, I had to... go to lessons, to rehearse (...) Sometimes I woke up quite early to come to OG activities here at the Amarante Cultural Centre".

Lucinda actually thinks she had always been a responsible person but the OG seems to have strengthened that feature or disposition in her. "Joy" and "friendship" are the words that come to her mind when she remembers the times when she played in the orchestra. "It was very good to be in the OG", recalling "nothing but positive aspects" - "there were no negative aspects, because I was always well treated there and always learned well". She maintains some friendships from her old times at the OG, but also because some of her former colleagues from the orchestra study at her new school.

Lucinda's plans for her professional future have become undefined in these two years. When she was thirteen her mind was clear on this and she wanted to be a doctor or a judge. Now, however, she does not want to be a doctor anymore "because I don't think that's what I really want to do". A few years ago, when she passed on to the tenth grade she had to choose between Humanities and Sciences and it was a hard choice. She selected Sciences because she believes it will make it "a bit easier to get a job", "but now I don't know anymore, I'll wait, I still have lots of time and I'll decide later on". As regards the role of music in her life (either as a job or a hobby), Lucinda just lives the moment and everything is undefined: "I'm not thinking much about that, for now, I just do it because I like it".

*TIAGO, AT A CROSSROADS IN PRESENT TIME...*

**Tiago seems to be at a crossroads. While we do not know what were the reasons, he has recently quit the Conservatory, where he had switched the violin for the viola; apparently, he wishes to continue his musical studies in a private music academy<sup>77</sup>. He joined the orchestra when very young, still in primary school, and music took over his life. Now, Tiago would seem not to want to give up on everything that he conquered on his voyage through the violin and through music.**

... following an ambitious trajectory

Tiago has turned 14, attends 9<sup>th</sup> grade and has just done the test to get into the music Conservatory.<sup>78</sup> He plays violin and is a member of orchestra A. He lives in Vialonga, in the Cabo area, with his father, grandmother and two younger sisters while his mother is away for a period. His father works "in the computer area" and his mother is a cleaner.

It was his mother who enrolled him in the orchestra and both of his parents have always provided every support, even helping him put the money together to buy his own violin. His two sisters already attend the orchestra.

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<sup>77</sup> Information obtained in an interview with an OG board members and another orchestra participant.

<sup>78</sup> The interview session with Tiago took place over a year before the events described above.

Very assertive about his own future at the time of the interview, Tiago already wants to have a musical career as a violin teacher, orchestra instrumentalist and soloist. Furthermore, he positively perceives the scope for balancing his higher music studies with architecture, as music “might not work out”. When questioned about the tremendous load that he would have to cope with if choosing this dual path, Tiago laughs and quickly replies “when you like running, you don’t get tired”. In any case, music would apparently occupy the peak position in his future perspectives...

*because, if everything goes well, right after the music degree I want, I like teaching, I like children; I’d like to be a music teacher, a violin teacher, and at the same time a violinist playing in an orchestra, playing solo.*

His best friends are in the orchestra even while he also has good friends in his neighbourhood. The latter divide musical preferences between “classical music” on the one hand and “different things” on the other. They like dancing and singing, which does not seem to bother Tiago who, despite having different tastes, gets on well with everyone.

He has never failed a school year and in the current academic year only experienced some difficulties in the first term because he was sick. Tiago explains better his short period of failure:

*I missed half of the term and I was still able to get... positive results in half the subjects even though I got negatives in the other half; in the second term, however, I basically recovered everything and now I’m just left with two subjects behind; but now, in principle, I’ll pass all of them because I’ve been working fairly hard*

In school, he prefers Visual Education, the Sciences and Portuguese. If he had the opportunity to study some languages in depth, he says he would choose Latin and Italian, languages that he “loves”, especially because they connect with “those of the oldest musical works, from the period of the Renaissance”.

Tiago speaks about ‘classical’ music with enormous passion, especially Baroque music. He is aware that it was the OG’s orchestra that brought this opportunity as before he “did not like music”. Beyond his love for music, his path through the

orchestra has also enabled him to develop some very strong ideas about music teaching and on how all of its components are fundamental to understanding and interpreting musical works. Tiago explains:

*Yes, I think that everything is connected. Ear Training and Sight Singing teach us the rhythmic and melodic part, where we begin working on everything and afterwards we may grasp the tones; and then the Instrument helps us knowing which tones are those and learning the melody. I think this is all very closely connected... everything to do with music is very closely interconnected. (...) Because in the instrument class we basically do everything, we have to do solfeggio, which is singing, isn't it? We sing to find out more or less what it is all about, then we have to know the notes, which is the role of Ear Training and Sight Singing... That's it, in the instrument class, we do everything.*

He came across the violin somewhat by chance: "I did not choose the instrument at all like some of the others did; there was a mister there who is now my teacher... He said 'you're going to the violin'". He did not choose but he was immediately won over. And, as he has a room to himself at home, he spends a lot of time on his own practising violin. Sometimes, he says, he practices until two or three o'clock in the morning but he does not bother anybody as he uses a *sourdine* to muffle the sound. With a lot going on in his everyday life, he established a routine that he hopes to follow closely:

*But first... I get home, roughly at around 7.30 or 8pm, sometimes a bit later... After, I have a shower, dinner and then I start right away practising the violin because I can only play without a *sourdine* until 10.30pm. Besides that, I go to school.*

Before going to bed, he likes to watch a bit of television. He likes soap operas and has some favourites such as '*Dancing Days*', '*Vida Brasil*', or '*Páginas da Vida*'. Tiago seems aware of the prejudice people usually have against this television format, but this does not bother him that much. According to him, soap operas actually "teach" us something given that they reflect countless situations similar to those experienced in "real life".

In the orchestra, Tiago does not have any fixed place within the violin section, having already circulated throughout all of its music stands and chairs. The place

where he sits does not seem important to him: “I’ve already been in the first row, in the last and I’ve been in the middle. It’s a bit varied”.

Despite the enthusiasm he conveys, he has already been through a difficult period in the orchestra:

*It was in the fifth or sixth year. I was giving up on studying. I was more demotivated also because I was [demotivated] for school as well. Besides, I’d always had a grade of five in the Instrument, right? And [at that time] that went down to three... It wasn’t until afterwards that I came to understand that this was something that I wanted and that if I didn’t make an effort... Because from the beginning, I wanted to follow the violin... it’s really my option and at that moment I understood this, so then I returned [to studying more]*

And he returned more motivated than ever. This was also because the orchestra brought him a lot of important things: Tiago highlights how there he learned to “listen and know how to answer”, “to communicate more with other people” and “to be more relaxed”. Furthermore, he is also convinced that students who attend the orchestra get “better grades at school than many of the others”. According to this young violinist, “the classes with orchestra are different” especially because even while there are many colleagues that do not like school “after, with the orchestra, they feel more motivated and begin pushing themselves”. To him, self-regulation and individual effort seem very important: “even without anybody listening, I’m listening to myself and I begin to correct my own errors... I mean, sometimes it’s more complicated and I need help but I can in most cases”.

Tiago is critical of how the OG project is organized in terms of its timetable distribution between orchestra, instrument group and instrument. He explains what he would like to modify if he could:

*Before starting with the orchestra rehearsals there should always be sectional rehearsals, shouldn’t there? Which is rehearsing by instrument groups, first violin, second violin [separately] so that we get better prepared... And afterwards we all get together [in the tutti rehearsal].*

*We have this [a bit] but, I think instead of having ninety minutes of orchestra, for example, I would have a sectional session at ten and orchestra afterwards. I think that we should have it like that, for example, on Monday, then, again, for example, on Wednesday, and then on Friday.*

*Because I think that would help us a lot, as before going to the orchestra session we could already clear up a lot of doubts and so on. (...) Because, on*



*Monday, I don't think it makes any sense to have orchestra. Instead, we should have two hours of sectional rehearsal because during the weekend we usually come across doubts, and that would help us clarifying them (...) Because in the sectional, we get the best chance to clear up doubts... And then we would go to the orchestra class basically without any doubts. Besides I also think it'd be easier to work with the teachers and we would also work far faster, in my opinion...*

Tiago also maintains that everyone should all have more hours of instrument class. He himself has more classes than those established as his teacher “always finds time” to give him a few extra “little classes”. Furthermore, he also counts upon the help of other teachers who, when seeing him practising, make their observations and suggestions. Tiago considers this natural: “Basically, we’re playing, aren’t we? And it’s music, we all play music and that is what we have in common, we may make suggestions because it’s all music”.

In the remaining areas of his life, he would not modify anything. Perhaps he would add a few hours onto the end of the day to be able to spend some more time on what he most likes. But just that. Really, Tiago is a happy young person.

#### *JORGE, A LEAP INTO ANOTHER WORLD*

**Jorge is aged 16, studies flute and attends the eighth grade at Vialonga in an integrated class<sup>79</sup>. He lives with his mother and siblings in a quiet, “really calm” place. He likes living there and especially enjoys his bedroom, his place of both study and leisure, representing his identity and where “nobody else touches”. Behind a deep level of shyness, which Jorge seeks to offset by an exaggerated impression of being at ease, there is a friendly and delicate lad. After a more troubled period, marked by academic failure and hanging around with people that he himself refers to as “bad company”, this 16 year old seems to have found in the OG the persons, the environment and the means that helped him develop a more positive future perspective, with enthusiasm and determination.**

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<sup>79</sup> Artistic Music Teaching status.

Jorge is in the 8<sup>th</sup> grade. He failed the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grades not because they were especially difficult but because, he retells, he was hanging out with “bad company, who led me off to play around and so forth”. At this moment, despite the studies going better, Jorge still has some negatives that he knows he has to raise especially because, in order to follow his dream of music, he has to finish his high school studies (12<sup>th</sup> grade). His favourite subjects are Physical Education and History, the latter of which he got a negative grade in due to an unusual episode. According to what he says, his history teacher sent an email to students with similar questions, “of the same type”, to those that would appear in the test. Jorge did not get the email. And, hence, he did not know what to study. In any case, he reckons he will be able to recover history and that he just needs to study a little more.

The question of study changes nature when talking about the orchestra. As Jorge confesses: “For school, [I study] very little, for the orchestra I [really] study”. He smiles when he exclaims “in the orchestra, I like everything!” And he tells his plans: “I want to take Music! This year, I’m taking the tests to get into the Conservatory, just to see...”. With these objectives in mind, he practices a lot, especially at home in his bedroom. He counts on special support from his mother who “scolds him” if he ever misses an orchestra session. The family also attends the concerts “whenever possible”, which makes him proud.

Jorge lives with his mother and siblings in a house near school in a peaceful, “very calm” neighbourhood. He tells us his mother and her older sister work but drops his head on mention of his father, who he knows nothing about and has never met.

In his free time, in addition to computer and “playing football”, he really likes listening to music. He prefers hip-hop and never listens to the ‘classical’ music that he likes playing but not particularly listening to. Jorge separates clearly “classical music’s” function in his life, in opposition to other musical genres. *Rock* and *hip-hop* are for listening to and he would never picture himself playing these musical genres. ‘Classical’ music, on the other hand, is clearly for playing. However, Jorge likes playing but not listening to the latter.

He joined the orchestra in the 6<sup>th</sup> school grade with a female friend. As they both already played the recorder, they chose the flute. While initially a little reticent, Jorge

confesses “now I don’t want to leave”. His love for the flute came over time. At the beginning, he thought the flute was a “bit boring” but he now says with enthusiasm that it is “the best instrument!”

The first time that he played in the orchestra he felt some nerves but now, when reflecting on that after all of the concerts that he has given so far, “that’s already normal”. However, despite the routine, there are special moments and Jorge admits that “if we are playing and the music is very nice, (...) and if it’s the type that touches my soul, I do get the shivers”.

Jorge adores the orchestra. He feels that at this place he is given “more freedom” and everything is “much better” than in school. He explains:

*For example, in school, it’s everything... the teachers are all a bit... irritating and they don’t leave us alone... for example, because we are holding our smartphone or something else... or in our pocket...But, not here in the orchestra! Here they let us... be at ease!*

The young flutist decidedly prefers the more informal relationship that he has with his OG teachers and exclaims almost incredulously: “They call me Jó! Just like my friends!” Towards this new context of informality, friendship and unity, Jorge responded with a change in attitude, explaining: “[previously] I was a bit childish, I suppose... And... I didn’t have any responsibility. And after... with the orchestra... I had the flute, I had all of this...” Jorge highlights the group spirit that exists among the orchestra members without which he believes there would be “no music”. The music thus emerges from the unity among everyone and appears, in his eyes, as a consequence of this joint search for synchrony, that unity obtained through everybody’s agreement. Therefore, for Jorge, “what is most important (...) is the spirit (...) of the group, the friendship with each other...”

Setting aside his initial dream of “becoming a footballer”, Jorge now concentrates on music: “I’m going to take Music... I want to, want to go far further and as far as I can with music...” Jorge shows he has a pragmatic side and elucidates how he will grab “the best opportunity” that appears. The plan is to follow the Conservatory and then onto higher music education in order to later be able to join a

professional orchestra and “tour the world”. Jorge does not want to teach music, he wants to play, but in an orchestra and not solo as he feels very nervous.

His best friend is a cellist with whom Jorge talks over his problems, worries, indecisions. The change in his group of friends is, furthermore, one of the factors that he most emphasises when talking about joining the orchestra. His life before entering the OG was worse due to “the company I kept and all that”. He later tells how “he left them because of the orchestra”. But only the “bad company”, as Jorge continues to have friends outside the orchestra. However, not all of them understand the passion triggered in him by the flute and the orchestra: “some think it’s all boring, while others think it’s great and a good future...” But Jorge is not overly concerned with the opinions of others, because “everyone has their own opinion”.

For Jorge, the greatest truth is that perhaps if he had not joined the orchestra, he “would not have met the friends and the teachers” he has now. He would know “nothing”, and his life today would be just “rotten”. Through the OG, Jorge does seem to have modified his perspective on learning, teaching, and the teachers. The core of the question seems to stem exactly from the relationships that he established with his music teachers, who demand a lot from him but still respect his way of being in the world.

*PEDRO, WHEN THE TRUMPET CHANGED HIS DIRECTION*

**Aged 16, he attends the Metropolitana Professional Music School where he studies the trumpet. His school progress had always been disturbed by his behaviour. It was this fact that led his school teacher to recommend him joining the OG, where he still plays today. Before, he perceived the OG as “something for posh kids” but the trumpet was able to captivate his interest in a way that school subjects never did. He is now striving for an ambitious objective and feels that he is “more active” in the orchestra than in the classroom and that his behaviour has improved.**

The ease with which Pedro makes his way walking along the school corridors, messing around with his colleague and leaving a buzz in his trail, contrasts with the shyness that he displays at the time of the interview. With his eyes lowered, his short sentences mark the entire conversation.

He has difficulties in accounting for the professional occupations and schooling of his parents, stating that they work in companies in Lisbon and that his father does something related with computers.

His progress through school has not always been trouble-free. He failed 5<sup>th</sup> grade for not liking the teachers and the school, which took away his will to study. It was after attending the 5<sup>th</sup> grade for the first time that he left his school in Brandoa and enrolled in Miguel Torga, where he remained until leaving to the Metropolitana music school. Before getting involved in music, he had a particular interest in car mechatronics due to the influence of films and computer games.

While not having had any further setbacks in his academic progress, he does not talk about this area of life with particular interest. His colleagues were what most bothered him within the school environment; he refers to them as “those little kids that wander around” and that like to “spread confusion”.

Pedro lives with his parents in an apartment in Brandoa. On this topic, he also underlines how he does not like the troubles that sometimes happen in the streets around, “because about three streets below my house there is a café where the drug addicts used to go”. “As there were almost always police there, there was always confusion happening. But now that’s all over”. As with his other school colleagues, he makes a point of stressing that the place where he lives is not a *‘bairro’* (neighbourhood) as this Portuguese word, in one of its meanings, may recall social re-housing.

In addition to music, Pedro also plays futsal. The sporting and music activities mean that the only spare time to spend with his parents gets limited to weekend afternoons when they go to shopping malls together. He also spends time with his grandmother and, on some weekends, visits his sister who lives in Benfica with her husband and children. His other two siblings have emigrated to Britain where Pedro

might be going this summer. With some sadness, he recalls the close relationship that he had with one of his brothers, now cut back due to the distance.

His busy schedule has also reduced the time spent with friends, who he meets on weekend afternoons and especially in the school holidays. They often go to the beach, getting a lift with one of his friend's father or meet up in somebody's house to play *Playstation*. On sunny days, bike rides are another option. With difficulty, he speaks about emotional relationships, referring only to not having a girlfriend although he does not necessarily wish to be alone.

As regards his professional future, he imagines himself as belonging to an orchestra, ideally the Berlin Philharmonic. In fact, spending time outside the country does not worry him and would even seem stimulating.

He joined the OG in the project's second year, right when the brass instruments were introduced. This happened after a suggestion made by Pedro's form teacher to his parents in order to improve his behaviour. This interference was decisive for joining the orchestra. Previously, the project had not attracted him as he saw it as "something for posh kids". Nevertheless, unlike his other two trumpet colleagues, he has kept at it and overcome the difficulties that appeared along the way, characteristic of any learning of a new instrument. Quitting did cross his mind due to the timetable clash with his judo classes. However, he ended up giving up on judo. In fact, the trumpet did motivate his interest in a way that school subjects had otherwise failed to do. "Here, at least I do something", "I'm more active, I spend more energy. In classes, I'm always silent and I get tired and that's it". Pedro's behaviours did also end up improving and that, he says, was in part due to the orchestra.

Pedro's discourse about the orchestra is assertive when he questions the importance of the acceptance of the project by his friends. "They don't have to like it. It's me who has to like it". The same applies to the fact that his father would prefer Pedro to follow another path, such as Economics or Science. However, his persistence and the support of the rest of the family backed up his choice. Pedro got around his school failure by joining the professional music school, which he takes as an ambitious plan for the future.

**Isabel is aged 16 and has been a member of the OG since 2009, where she plays trumpet. She is attending 10<sup>th</sup> grade at the Metropolitana Professional Music School in Lisbon. While expressing some fragility and a lack of confidence, she knows that following Music is the objective she has set for her life. She does not desire to do anything extraordinary as the most important is doing something that she likes, in this case playing music.**

Isabel lives with her parents, sister and niece. The latter shall be leaving soon, setting off for Britain to join their husband and father. With some bitterness, Isabel explains how this change stems from how her brother-in-law and sister think that life there will be easier than in Portugal. The emotion that this situation causes in her prevents her from talking further on the subject but also conveys her particularly close relationship with this sister. She also has another sister who lives with a friend in Brandoa. Her mother cleans buses for Carris (Lisbon's urban bus company) and her father was a driver for the same company through to retirement. Her mother completed 6<sup>th</sup> grade and would have liked to continue studying. However, Isabel's grandmother did not let her and sent her out to work.

Her parents were not born in Amadora and, for the first time, Isabel is to visit Tabuaço, the birthplace of her mother. This visit will also serve to meet family members to whom they are not at all close. Today, they live in an apartment in Brandoa, in a building "that is really old. It's a basement with another annex below and with a backyard. It's not like a house. It's very old". The backyard is for the animals – their dogs and birds, the passion of her father. She likes where she lives despite the occasional "confusions". However, she easily imagines living alone, especially when observing her colleagues at the Metropolitana Professional Music School, who live alone in Lisbon's Alcântara neighbourhood.

Isabel has always had average grades and did end up failing one year which made her feel better prepared to pass the following years. Working has already crossed her mind as she knows the financial position of her parents will not provide for

everything she needs, especially for her instrument. However, her father does not let her take this option due to the many hours already occupied by music.

She joined the OG in 2009. While she did not meet the requirement of belonging to the Miguel Torga School Group, an exception was made for her case due to the lack of enrolments for the orchestra at that time. She learned about the project from her brother-in-law's brother, who was already a member, and from watching the orchestra on television.

Although the trumpet was not her first choice, she was directed towards that instrument and ended up liking it. From the outset, she dedicated herself to practising the trumpet, motivated by the chance to get out of the beginners' group and join the level above, which happened after just a short period.

Her enjoyment of playing ended up influencing her acceptance and interest in 'classical music' as well as the commitment she displays towards playing. Without this dedication to studying and an attitude of responsibility, she considers it would be impossible to achieve the objectives set. The lack of these factors is what she attributes as the reasons for some of her colleagues quitting and some behaviours she criticises in other project participants.

She accepts the difficulties that she feels when practicing the instrument but that did not put her off taking the position of instrument leader in the OG. She likes the added responsibility that this brings, but does not believe she experiences this with the same intensity at the Professional Music School, where she is now continuing with her trumpet studies and where she does not feel quite as confident.

The move to the Metropolitana was at first a relief for "finally" getting out of the Fernando Namora School. However, today, she looks back with nostalgia at what she left behind, especially her friends that she no longer sees. A tone of anguish always underlies her discourse, especially around this theme. She stresses that she has forgotten the majority of her colleagues but that they have also forgotten her and found new friends. However, Isabel has also made new friendships at the Metropolitana and also gets on with the colleagues that she already knew from the



OG. With her friends, she most often goes out to “clear up her head” and leave her routines behind.

As regards musical practice, her relationship with the professional school is ambiguous as well. She sometimes enjoys it all while on other occasions feels demotivated and doubts her own abilities. Isabel did actually think about quitting because she felt she could not do anything right. “But then”, she adds, “there are aspects that [made me realize] why I am here. Because if they did not want me here they would not have called me up. I would be [just] a replacement, (...) they might not have called me at all. And they did call me and, if that happened, it was for some reason”. On the other hand, quitting does not seem much of an option as she knows it would be weak not to struggle for her dreams. When she compares herself with her sisters, this position becomes even stronger as she feels that she was the only one to follow an area that she had always dreamed of.

These concerns are not always understood by her mother or, at least, she does not always show that she understands them. However, Isabel has ended up realizing that the apparent lack of interest in her progress at music school is neither real nor intentional. In truth, both parents encourage her to meet her musical commitments.

The decision to follow music emerged out of her time in the orchestra but was also reinforced by having had an uncle that played trumpet in the fire brigade band. Her uncle died in a fire, which made Isabel want to pay homage to him by following in his footsteps.

In some way, she feels that the orchestra changed her life as she tries to imagine what life would be like without any musical activity: “At the time, I did not have this hobby and was able to do other things that, I don’t know, might do harm to myself or to others”. Besides, she also wonders about the scenario of not doing what she really wants as she thinks happens to the great majority of people. She explains how with the modest grade average that she had at school, she would not have been able to get into a Science degree that would have really fulfilled her. For Isabel, the musical field stands out as more objective, representing a professional practice that she is able to achieve in the future, whether as an instrumentalist or as a teacher perhaps in the OG

itself. However, as happens frequently in her analysis of situations, the discourse on her desired future is not completely confident:

*Now, here [in music] as well, I don't have the confidence that I'm going to be a great trumpet player or that I'm going to be able to get into a symphony orchestra or similar, but I'm doing what I like. And that gives me a qualification for what I like in the job market. I might not get into a symphonic orchestra but I'll always be doing something. It might not be anything extraordinary but at least I'll be doing something, something that I like. I like playing, I don't like standing behind a counter, perhaps doing the dishes or something. I like playing trumpet and that is what I'm trying to do.*

YAMI, "BUT WHY DID I EVER QUIT?"

**Yami is 16 and attends 11<sup>th</sup> grade in the Forte da Rosa Secondary School, where she studies Science and has had a successful academic career. A practicing Catholic, she lives with her parents, brother and aunty in a house with four bedrooms located near the school. Her father is a lawyer and her mother is a homemaker. Having dropped the dream of playing the viola after two months studying in the Conservatory, Yami has now decided to go into Nursing and is even willing to move to Spain if that helps her in her professional career. Despite this apparent certainty, there are many hesitations in the discourse of Yami, who feels a strong nostalgia for her viola.**

About two years ago, Yami passed to the 10<sup>th</sup> grade deciding to study the viola at the Music Conservatory in Lisbon. However, not even three months of study had gone by when she decided to quit. This was a difficult and rather unexpected decision that surprised her family and friends. Her best friend, Joana, was very sad when she found out about Yami's decision and did everything possible to get her to change her mind:

*She [Joana] cried and cried... She said: "No, (...) we had made plans. We said that we were going to play in the same orchestra; that we'd live in the same house, having a laugh, playing..."*

In fact, it seems difficult to find an explanation for this decision. Yami entered the Conservatory with an average grade of 98%, having greatly impressed the jury at her viola audition by playing a piece by Handel that – she believes – is normally only played at the university level. Yami has absolute pitch and is very good at Ear Training. In her own words, Yami had everything one needs to follow a successful career in the world of music: “the teachers always said, as did my father and my mother, that I had everything to become a good viola player”.

The key to this highly improbable dropout seems to stem from the individual viola classes. Yami complained that the Conservatory teacher did not motivate her much to study and she was not a teacher “as demanding as the OG’s viola teacher” who, according to her account, “knew how to make sure that the students practised”. Yami resented this, was unable to establish any relationship of empathy with her new teacher and the viola classes soon became a nightmare:

*In the second lesson I went to... at the Conservatory, I cried. Because, there you go, just imagine: you leave from [OG] here... (...) I began to play. I was not able to, not able to... I was not... I just blocked. And, imagine, here, in Vialonga, I used to be the viola section leader, [then] I arrive at the Conservatory and it's... as if 'going from brilliant to beast'.*

That is what Yami experienced over the course of those two months; that she had fallen “from being brilliant to becoming a (dumb) beast”.<sup>80</sup> She also resented the heavy routine that she had to cope with daily, getting up very early and only reaching home again at eight or nine in the evening. Closing this triangle of difficulties was the competition that she encountered in the Conservatory. Yami, who felt she was the best viola player at the OG, gets off her chest:

*When I arrived at the Conservatory, I saw people... playing... playing things... playing, enjoying playing, [and] liking to say: “No, I’m going to do that, I have to be better than the instrument section leader”. And they would say: “No, I’m going to fight and my place is going to be that one, I’m going to be section leader.” They really liked to compete: “I’m better than you!” There, in the Conservatory, when I arrived, I went from being the best to the worst.*

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<sup>80</sup> ‘Passar de bestial a besta’ is a well-known Portuguese proverb.

But it was not always like that. At the time she played in the OG, Yami was a young woman full of dreams who had decided to take Music: “I see myself following Music, I picture myself in an orchestra or even giving music classes”. Yami loved the viola, its “sweet sound”, even going so far as to say that she would not be able “to live without the viola”. At that time, she was very satisfied with the life that she had, having found in music a vast set of references. Musical study structured a considerable part of her routines: one to three hours daily during the week, depending on the availability left to her by the other classes, and four hours at the weekend.

Yami battled for her dreams and persevered, courageously facing down the obstacles that appeared. At home, for example, she faced various objections raised by her father, who wanted his daughter to choose another professional path. But Yami did not stop talking this over with her father who ended up accepting his daughter’s wishes: “My father likes it but does not want it that much that I take Music (...). Sometimes I’m very down because [of that]. Then I spoke with him calmly and told him that I wanted to do this and he accepted 75%.”

This love for the viola and for the performance of the ‘classical’ music repertoire, however, never extended to her listening habits outside the OG. Her African ethnic roots seem to more strongly define her preferences and she talks happily about *kizomba* or *kuduro*. Listening to ‘classical’ music, in turn, appeared only on the occasion of preparing for auditions or during orchestra rehearsals and performances. On those occasions, she used to seek out virtual supports, such as *Youtube*, as a learning resource to listen and watch to the performances of the best orchestras so that she could improve her own playing, and used her smartphone to develop her listening. However, changing to another realm of her life, shifting from being an orchestra member to a young adolescent, the repertoire underwent a metamorphosis: “when, I don’t know it [OG’s ‘classical’ music pieces] well enough yet, I search for it and listen on the phone but as soon as I have learned and I’m done, I erase it”.

Nowadays after she has quit, however, whenever listening to ‘classical’ music she cannot avoid feeling a certain nostalgia, a certain yearning:

*Sometimes... I'm not going to say that... Sometimes I feel... I'm not going to say that I don't miss the viola. I do. For example, sometimes, when instruments appear on the evening TV soap opera, when the cello appears and it's playing alone, in the soundtrack of the soap, afterwards I'm left thinking: 'Oh my God!'*

Yami immediately recalls not only her viola but also the orchestra, the atmosphere that she so much enjoyed and all of the transformation that came about with her participation in this community:

*Before joining the orchestra, I chatted a lot in classes, I was more extrovert. Now, I'm calmer and I changed in terms of my maturity, I grew up more. I have to learn to accept when I play badly and must work more, and when I see smaller children starting out at the OG then I go and help them. And now, as I accept the opinions of other persons, I also feel prepared to help the others [in the OG], who are at lower levels than I am.*

And Yami explains it further, while highlighting the importance that her first viola teacher had on her life:

*[The orchestra] taught me that we have to make an effort; we should not be ashamed about anything; and, especially, to listen to criticism, whether that is good or bad. That is something that I shall never forget. Because I remember that before joining the orchestra, whenever a [school] teacher said "ah! This is not very good" I would sulk, immediately. Not with the orchestra. Really... But all this was especially with one [the viola] teacher, a teacher who I will never forget, I'll never forget her. Because (...) what I am, my way of being, well it is obviously also [due] to my parents, but the way in which I sometimes criticise people is, more or less, the same way that this teacher would criticise me in classes. She would say that a person should always hear what another person has to say; even when one does not like what that person is saying, has to accept it. Because everyone has their own opinions.*

Perhaps this explains why she remains connected to the OG even though she quit the Conservatory some time ago, attending the OG's holiday camps whenever she can. This is where the greatest depth in the duality of her feelings emerges:

*I don't know. Would I like to [return to Music]? Perhaps. Because sometimes I... I'm not going to say that I regret, that I do not regret. I regret this sometimes. Sometimes when I hear music like that, when I see photographs of the OG*

*camps... When... sometimes, when I'm actually on those camps... in the summer camps...*

Maybe for this reason, in these and other moments when she recalls the orchestra, the certainties around her future in the sciences and in nursing begin to fall apart. She ends up confessing that today, with the maturity that she has now, were she able to go back in time and return to the year of 2013:

*Perhaps I would not opt for the Sciences. Perhaps I would not quit [Music]. Because I think that if it were today, I think that I'm a stronger person, now more than two years ago; and I think perhaps I would be able to make it. I think I'd still feel the pressure, I would cry and all of that. However, I think I would be able to cope.*

And thus come back all of the doubts, uncertainties, and the ambivalences that, on the one hand, stem from the fear of losing two years of studying Science in high school (if she decides to return to her musical studies) but, on the other hand, still continuing to deeply miss the viola. Dropping her head a little, Yami repeatedly murmurs: "Why did I quit? Why did I quit?"...

*VANESSA, LEARNING TO TEACH TO LATER BECOME A TEACHER*

**Vanessa is aged 16 and in 10<sup>th</sup> grade, advancing with her clarinet studies at the Music School in Fafe. She returns to her parent's home at weekend and takes advantage of that to attend the Saturday rehearsals of the OG in Amarante, where she plays viola, her second instrument. She feels comfortable listening to 'classical' music, resisting the fashions of pop singers and the influences of her peers on her musical tastes. She highlights the mutual help between participants in the OG experiences, clearly perceiving them as a competence that will later be useful to her as a clarinet teacher, the professional future of her dreams. She also stresses how musical studies have given her more motivation and objectives.**

Vanessa is an only daughter, her father runs his own civil construction company and her mother is a homemaker. She joined the *Orquestra Geração* as a viola player three years ago. She had heard talk of the orchestra and, as it “was a project that she wanted”, took herself the initiative of talking with a teacher.

Her interest in music was something that had come “from way back”. Since the age of ten, she had been part of the local wind band in which she played the clarinet. Over time, she “built up her liking” for this instrument. “From that point on, I began liking music a lot and discovered that that was what I really wanted”. In order to participate in the *Orquestra Geração*, she tells she “decided to have the viola as a second instrument.”

Last year, Vanessa wanted “to take Music”. She did the tests at the Espinho Professional Music School but they only accepted one clarinet student and she came in second place. Then...

*About a week later, they called my mother saying that they had opened another place and that I could get in. But I decided not to because my parents had already spent money on books and I stayed here for the year.*

“However, over the passing of this year, I understood that what I really wanted was Music and then I decided to go back a year, I did the tests in Fafe and I got in”. In Fafe, the program “is different” from the Amarante School, “because I only have Portuguese, English, Philosophy and Physical Education and the rest (...) are Music-related subjects”. She has always been a “good student”. She has an average grade of 4 (in 5) and never failed a year.

Studying in Fafe means living there during the week and being far from her parents. Her costs keep mounting as Vanessa “wants to have her own instruments”. She believes that her parents “think it is worthwhile and I’m sure that they do not mind making all of these efforts for me to have a speciality”. There is only free-time at the weekend – on these moments, she says, “I have to use the time to be with my parents and go for a walk”.

Vanessa foresees her professional future in the world of music. She would like to be a clarinet teacher and an orchestra member. In school, she studies about four

hours per day. She “really” has to “dedicate” her “free time” to music. She is “always alongside” her instrument that she takes home with her to practice whenever she has time in the evening.

Comparing the before and after of following Music, studying what she likes and having goals to comply with boost her motivation and give meaning to her studies.

*Now, I have far more motivation to study because I'm doing what I like, I have goals and I must do something to reach them. While in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade, it was about getting good grades but I had never had the goal of 'what am I actually doing this for?' Now I have a completely different view. I know that I must have really good grades so as to later be able to get into the best university.*

Her parents support her “a lot” in her following a musical career – “of course, at the beginning, this was a bit complicated as being a musician is not the same thing as being a doctor but, over time, they began understanding that I really was good at music and that this was my future”. This suggests the existence of a value placed on schooling by the family in conjunction with the encouragement previously given to becoming a doctor. Vanessa does not believe that the majority of her OG colleagues will end up in music as she thinks “that they see music as a hobby”.

Her friends are in a certain way interconnected with ‘classical’ music. In her grandparents’ community, in turn, everybody knows her very well: “whenever they meet my dad, they say that I’m studying music”. They remember her from the local wind band with which she still plays in concerts “whenever there are festivals and during Christmas”.

She listens to a lot of music and says “I feel very good listening to classical music”. “All of my music is classical music and my colleague who are not connected to music do not like what I’m listening to”. She confesses that, perhaps, her colleagues “think it strange to like classical music because young people tend to like more current music”. However, she refuses to define her tastes in accordance with the fashions of the pop singers of the moment and assumes a posture of resistance towards the influence of her peers upon her as regards the music types associated with youth cultures:



*I think that it is not the style of music that makes me more popular or special, I like my style of music and I don't have to be influenced just because a particular singer is in fashion.*

Given how much she enjoys listening to 'classical' music, she does not normally hear other musical genres "deliberately" but only when they get played casually on the radio. Despite that, she cannot really tell which composers or works have had the greatest impact on her. She generally listens to music on her headphones on her smartphone, CD player, or on her computer when studying.

She likes "a lot being" in the OG, highlighting the constant learning of "new things", the "good environment" and the mutual help that emerges from the group spirit:

*There is a good integration of people, especially those that need more support; I feel fine about helping others.*

The development of dispositions towards helping others is consciously perceived by Vanessa as preliminary training that will foster the competences and skills that later will serve of use in becoming an instrument teacher. There is a pleasure in helping out the other OG players but also strategic thinking according to her desired future. Vanessa intentionally and consciously undergoes "anticipatory socialization" (Merton, 1968), acquiring the norms, values and patterns of behaviours – as well as the learnings and the skills – of the professional group she wishes to belong to.

Vanessa teaches her colleagues at the orchestra informally, thus carrying out the collaborative pedagogical practices that are part of the *ethos* explicitly encouraged by the OG:

*Because what I want to do is become a teacher, here I can take this role. Of course, I do not yet know very much, but I do know that I like passing on my knowledge to my colleagues.*

She does not believe that her good results are simply due to a 'natural gift' for music. Instead, they are the outcome of her own effort, but also from the uplifting power endowed by the music itself and the desire to use music as a vehicle for

expression and communication. This highlights the importance of music's aesthetic 'power' and the attractiveness it may wield (DeNora, 2000; Hennion, 2007):

*I feel that something pulls me towards music and I feel that something gives me strength, and I like to convey things to people through music and I think I'm able to do this. I'm able to convey feelings through music but that is something that must be improved all the time and that happens through effort.*

The usage Vanessa makes of social networks all revolves around music. She is "connected to various classical music groups, competitions, master classes, orchestra concerts". "All of this is in *Facebook* and I can see everything". *Youtube*, in turn, predominantly serves as a tool for learning how to play: "the teacher uploads new works onto it and then I go there and listen so that I get a better perspective of what the [performance of the] work will be like".

#### LEIZA, MUSIC AS A SOURCE OF STRENGTH, HOPE AND THE FORGETTING OF SADNESS

**Born in Sao Tome and Principe, Leiza arrived in Portugal a few months ago in order to help her father who is in a wheelchair. She is 16 and attends the 9<sup>th</sup> grade in Apelação School. Here, the behavioural issues of students stand out before her eyes as something very different from her school in Sao Tome. Influenced by her family and religion, she emphasises the importance of effort to managing to attain her objectives. "Willpower" is, to her, the most important aspect of OG. In addition to religious hymns, 'classical' music is important to her, providing hope and helping her to forget – even if only temporarily – the sadness of life. She also likes African music as it fills an emptiness and nurtures bonds with her origins.**

Leiza lives with her father who, due to a "genetic condition", is in a wheelchair and does not work (he attended the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade of primary teaching<sup>81</sup>). Both are originally from Sao Tome and Principe and, although her father has been in Portugal

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<sup>81</sup> According to socio-demographic data from Apelação School (in the interview Leiza said she did not know her father's education level).

for eight years, Leiza only arrived six months ago. She came to be with him “because he needed a bit of help. He cannot [do] some things on his own”.

She misses Sao Tome and her family who live there. Before coming to Portugal, she was living there with her grandmother because her mother’s home was far away from school. The two education systems, in Portugal and in Sao Tome, are “a little bit” similar in her opinion, but she did note one difference that deeply impressed her:

*Here, the behaviour... the politeness of treatment between the students... is not the respect and politeness that we have in my country... it’s got nothing in common. It’s different. There, we have education in which everybody shows respect to their elders, respect their colleagues, but here colleagues do not respect their colleagues.*

Leiza does not know whether it is just her school or this is a general characteristic here in Portugal, but she has the impression that students were politer and more respectful in Sao Tome. Despite this, she likes her school as her teachers “try to give the best to their students”, helping them and attempting to “clear up very well” all of their doubts. However, she does not understand why “some colleagues do not like studying” and why they do not take advantage of the opportunities and resources given to them. For Leiza, being able to go to school and study is something truly precious. The tone is highly critical:

*If [in] my country had an opportunity... if I just had an opportunity just like this one in my country, I would do everything I could to have a good study life. Here [in Portugal], many have... have everything they need for school but they do not like studying.*

She always enjoyed studying. In Sao Tome, she was a good student, with grades of between 16 and 18 (on a 1 to 20 scale). Here, her grades have been between 3 and 2 (on a 1 to 5 scale) because, she explains, she has not yet adapted and 9<sup>th</sup> grade “is a bit difficult”. However, she is optimistic: “I’ve already managed to overcome the things in which I got negative. God willing, I’ll be able to advance... to the 10<sup>th</sup> grade”.

Leiza tells us that she studies every day for her classes. Sometimes, her father helps her in “what he is able to explain”. Among all the subjects, English is what she

likes best despite being “a bit difficult”. She feels fascinated by this language that enables her to communicate with people from different countries. Her school teachers, she retells, “think” that she is “a good student who works a lot”. They have a “good idea for the future” and help her out whenever she needs it.

She communicates with her family in Sao Tome through the internet. As she has only been in Portugal for a short period, she has not yet made many friends. However, she does already have one friend that she made at the OG and who helped her register to join the orchestra. Before this, she did not regularly listen to ‘classical’ music even though, when she was still living in Sao Tome, she would sometimes watch it on the television or listen to it on the radio. Shortly after arriving in Portugal, she attended OG concerts and felt the desire to get involved. Her father thought her joining was “fantastic”. He himself had already heard something about the OG and seen concerts on television, which may have also contributed to Leiza feeling the desire to play ‘classical’ music.

Now Leiza is in the initiation orchestra, although she has not yet had the chance to participate in concerts since she only began a short while ago. Everything has been going normally, without any particular differences. When joining, she thought the viola was a “wonderful instrument”, with a “stunning sound”. “This makes people like... even when people get sad, with a sound like this the sadness almost always rapidly disappears”.

Leiza practices for the orchestra “almost every day”, she says. The most important in the OG “is the strength of will that the teacher teaches us”. The fact that OG teachers are “always cheerful” also “motivates”, which contrasts with the regular classes where, she explains, “the teachers are always fed up, nervous...” Hence, at school “we do not learn anything because we get a bit scared, get concerned”. “[With] a happy person, we are able to learn a lot more, because the teacher will find it easier to teach us”.

Joining the orchestra brought about a “great transformation” in both her and her life. Having only just arrived in Portugal, this helped her integrate and gain a richer social life. “Before, I felt a bit lonely, a little sad. Since I joined the orchestra that has changed”. The OG helped her “to cope”, motivating her and giving her “strength” to

attain her objectives. It also “helped to forget” the sadness, probably due to her father’s health condition and for having left Sao Tome, as well as because of living in a house in poor physical condition. Music making in the OG makes those difficulties “disappear”, helping her to feel better. If she has the possibility, she intends to continue in the orchestra even after finishing 9<sup>th</sup> grade. She is enthusiastic about the upcoming concerts and the new music that the orchestra is beginning to learn.

The importance of making an effort to attain objectives is fundamental to her way of seeing things. “If I want to pass, I have to do everything, I have to make every effort. Without my effort, I’m not going to achieve anything”. Influenced by strong religious belief, she begins by saying that she does not know where this idea comes from as “I only come from the creation of God, of what he gives each of us”. But we soon discover that this stems from the family influence as her grandmother and mother always conveyed the idea that effort is essential. From her family, she highlights the influence of her mother and grandmother but also of her grandfather. “They all want me well. They all encourage me... they said that I have to study”.

The house in which Leiza lives with her father is small and there is a lack of space. Consequently, she cannot afford to have any preferred space. “I don’t have space... the only place which I occupy is the bedroom”. Furthermore, they share the house with a couple that often brings their friends for a visit and that “bothers a bit”. “Well, I then prefer to stay in my room, sat down studying”. She has a television in her bedroom but this does not disturb her study as “sometimes I forget that there is a television by my side”.

At weekends, she does not go out walking. Instead, she goes to her cousin who lives nearby or otherwise just “stay at home”. On Saturday, she goes to the Seventh Day Adventist Church, where she stays all day. Thus, she misses the OG rehearsals that take place on the same day. Influenced by an intense sense of religiousness, Leiza feels that she has to go to the celebrations as she believes “in everything I know, I learn, in all that I’m able to do, I have the help of God. Well, I also have to do my part for Him, I also have to help Him because my life has no meaning without Him”.

Within her family in Sao Tome, there is religious plurality: her grandmother is Catholic, her mother attends the ‘God is Love’ church and finally, she and her eldest

sister are members of the Adventist Church. The pair “practically grew up in the church” that they have attended since the age of five. Here, Leiza found the same church but in Alvalade, where she normally goes with her father and other worshippers.

Music is an important part of Leiza’s religious practices and she usually sings music pieces from the “hymnal choir”. Despite never having formally studied music, this non-formal musical learning in a religious context shaped her socialisation and possibly her musical taste as well. As such, it also might have made her wish to join OG.

On a daily basis, in her domestic environment, Leiza does “not always” listen to music. When doing so, she plays religious songs from a DVD. They only have one other record with music from Sao Tome. She does not spend much time at home and hence it becomes difficult to state what type of music people listen to in her neighbourhood. It seems to her to be *rap* “and similar”, but she believes her neighbours also like ‘classical’ music.

Leiza likes “them both”. On the one hand, African music is important to her identity, satisfies her and maintains her connection with her ethnic and cultural roots:

*I am an African and so when hearing these songs like that I feel... even if I’m not in Africa, I feel like... a... there is no longer that emptiness in me. Listening to one part of African music already works to really relate with myself.*

On the other hand, ‘classical’ music is equally important to her now that she is playing in the OG:

*I like the music [of the orchestra]... because classical music is written in order to alleviate the heart, and it makes people and everything have a meaning, it makes people hope for something which is more... magical, something more objective and with more sense.*

This music provides meaning to life and hope, “alleviating the heart”. The orchestra life and music are to her a sort of “musical asylum” that foster moments of wellbeing and relief from the difficulties of her life, even if only temporarily (DeNora,

2013). Her favourite work from the OG's orchestral repertoire is Beethoven's *'Ode to Joy'*.

Professionally, Leiza would like to study Economics at university but she simultaneously imagines herself playing viola in an orchestra. She is not yet sure about what profession she is going to choose. She dreams about the opportunity to become a member of Sao Tome's Parliament, "so that I'll be able... to help people who need help...; that is what I want", especially to help the people of Sao Tome and to remain "all united". She imagines returning there after completing her studies.

As regards the orchestra "there is nothing that needs changing". In terms of her own life, if she could, she would have her siblings and mother living with her. According to Leiza, getting to study in Portugal is perceived as a great opportunity. If able to finish her studies – which she says, "depends on God and on my own strength of will" - "I'll automatically go back to my country". Leiza had nothing to add at the end of the interview, just thanking for the "opportunity for me to talk and tell a little something about my life".

#### *MARTA, A WHIRLWIND*

**Marta is 17 and attends 11<sup>th</sup> grade of the Metropolitana Professional School where she studies cello. She lives with her mother in Amadora and vehemently rejects the exaggerated depreciative comments made about her neighbourhood that she sometimes hears from people who do not know it sufficiently well. She dreams of being a professional cellist and does not imagine her future life without music. She speaks with contagious enthusiasm, gesticulating and, sometimes, stumbling over her own flow of words such as the immensity of everything she has to tell. Very critical in relation to everything, she already holds a lot of certainties. Professionally, she has already decided: she wants to become a cellist. However, despite the strength of this belief, she is perfectly aware that an artistic career will demand much time and dedication, which may force her to give up on other things. Nevertheless, she wants to take that chance as the world of music has already taken hold of her.**

Marta is aged 17 and studies cello at the Metropolitana Music School. She lives in Amadora with her mother, unemployed, who unconditionally supports her desire to advance with a musical career. Her father, who is one subject short of finishing his law degree and works in a photography shop, would prefer Marta and his other two children (step-siblings to Marta) to follow a profession that “makes money” and provides them with “a better life”. Marta struggles against this attitude because she realizes that the entire country has been going through a big crisis, and she states that she has already seen “doctors working in Pingo Doce supermarkets”, which means that “it’s difficult in music but it’s difficult for everybody anyway!”

She lives in a quiet area, calm and on the outskirts of the neighbourhood, in a “bit small” but cosy home. She never had any conflict or problem with people from the area and strongly criticises the exaggerated way that some people from elsewhere talk about violence in her neighbourhood. According to Marta, there are problems but they are only occasional and just among certain people in the neighbourhood, and hence do not actually extend to all of those who either live or visit the area. She thus challenges the stereotypes usually associated to peripheral urban areas and social housing.

A good student, she affirms that she “always got on well with school” and never needed to study much but just to pay attention in classes. Her favourite subjects were always Mathematics and Music, which she had for the first time while in primary school and was the original source of her dream to become a musician. At the beginning she thought about becoming a pop singer but, slowly, and especially after having joined the OG, that dream became structured around the chance of becoming a professional cellist.

In the OG, she met her second family. This was where she made many of her best friends, some of which she has maintained until today. She has also discovered other parts of the world through OG concerts in various venues across both Portugal and internationally.

About the atmosphere that she encounters in the OG, she states with pride and a large smile that the orchestra functions “a bit like a mafia”. In the OG, the drivers of her love for music and her capacity to give herself over when she plays were the joint practice, working with other colleagues in a very special way towards the same



objective, as well as some of the people that they work with, such as maestro Olivetti. In contrast to what, in her perspective, very often happens in vocational teaching in which students “are playing, stock still, playing the notes and that’s it”, in the OG Marta feels a very strong involvement with her peers and with the music. That is why, despite having already entered the Metropolitana School, she continues to attend the OG rehearsals on Saturdays.

However, this strong environment of unity also ends up having a negative side given that sometimes the orchestra functions somewhat like a little world isolated from everything else, “a very closed sphere” which may jeopardise those who want to study music. According to Marta, while studying at the OG, it proves difficult to gain a clear perception on how “the world beyond is”, the level of difficulty required by professional music schools or in higher education.

In spite of all this, she cannot even imagine her life without the OG, which greatly influenced not only her choice of path but also the way in which she reads the world. It is interesting what she says about the core concerns in her life as a young person, and about why she so much likes the atmosphere at Metropolitana:

*My biggest concern is not whether or not my hair has been done or if... or if the clothes I'm wearing are good enough for school... well, it's not the kind of school in which, ahhhh, everybody tries to be different, where students walk the streets and there's pink and red hair all over. But it is a school where, I suppose, really, nobody is paying so much attention to what the others are wearing, nobody has those concerns as they're more focused on other things. They're more concerned about having a good time (...) rather than about the clothes they're wearing when enjoying themselves. I suppose that this kind of attitude suits me more... oh really, it's not what I wear that is the most important thing in life. That's good. Especially because, in the future, probably it won't be like that, will it? People have to be dressed in another way, I [will] have to present myself in another fashion and for the meanwhile I really don't need this. Therefore, I can concentrate on other things... and if it were not for the [Orquestra] Geração, things wouldn't be like this, right? I'd be in a normal school, I'd be more bothered about boys or if I don't study and don't get the grades necessary to get into university... What I mean is that I also need to show concern with all of this but... I don't know, it's all so different.*

She loves her instrument and dedicates many hours daily to its study, especially since she entered the Metropolitana School, where she realized that “the playing standard was different”. This leap led her to put in hard work: “I recall practising massively. I don’t know if I studied well, I practiced for long periods, I really like being with the cello and... sometimes I’d stay up to one in the morning studying at home”. Her life essentially became structured around the cello.

In addition to these hours of study, she had a very heavy timetable, spending up to twelve hours in the school and normally only arriving home at between nine and ten at night. She began to lose weight and fell ill. Always a fighter, Marta felt the obligation to re-balance her study routines; the greatest change seems to have been when she began to learn how to “study better” and with greater concentration. This shift enabled her to better balance her various tasks and commitments and thus overcoming this difficult period. Nevertheless, Marta would still like to learn how to better manage her time. She often feels tired and it is with some sadness that she says “her world has closed” around music. In the future, she wants to have more time to read, go out, go to the cinema, to concerts and exhibitions:

*What I mean is that I spend far more hours with the cello than doing anything else... and I am aware that not only is spending hours with the cello essential, but reading is also essential, as well as learning other things, seeing other things... seeing the world... Because doing all that also changes our vision in relation to music; the problem is just that it gets complicated when you have classes at school and you must practice the instrument as well... When is it that I’m going to get that [wider] vision of the world? When is it that I’m going to read? When is it that I’m going to...*

Such questions still cause her anguish but she hopes to resolve them over the course of life. At this moment, she knows her dedication to the cello is essential and has her sights set on taking a degree in music. “She wouldn’t stop having classes for the rest of her life” and she is today more certain than ever that her professional life shall involve music and the cello, either playing solo, in an orchestra, or in a chamber music group. Just as long as she is making music with her cello. And she specifically wants to play ‘high art’ music as playing the cello has developed a particular appreciation for it: “I prefer listening to this music said to be ‘classical’, well, I don’t

know, I began to prefer it a lot more. Because it's also new and... I don't know, I simply prefer it. It's not just about being in the school. It's a personal preference. But... I haven't, not yet, explored it sufficiently even if I have already explored it a bit".

Marta feels privileged. She knows that without the OG, she would probably never have taken Music as her path. She is aware that the project brought her countless opportunities such as playing in some of the most renowned venues in the country, going abroad and working with musicians and maestros of recognised international value. This is what she strives to convey to younger members, encouraging them also to study as much as they can, as she is aware just how very competitive the world of music is and that it requires a great deal of effort and dedication to become a respected professional.

*RICARDO, MUSIC: HIS "HEART" OR A "SECOND CHANCE"?*

**Ricardo plays the flute in the Amarante OG. He is 17 and in the 11<sup>th</sup> grade (Languages and Humanities). He loves music and, he tells us, whoever listens to him playing notices immediately that he likes very much what he does. He intends to proceed with his musical studies, but envisages that possibility as a "second chance" relative to his dream – apparently stronger – of becoming a translator. He describes himself as a reasonable student. In order to be able to combine school and music, he often studies until 2am, but for him that is an effort worth making.**

Ricardo's father is a construction worker on "some French isles in the Pacific" and his mother is a factory worker. He was studying at Telões school when the OG project started:

*They came to the classrooms saying that there would be a music workshop and asked if anyone was interested in trying out. (...) There were several instruments, I tried all of them and they were observing the students who identified most with [each] instrument and had more of a natural aptitude for it (...) I stayed with the flute, the teacher saw I was good for it and I accepted the invitation to join the project.*

“My heart”. This is Ricardo’s answer to the question of what role music plays in his life. He imagines a future in music, whatever it may be, even though, paradoxically, he sees it as a “second chance”:

*I intend to have a future connected to music, one way or another. Academic studies are first, but music is always that second chance. If I go to the university and cannot find a job, I’ll always have music as a second chance.*

Concerning his ‘first chance, “I’d like to be a translator, I’d like to go and study in London, Oxford... It has always been my dream”. Nevertheless, there is a strong ambivalence because Ricardo also intends to continue studying music. The dream of becoming a musician also persuades him in his imagination: “because stepping on stage as part of a large orchestra is anyone’s dream”. One of his friends wants to go on studying music “just like me”.

Ricardo’s parents give him enough freedom, he says, and do not put much pressure about what he does nor upon the definition of his professional projects for the future. However, for them, his musical practices are mostly seen as a leisure activity, perceiving them as a “good distraction” (Ricardo also plays in a wind band):

*My parents don’t really lock me up at home, they like me to go out and relax, and they see music as a good distraction for my life. I live music virtually twenty-four hours a day, I go to the Amarante wind band every day.*

His parents support his musical activities:

*We may say that my parents support me one hundred per cent, especially my mother – if I have a concert in Porto she will travel there just to watch me and my sister play in concert.*

Ricardo’s sister also studies music and plays violin in the OG, but he does not believe that she will continue studying music, because “she’s different to me, she’s more focused on school books – she wants to be a doctor”. He describes himself as a “reasonable student”, he has always passed and his average grade is 13 (from 1 to 20). He practices the flute three or four hours a day, and justifies himself: “if I want to achieve my goals, I really must practice”. His parents do not mind that he spends all

that time making music, “because I always try to find time for music and to study for school”. To achieve that balance, however, “it’s many days studying until 2 a.m.” but that is an effort worth making.

For his school friends, Ricardo tells, it is something “normal” that he studies music. Sometimes teachers even invite him “to go there and play on some special occasions, such as on Europe Day”. He loves playing and, he believes, “whoever listens to me playing notices immediately that I like very much what I do”.

Ricardo listens to “every kind of music, from pop to classical” (he mentions Justin Timberlake and John Legend). Apparently, he mostly sees ‘classical’ music as music “that calms you down”, a perceived effect that he also likes in pop songs: “I mostly like music pieces that calm me down and make me feel ok, like classical music but in another way”. He does not usually go to pop music festivals but would this year like to go to ‘*Rock in Rio*’ because Justin Timberlake will be performing there. “Sometimes” he also goes to orchestral concerts: “once I went to Porto to see the Orquestra do Norte and another time I went to see ‘*The Nutcracker*’”.

Ricardo maintains there is no clear divide between his study and leisure times. “In my free time, I play the flute, I study”, he tells us, which shows that he understands free time as an extension of study time. “Sometimes” he also plays computer games, but he is not such a big fan of *Facebook*: “I don’t like it that much, I don’t have the tendency for that. I can’t even remember the last time I visited my *Facebook* page, I only go there once in a while”. Despite that dissonance relative to the importance of social networks in contemporary youth cultures, his colleagues “think” that he is “cool” anyway. Although Ricardo only has a few friends, there is one best friend with whom he usually “hangs out”.

#### *MANUELA, WHAT WILL BE HAS TO BE*

**Manuela is aged 17 and studies at the Pontinha Catering Centre on a professional Cooking and Bakery course that provides equivalence to high school graduation. With her dream of becoming a clarinettist and clarinet teacher relegated to a lower level, Manuela strives to be pragmatic, telling us she is currently following her “second dream”. Still suffering from the shock**

**she faced when joining the Conservatory and very much convinced that “the Conservatory is not for me”, Manuela trusts in her destiny, leaving her future in the hands of God and concluding that, if her path has taken a different direction, that’s because “she was not yet prepared to really enter into the world of music”.**

Manuela is aged 17 and lives in Vialonga with her mother and siblings. Her mother was born in Cape Verde and her father is Portuguese, and both of them are currently unemployed. In her free time, she likes to listen to African music and watch films. In the latter, she particularly enjoys movie soundtracks. When listening to them, Manuela concentrates on the instrumental part and strives to distinguish the different instruments by their timbre. She usually turns this into a kind of game, playing with her family members, who have greater difficulties in picking them out. These domestic games, which seem to give her some pride at having a subject that only she dominates, extend to other aspects of music, such as reading scores.

In addition to listening, Manuela likes playing clarinet out of the simple pleasure that this gives her. She plays some “studies” that she has been learning and likes to “play by ear” and improvise... She tells how, despite her instrument being the clarinet and never having learned saxophone, the latter is the instrument that she would most like to play when improvising. In truth, on the first time she tried it, she was immediately able to get sound out of it and play some notes.

Manuela opens her large eyes wide when talking about her time at the Conservatory: “I saw that that was not for me, that was really difficult”, she utters in a single breath. Her words then tumble out in her anxiety to tell her story and continues at the same pace “but I saw that that was not for me, that it was really demanding and so very competitive”.

I ask her to rewind and start telling the story from the beginning. Manuela calms down a little and tells how, on completing the 9<sup>th</sup> grade, she decided to take Music. She did the audition at the National Conservatory and at the Metropolitana Professional Music School. She got into both and chose the Conservatory. “It’s just that it didn’t work out”, she whispers. Manuela is today certain that she “made a mistake

with her choice” and that she would have certainly had more chances at the Metropolitana than at the Conservatory where “there is more fakeness among the students”. She complains essentially about the competition and states: “my colleagues, they could see that I was not ok but did nothing to help”. From what she has heard about the Metropolitana from colleagues who went there, she concludes that the ambience there is less oppressive. “In the Metropolitana people are better friends, if they had seen me they’d have helped”. Manuela’s criticism of her colleagues at the Conservatory extends to music performance practice. She is dismissive: “there... they play with so much vibrato! The music... that’s a pretend façade...” Although some of her colleagues are “true” in what they do, “many are not” so even while they may be considered good musicians, she argues “they are not good for orchestras...”

Manuela points out great differences between the Conservatory and the OG as well, sketching an abyss between the two. “There is an enormous difference. Because in the Conservatory they work mostly at the individual level”. In her perspective, based upon the experience that she had of the Conservatory’s orchestra, “it was completely different [from OG], with everyone playing for themselves; they did not make music as a group”. She believes she was far better prepared than her colleagues for playing in an orchestra, even though that was not the case with her instrument playing. Hence, she felt extremely hard done by when she was placed in the second clarinets, especially because it was a colleague who pushed her into that position:

*As the boy had already been there for a long time, he put himself in-between and shoved me immediately into the second clarinets... and I was left 'dammit, I've never been 2<sup>nd</sup> clarinet, I've always played 1<sup>st</sup> and now I'm going to be 2<sup>nd</sup>'. And well, him there playing... and then he'd miss rehearsals whenever he just felt like it...*

As her colleague continued to miss rehearsal sessions, Manuela thought that she would get her opportunity as first clarinet. However, this did not happen and she was once again overlooked in favour of another colleague. Again, she was swept by a strong sensation of frustration:

*He was missing and the maestro put another girl there. Really, they pushed me back once again to 2<sup>nd</sup> clarinet. Well then, but I was already there... (...) I felt a bit hard done by! (...) Well then, if I was already there... and she [the other clarinet player] was doing just the same thing [as the other guy]! Missing*

*[rehearsals], again whenever she wanted... And this was just not fair as I was always there... I was assiduous. I'd turn up on time. How is it that I'm number two and she's number one?*

As her female colleague seemed to follow the same path as the male student who had previously been first clarinet, Manuela saw her day arrive. The maestro finally placed her as first clarinet. However, this quickly caused confusion as apparently colleagues did not like this decision.

In her view, her clarinet teacher was always “a bit unfair” with her and for various reasons. Manuela speaks with some resentment when explaining how her teacher, whenever he missed her lessons, would promise to compensate for the class but, in fact, never ended up doing so. Manuela also tells how that teacher once insisted that she played a “melodic” piece in a recital, even though she wanted to play one that “was more rhythmic”, given that she “always had more difficulties with the melodic” ones. Furthermore, in this same audition, she had to play for the first time on a colleague’s clarinet rather than on her own (and without having even been able to rehearse previously on it), due to her own instrument needing repairs.

In addition to all this, individual classes slowly became an ever deeper source of anguish:

*I got nervous... I'm a little bit shy... (...) and, well, with the teacher, I would get all in a twist! (...) And then the playing would go badly. And that's what irritated me as I practiced and practiced and at the time of [playing it in] the class, everything would go wrong. Sometimes I left there in tears.*

Manuela began feeling that the effort was not worthwhile and still could not understand how it was that “in the [OG’s] orchestra I was one of the best” while in the Conservatory I “was the worst”.

The frustration experienced in the Orchestra subject also extended to the Instrument, Ear Training and Sight Singing, and Chamber Music classes. Ear Training had never been her strength. Manuela did not like the subject much, especially the listening exercises in which one has to identify the intervals between the notes. She felt that her colleagues were far better prepared for that. “My colleagues (...) had



absolute pitch... I didn't... (...) they could recognize the note". Chamber Music also brought her down. She retells how she did a test to enter into a group and that the teacher had told her and a colleague that they "were the worst" and that for this reason they would be left out. The solution was to form a duo but that also did not work out. "We ended up by not performing in public... because either he [the teacher] would have to miss [our classes]... We've had very few classes, really..."

Because of all this, Manuela felt herself dwindling and began to dismiss the dream of music. However, it had not been always like this. Aged 15, she dreamed of soaring high. At that time, three years on from having joined the orchestra, she was convinced she would become a "professional clarinettist" and also greatly wanted to become a teacher. While her school grades were "a lot worse" than those in the OG, Manuela never failed a year even because she was aware that this might harm her future dreams. She always had the support of her family that led this young clarinettist to feel extremely fortunate, especially because of the difficult situations faced by her parents, both unemployed:

*They support me, they are not those parents who are always... They give me space for what I want and I feel lucky in this aspect because there are parents who do not accept much of what their children want to be, but rather want their children to be something that they've themselves never managed to become (...) And my parents give me space for me to choose and they support me and that already makes me happy.*

The orchestra brought her new learnings and opened up new horizons, especially within 'classical' music, which she now knows much better and appreciates. Additionally, there was a very significant change in her attitude towards the world and to others. Manuela explains:

*When I joined the orchestra I was a very rebellious girl (laughter), I was against the world and I behaved very badly. And I joined a bit under the influence, 'ahh, my colleagues also go', and at the beginning I paid no attention, really, I'd just turn up. It was ok (laughter), I didn't work... And [then] I had my first [OG] holiday camp and I began liking it and also began learning more. And then I began working. And sometimes there were periods when I'd go down and, after a year (...) Basically in these three years, I only got working in two and, therefore, I was also able to evolve in those two years as well and I think I grew a lot. Well, don't take this as a lack of modesty (laughter).*

Confronted with this period of her life, Manuela tells how she actually “did not want to quit music” and that she even tried once again to get into the Metropolitana. However, on this second occasion, she was not accepted because she thinks “they were worried that I would again get in and [then] wouldn’t show up”. She also thought about studying in another school in the north but her parents were against this despite being upset when she quit. Manuela seems to feel a little guilty for the sadness of her parents when telling how she “was so enthusiastic (...) I used to arrive home and tell them everything”. Shrugging her shoulders, she elucidates: “because I think the harm was done by myself by building up so many expectations.” Before quitting, Manuela also attempted to enrol in a Jazz subject at the Metropolitana school, but the teachers told her that if she was already having difficulties with the clarinet in the Classical department, everything would just get more complicated with jazz. Furthermore, she would also have to pay to attend those classes. Hence, for these two reasons, she gave up on this idea.

Some of Manuela’s resentment is also directed towards the OG itself. She explains that she stopped playing with the OG because they did not “contact” her anymore. A little angry, she moans: “I was always there and now they don’t say anything? I was really annoyed!” After reconsidering, she does then admit she might also be at fault over this because she was constantly changing her mobile phone number. Because of this, she had left her mother’s number with a teacher.

Despite this slight bitterness, Manuela continues to think that having belonged to the OG was extremely positive and that it greatly contributed towards her growth and maturity: “when I joined the orchestra, I began to change. I became a lot calmer. A lot more calmer. Because I had also been keeping some bad company”. Furthermore, she also adds: “If it weren’t for the orchestra, I sincerely don’t know where I’d be today... Probably, I’d still be in school here because I’d have failed years...” Her friends today remain those that she met at the OG. She goes out with them for a walk and having fun.

The orchestra did in fact mark her life as it was there that she met her first boyfriend. Manuela recalls that time:

*Before, I didn't want to know about anything... nothing at all... I didn't want to know about school... Really, nothing about nothing... Then I came in here and I understood that... that's not the way of things. In the orchestra, I... I understood that in order to become... I first, I began to get more enthusiastic, but why? Because I had my first OG summer camp. And there was this group of boys there, here in the orchestra I met a boy... (laughter). I liked him massively and ended up meeting his family and he met mine...*

While this proved to be “a thing of childhood”, Manuela speaks of this relationship as her “first love” and tells of how this proved a major incentive to improve as an instrumentalist: “Well then... he plays well and I'm his girlfriend and I play hardly anything?” Manuela felt the stimulus that had previously been lacking. She willingly got on with practising, very often even with her boyfriend, given that they both played transposing instruments. This study brought its own results and she tells how, at a particular point in time she “became famous”. She became better than her boyfriend and used to provoke him and his friends: “Well, I've only just arrived and I'm already better than you all that have been here a lot longer!” Giggles burst out when telling of these episodes and she ends up confessing, with some emotion: “I do actually miss the orchestra. Regret having left the orchestra here” and ““Dammit! Now, I'm going back to the orchestra””.

Manuela believes that during the last years the OG “has changed immensely” in its approach. In her perspective, they shifted their strategies after understanding the difficulties experienced by the first set of students, like herself, that went on to study at the Conservatory. She considers that these alterations primarily impacted on Ear Training and Chamber Music. However, she has also felt differences in the holiday OG camps, which now seem “more demanding”. These changes do not cause her any sadness. On the contrary, the young clarinetist, and now trainee chef, feels happy to have served as an example to the younger members.

Recently, Manuela has returned to participating in the OG but is only able to go on the camps. And she regrets:

*I can only regret that the students who are taking other areas of study now, but who also continue playing in the orchestra... that it's no longer the same*

*thing... because... we have moved so far away... from the orchestra... But it's not our fault, it's just because we really don't have time...*

She feels that now, when she goes to OG's holiday camps, "a person arrives a bit as if dropping in by parachute". Manuela even tried, along with a colleague, to attend the Saturday OG rehearsals at Miguel Torga school, but ended up giving them up because it was just "too tiring". The fact is that her daily routines are already quite exhausting. Manuela has to catch the bus very early, at 6:40am every day, and only gets back home very late in the afternoon.

Constantly repeating the phrase "the Conservatory was not for me", Manuela decided to change direction in life and enrolled on the Catering and Culinary Course at the Pontinha Catering Centre. Without dropping a beat, Manuela says that she "couldn't give up on studying" and thus decided to follow her second dream, cooking. When she finishes her course, she is planning to start working immediately.

Amongst her dreams are owning her own restaurant, where she might also be able to play the clarinet, or become a chef on a cruise liner. However, in truth, music constantly interrupts her discourse. Indeed, the idea of cooking on a passenger ship is also interwoven with the idea of playing on the ship. And, in the midst of some affirmations that suggest some lack of orientation, Manuela feels the need to affirm:

*I'm not lost. I know it, I know it but I want to be sure... still. Because I don't know if in the future I'll be able to make it in music... because I would also like to enter into the Gulbenkian... or go to France and study for almost one [year]... Well, I don't know... perhaps, who knows, a restaurant with music... classical music, I play. You never know!*

Her most distant future, she leaves it in the hands of God. Manuela believes that "if God made things this way", it is because she is not yet really prepared to "enter into the world of music". She says she has an enormous "faith in destiny" and is certain that "if God does not want that now it is because He will tomorrow".

## A panoramic perspective on the thirty-five sociological portraits

### *The prevalence of participants from popular milieus*

In the thirty-five sociological portraits of young OG participants, the ages range between 12<sup>82</sup> and 19 and with levels of schooling from primary school (23 cases), secondary school (10 cases) and to polytechnic higher education (2 cases).

From the point of view of their social backgrounds, the majority of interviewees belong to a heterogeneous universe of the popular classes or “base wage earning classes” (Costa, 2012: 115). Irrespective of the class segment, these are generally families with few resources, with subordinate formal positions in organisations (manual industrial, construction and transport workers or routine employees in services, who do not have any control over their own schedules and working processes and without exercising any supervisory functions). Those families also have lower academic qualifications even though there is more variety in this domain. There are only a few exceptions (Table 1):

Industrial workers	10
Routine employees	10
Self-employed	3
Professionals and managers	4
Insufficient Information	8
Total	35

Table 1. Family class backgrounds

Family structure is somewhat diverse. Despite the predominance of nuclear families (16 cases of couples and their children, including recomposed families), there are single parent families (8 cases) and extended families (9 cases) that include grandparents, uncles and aunts forming a network of sharing earnings and mutual support.

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<sup>82</sup> Dafne turned 12 on the day after the interview.

There is some diversity in the ethnic-national origins of the participants (some have African origins and there are two cases of families who came from Eastern Europe), which may convey an intersection between social class and ethnic background inequalities. Professionally, of the 70 progenitors in total, 10 are in declared situations of unemployment. There are various references to precarious employment and labour market fluctuations, temporary professional training internships or activities in the informal economy.

Despite clear economic difficulties, we did not note in these households situations of hardship or extreme deprivation. There seem to be networks of solidarity and support (of kinship, in which the family household extends to welcome grandparents, uncles, aunts, etc.) alongside relatively favourable housing conditions. Many of the latter are located in social housing neighbourhoods where the (erratic) presence of the welfare state does make an impact. To grasp the scale of the social inequalities and shortcomings, one must consider the economic processes, particularly as regards the subjects' positions in the labour market, as well as the other frameworks for their socialisation (territorial, institutional, social networks), some of which affected by the logics and contradictions of public policies during crisis and recession.

### **Socializations: contexts, dispositions, trajectories**

Some of the relevant characteristics of the thirty-five participants, referring to various dimensions of their socialisation processes, are shown in Table 2, namely: the influence of key figures; the level of academic success/failure<sup>83</sup>; future professional hopes; and instrument played (which reflects the patterns of integration into the OG through the socio-musical roles performed and the relationship with music).

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<sup>83</sup> The categorisation of academic success/failure presented in the table is based on the interviewees' own statements. 26 (out of a total of 35) refer to having positive (+) or very positive (++) results, 6 state their learning as average (+-), and 3 describe their evaluations as negative (-) or very negative (--).

Name	Significant Others	Academic Success	Conson./Dissonance Orchestra versus Cultural and Leisure Practices	Desired Professional Future	Instrument
1. Marta	Maestro	++	Consonance	Inside music	Cello
2. Lúcia	Uncle	++	Dissonance	Inside music	Violin
3. Tânia	Aunt/Godparents	+	Dissonance	Outside music	Cello
4. Cátia	Unstated	+	Dissonance	Outside music	Viola
5. Lucinda	Mother/Teacher	++	Dissonance	Outside music	Violin
6. Yami	Father	+	Relative Dissonance	Inside music	Viola
7. Luísa	Mother/Brother	+	Relative Dissonance	Inside music	Bassoon
8. Rodrigo	Mother/Grandparents	+	Dissonance	Outside music	Viola
9. Camila	Parents/Aunt/Grandmother	+	Relative Consonance	Outside music	Viola
10. Ana	Uncle/Sister	++	Dissonance	Outside music	French horn
11. Pedro	Class Director/Parents	+/-	Dissonance	Inside music	Trumpet
12. Rosa	Father	++	Relative Dissonance	Outside music	Viola
13. Isabel	Uncle/Sister	+/-	Relative Dissonance	Inside music	French horn
14. Joana	Parents/Flute teacher	+	Relative Dissonance	Inside the arts	Flute/guitar
15. Jorge	Mother	-	Dissonance	Inside music	Flute
16. Natasha	Parents/Teacher Juan/Maestro Olivetti	++	Relative Dissonance	Inside music (postponed)	Violin
17. Raquel	Mother/Maestro Olivetti	+/-	Dissonance	Outside music	Violin
18. Dafne	Elder Sister	+	Relative Consonance	Outside music	Violin
19. Daniel	Unstated	+	Relative Dissonance	Outside music	Violin
20. Djamila	Unstated	+/-	Dissonance	Undefined	Flute
21. Jamélia	Mother; Maestro	+	Relative Dissonance	Outside music	Violin
22. Joaquim	Unstated	+	Relative Dissonance	Outside music (despite wishing to continue studying music)	Violin
23. José	Father	+	Consonance	Outside music	Double Bass
24. Leiza	Mother, grandparents	+ <sup>84</sup>	Relative Consonance	Undefined (possibly outside)	Viola
25. Niara	Unstated	--	Dissonance	Undefined	Violin
26. Ricardo	Unstated	+	Relative Consonance	Undefined (possibly outside)	Flute
27. Tanishia	Unstated	+/-	Dissonance	Outside music	Cello
28. Vanessa	Unstated	++	Consonance	Inside music	Viola
29. Alice	Mother, Grandmother and Uncle	+	Dissonance	Outside music	Flute
30. Tiago	Parents	+	Relative Dissonance	Inside music	Violin
31. Sofia	Unstated	+	Relative Dissonance	Outside music	Double Bass
32. Soraia	Mother	-	Dissonance	Outside music	Double Bass
33. Gustavo	Brother	+	Relative Dissonance	Inside music	Viola
34. Leonor	Parents	+	Dissonance	Outside music	Viola
35. Manuela	Parents	+	Dissonance	Outside music	Clarinet

Table 2. Participants characteristics by framework of socialisation

<sup>84</sup> Previously, when attending school in São Tome: ++

It is important to understand the social contexts and factors that favour the effectiveness of a *strong program of socialisation* by and within the orchestra. By this notion, we mean the activation, creation or strengthening of dispositions and orientations towards action and/or competences endowed with the potential for metamorphosis in the participants' lives and identities, and transferable to other spheres of life and frameworks of action.

According to the discourses of the participants themselves, what are the pre-existing dispositions (internalised in the family environment, for example) that get blocked or even eliminated by exposure to the socialising principles of the OG, as well as those created based upon the orchestral experiences and transferred into other spheres? Table 3 identifies some of these dimensions.

OG Creates	OG Favours/Activates	OG Hinders
<p>- <b>Skills favourable to school success</b> (discipline; organisation of space and time; coordination; mutual help; collective learning ethos): <i>22 interviewees</i><sup>85</sup></p> <p>- <b>Affective musical dispositions</b> (love/passion for music and/or the instrument): <i>14 interviewees</i><sup>86</sup></p> <p>- <b>Reflexive musical dispositions</b>: <i>5 interviewees</i><sup>87</sup></p> <p>- <b>Relational dispositions, opening up to others / group integration and feeling of belonging</b>: <i>15 interviewees</i><sup>88</sup></p>	<p>- <b>Direct family and/or implicit incentives for learning dispositions</b>: <i>16 interviewees</i><sup>89</sup></p> <p>- <b>Previous musical dispositions</b>: <i>7 interviewees</i><sup>90</sup></p> <p>- <b>Propensity to social mobility</b>: <i>11 interviewees</i><sup>91</sup></p> <p>- <b>Professional orientation towards the world of music</b>: <i>11 interviewees</i><sup>92</sup></p>	<p>- <b>Dispositions for flight, abandoning and anomia</b><sup>93</sup>: <i>4 interviewees</i><sup>94</sup></p> <p>- <b>Pre-existing networks of socialisation</b>: <i>4 interviewees</i><sup>95</sup></p>

Table 3. Development and transference of dispositions and skills

<sup>85</sup> Including, among the 13 portraits presented in this chapter, the cases of Dafne, Tanishia, Lucinda, Pedro, Yami, Vanessa, Leiza, Marta, Ricardo, Manuela.

<sup>86</sup> Including Dafne, Tiago, Jorge, Vanessa, Leiza, Marta, Ricardo.

<sup>87</sup> Incl. Tiago, Vanessa, Marta.

<sup>88</sup> Incl. Dafne, Yami, Vanessa, Leiza, Marta, Manuela.

<sup>89</sup> Incl. Dafne, Tanishia, Lucinda, Vanessa.

<sup>90</sup> Incl. Dafne, Leiza, Vanessa.

<sup>91</sup> Incl. Tiago, Jorge, Pedro, Isabel, Ricardo.

<sup>92</sup> Incl. Jorge, Pedro, Yami, Vanessa, Marta.

<sup>93</sup> Anomia here understood as the absence or weakening of internalised social norms.

<sup>94</sup> Incl. Jorge, Pedro.

<sup>95</sup> Incl. Jorge, Pedro, Manuela.



Table 4 unveils the consonances and dissonances between socialization principles at play in the various realms of life and contexts of action relevant in the participant trajectories.

Dissonance OG/School	Dissonance OG/Family	Dissonance between sociability networks	Dissonance/Consonance between OG repertoire and cultural practices outside OG	Dissonance OG/"neighbourhood"
5 interviewees (Yami, Rodrigo, Jorge, Raquel, Leiza)	<b>Relative Dissonance:</b> 2 interviewees (Yami, Raquel)	<b>Total Dissonance:</b> 5 interviewees (Rodrigo, Jorge, Camila, Pedro, Yami)  <b>Relative Dissonance:</b> 1 interviewee (Daniel)	<b>Total Dissonance:</b> 16 interviewees <sup>96</sup> <b>Relative Dissonance:</b> 12 interviewees <sup>97</sup>  <b>Consonance:</b> 3 interviewees <sup>98</sup> <b>Relative Consonance:</b> 4 interviewees <sup>99</sup>	4 interviewees (Ana, Camila, Pedro, Dafne)

Table 4. Consonances and Dissonances between contexts of socialisation

Based upon the data systematised in the tables shown above, our first finding highlights the plurality of figures of reference to the interviewees (cf. Table 2). The core family group is frequently mentioned (parents and siblings), thus suggesting a favourable relationship with the family of origin. There is also reference to extended kinship (grandparents, uncles and aunties) and to persons from the OG universe (music teachers and maestros). However, nine cases do not mention any defining influence from a significant other, which may indicate relational weaknesses or anomia.

Our second finding suggests that the OG experience produces some type of *dispositional effect* in all of the portraits (cf. Table 3), with two exceptions: Soraia (who, were she able, "would change all of the teachers" as she does not like it when they "nag" or give their 'sermons') and Raquel (who complains about everything, does not like school and in the orchestra would prefer to sit in a corner, somewhere at the back, for nobody to notice [her]). The latter is, in all likelihood, the case most exposed to social exclusion, to the extent of even developing a reflexive protest mode of

<sup>96</sup> Incl. Tanishia, Lucinda, Jorge, Pedro, Manuela.

<sup>97</sup> Incl. Yami, Tiago.

<sup>98</sup> Incl. Vanessa, Marta.

<sup>99</sup> Incl. Dafne, Leiza.

resistance to learning in multiple contexts (Willis, 1977), without any apparent search for alternative paths, due in part to her and her family's scarcity of resources.

The third finding points towards a variable amplitude of the dispositional effects: while in some of the sociological portraits such effects cover all of the dimensions considered, in others that is less obvious.

The fourth finding is that the situations most referred to in the portraits suggest the generation, through the orchestral experience in OG, of competences favourable to academic success (self-discipline and organisation of space and time, coordination, mutual help, collaborative and collective learning ethos). Here resides the symbolic and practical strength of the orchestra: the transmission of a *knowing-doing* and a *knowing-how-to-be* with others, *attuned*, in which individual improvisations are only allowed within a common normative coexistence, in an apparent good balance between cooperation and competition.

These incorporated dispositions are transferable to school contexts, functioning there as skills that become useful resources for the construction of the 'pupil's craft' (Perrenoud, 1994). Furthermore, these dispositions seem to emerge, eventually, as an organisational tuning fork for social networks and interactions in spheres of life external to the orchestra (school, neighbourhood, family). In expanding the range of possibilities for future trajectories of subjects and facilitating their access to certain positions in social and socio-professional environments, such dispositions/competences become resources that boost the capacity for individual action, fostering their scope for social mobility.

The fifth finding, however, seems to verify a tendency for the strengthening of dispositions that had previously been created within the young participant's families, especially those related to either explicit or implicit incentives to learning (which happens in the case of 16 interviewees, cf. Table 3). Studies have been showing that even the mutating and plural contemporary family configurations continue to exercise a strong educational role, with the intense transmission of normative heritages and cultural matrixes which are constantly recreated by individuals (cf. Pappámikail, 2013).

In general, these OG participants are young persons from popular milieus and working classes who despite the difficulties, in some cases severe (unemployment and underemployment), persist in investing either in educational resources or in ways of providing incentives and support that are more or less diffuse but favourable to a ruled “domestic moral order” (Lahire, 1995). This ensures the flows of consonance and interdependence between family, home and the OG, as well as the maintenance of the conditions for the inter-generational transmission of the family’s educational resources, even if these are often low.

These forms of family mobilisation contribute both to avoiding objective and subjective situations of exclusion and social declassification, as well as to pathways with a propensity to distinction within the often stigmatized contexts of belonging (neighbourhood, peer groups), thus favouring the emergence or consolidation of social mobility projects. The OG also seems to perform an important role in this process, providing participants with the repertoires and the resources for the imagination of possible future that extend beyond the fatality or prophetic sentence that stipulates manual and subordinate working positions (the cases of Jorge, Pedro, Isabel, Ricardo, Ana, Rosa, Joana, Lúcia, Luísa and Natacha).

As we see from the sociological portraits of these young persons, not all of the dispositions acquired *in* and *from* the Orchestra have their roots in the socialisation that takes place in the family contexts, themselves segmented and permeable to external influences (cf. Table 3). In the majority of cases, the OG, as a context for socialisation, seems to be in consonance with the school, although it functions against it in five cases (cf. Table 4). Orchestral socialisation sometimes also comes out in opposition to, with greater or lesser impacts, the socialising matrixes of the “neighbourhood” (which has also its own internal distinctions): in four cases, there appears to be a clear dissonance between the “neighbourhood” and the OG (cf. Table 4). Finally, one must not overlook that some dispositions are more situated than others, as they refer to – with variable degrees of intensity – specific contexts (the “neighbourhood”, “family”, “school”, “orchestra”). Correspondingly, their level of transferability is not the same in every case nor all the time.

The sixth finding of this analysis suggests that the OG experience is less influential on the participants' cultural and leisure practices (cf. Table 4)<sup>100</sup>. Even in the cases where their future professional outlook focuses upon the worlds of music, tastes generally continue to be fashioned by the pop universe, sometimes packed with the icons of the moment; by computer mediated communication, with broad utilisation of social networks (despite one or another case of resistance to *Facebook* and pop fashion); the domestic-receptive practices associated with television; and locally based socialisation (friends, family), with some trips to the shopping mall.

Only a few participants refer to seeking out 'high art' musical repertoires, paying attention to 'classical' music references or having systematic listening practices. When they do engage in this, there is frequently an instrumental dimension, that is, they see and listen to those repertoires more as a means to obtain an end rather than as a goal in itself: for example, watching a *Youtube* recording only to improve the performance of pieces they are practising at a certain moment.

Nevertheless, there are cases worth highlighting in which OG socialisation holds considerable consequences for tastes and broadens the range of musical repertoire listened to (Djamila, Joaquim, Jamélia and Dafne), as well as cases of affirmation of liking 'classical' music sometimes combined with the rejection of the types of music associated with youth cultures and peer group influences (José, Vanessa, Pedro and Marta).

Not many of these participants acquire – or at least verbalise – reflexive dispositions about the actual musical art, craft and technique (only observable in Marta, Joana, Jamélia, Vanessa and Tiago), potentially relevant whether as future public audience members or as professional musicians. In turn, the development of affective musical dispositions (love/passion for music and/or the instrument) is more frequent (in 14 cases – cf. Table 3). Hennion, precisely, stresses the active mediation of objects, works and instruments, as these, far from being inert or passive, provide “a resistance, a specificity or an opacity of their own” (Hennion, 2007: 53), with implications for the explanations that social actors produce about their behaviours and

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<sup>100</sup> There is dissonance or relative dissonance between the extra-OG leisure practices and the type of culture and repertoire represented by the OG in 26 cases (74.28%) and with Consonance or Relative Consonance in seven cases (20%) (cf. Tables 2 and 4). Two cases are difficult to categorise.

feelings – those aspects do not only reveal or externalise music, but rather actively contribute to the dynamics and conventions of the worlds of music.

The “love for music” also permeates the discourses of some interviewees, with sentimental nuances towards the instruments, which trigger in them states of soul and psychic atmospheres (see, for example, Leiza’s sociological portrait), recalling questions around the ‘power’ of music, its relations with affect and emotions (cf. DeNora, 2000, 2003; Juslin e Sloboda, 2010).

The OG creates or strengthens some professional career projects within the world of music, associated with (more or less explicit) intentions of social mobility. Despite that, we find situations in which music is as much the “first” desired future project as a “second opportunity” as regards other dreams (cf. portraits of Manuela versus Ricardo, respectively). The acquisition of dispositions and skills that may come to serve as added values and ‘qualities’ in a future profession may even occur consciously and intentionally. Vanessa, who helps and teaches her OG colleagues also as a way of learning how to become a clarinet teacher later on, is the clearest case of “anticipatory socialisation” according to her desired profession (Merton, 1968).

What is the likelihood of success of those with the ambition to become musicians? Of the 35 participants, 11 have such desired future profession, sometimes already underway (cf. Table 2). As we saw in some portraits, there are trajectories that, for the meanwhile, are successful but there are also cases of insecurity, disillusionment and quitting, intermittent attendance, or a lack of definition around the dream of becoming a musician. Despite all this, the fact that these young persons practice, rehearse and play – as cultural *producers* – a type of repertoire with which the majority of them were in no way familiarised and their trajectories would probably not have otherwise led in that direction had they not become part of the OG project.

Finally, some questions impose themselves with a certain cruelty. Participants highlight OG’s strong sense of belonging and group spirit, undoubtedly an indicator of social integration. However, does the OG act more as a compensatory educational institution or program, even if potentially effective, as it contributes to academic integration and broader social integration, or is it capable of producing a greater impact by instituting sociologically improbable and unexpected re-directioning of

trajectories? And specifically, is the stock of dispositions internalized within the OG (autonomy, responsibility, openness, self-organisation, solidarity and coordination) necessary and sufficient for the qualified professional integration of its participants? Lastly, if not, will those dispositions nevertheless withstand the pressures of unqualified and regressive professional contexts?

### **What is the actual value of these discourses about self-transformations?**

The sociological portraits provide space for the voices, experiences and perspectives of the young OG participants. Their discourses suggest consequences, generally perceived as positive, from their participation in the project, both in terms of their dispositions and skills and in their identities more generally. There are also criticisms of the OG project: the resistance to the disciplining carried out there (see Tanishia's sociological portrait; Soraia; Raquel); the wish that there were more instrument lessons and section rehearsals instead of so many *tutti* rehearsals (see Tiago's portrait; Sofia); the critique of the logics of inclusion and exclusion that, paradoxically, the OG itself creates when some participants are prevented from joining the group when the orchestra goes on tour (José); teacher encouragement of students to proceed into specialized musical studies but then the lack of further mentoring and guidance on how to go through the formal administrative procedures to apply to enter a conservatory or professional music school (Sofia).

Globally, however, the young players' discourses correspond to what the promoters and directors of the project, OG and school teachers and everyone else seems to assume: that musical practice, namely in the OG, has a positive impact upon the identities of young participants and even on their academic performance.

This chapter is based on what the participants themselves have said in interviews, and their discourses are necessarily interpretations and biographic (re)constructions. As such, there is one question we must still deal with: are they merely reproducing some kind of dominant discourse that perhaps emanates from the other OG and school agents as well as from the media? Are those representations and discourses not more than *doxa* (Bourdieu, 1994: 156), misleading common sense, a

false knowledge that, insufficiently grounded, presumes, universalizes and reifies the idea of making music as a quasi-magic life-changing panacea?

Even though it remains possible that the accounts about the 'effects' of making music in the OG might be somewhat biased towards some exaggeration due to the influence of that discourse, to what extent might that dominant discourse objectively turn into a "self-fulfilling prophecy" (Merton, 1968), by orientating the thoughts and actions of the participants? Whenever participants internalize the idea that participating in the OG and playing in the orchestra *will* produce certain 'things', that may increase their self-efficacy (see Bandura, 1997) endowing them with the power and capacity to act and transform their life conditions and chances.

Globally, the sociological portraits suggest – and often clearly show – real consequences in the objective trajectories and subjectivities of the young participants as a result of participating in the OG. Through the discourse of 'transformation through music', the OG provides its participants with goals and ideals to pursue both within and without the musical realm, as *'forming great persons rather than just great musicians'* continues to represent the manifest aim of this project. That discourse may create ambitions for professional futures which, in the cases of many participants, especially those socio-economically and academically more fragile, would be beyond the range of foreseeable professional futures.

Simultaneously, as also shown throughout this chapter, that discourse stimulates participants to consciously and intentionally undergo "anticipatory socialization" in reference to the values, ethics, and patterns of behaviour of the social and professional groups they aspire to be part of later in their lives (Merton, op cit.), in order to actively make their own "projects" (Velho, 2003) succeed. Identity changes through which one starts feeling that "now" one 'has goals' not only in music but also at school, the acquisition of self-regulation skills and the persistence to achieve a long-term goal, are all resources that are transferrable to their struggle for the professional life they wish to achieve, either within or outside the musical field. As such, all this may increase the subjects' "potential for metamorphosis" (ibid).

When those transformations happen in their lives, however, one must realize that this is not some magical 'effect' caused by 'making music', simply, but rather

arises from the fact that socio-musical practices in lessons, rehearsals and concert performances are framed, organized and disciplined according to certain models of organization, socio-musical values and goals that are made explicit verbally. And there, that dominant discourse plays an essential role, because by anticipating expected 'results' (in terms of behaviour, attitudes, skills, and whatever one is supposed to achieve), it orientates the participants' representations, wishes, projects and, very importantly, the practices that may produce those outcomes and change reality.



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