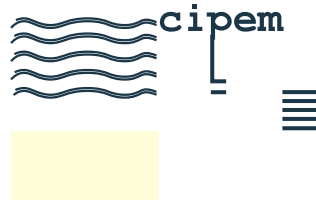# Growing while playing in *Orquestra Geração*

_Contributions towards understanding the relationship between music and social inclusion

Graça Mota
and João Teixeira Lopes
(eds.)

Centro de Investigação em Psicologia da Música e Educação

**cipem**

# GROWING WHILE PLAYING IN *ORQUESTRA GERAÇÃO*

## CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING THE RELATIONSHIP

## BETWEEN MUSIC AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

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**Acknowledgements**

**To all young *Orquestra Geração* musicians**

*Before joining the orchestra, I hated classical music. Now that I play it, now I feel what it is to play these works, I already have more wish to listen. As I was before, I would never in my life spend money on a ticket to go and watch an opera, a concert by the Metropolitan Orchestra for example. I would not go. But now, I've already got that curiosity about going, I now really do want to go…*

JAMÉLIA

*Before, I didn't want to know about anything… really, nothing… I didn't want to know about school. I didn't want to know nothing… I came here and I understood that… it's not quite like that. (…) When I joined the orchestra, I began to change. I got calmer. A lot more calmer. Because I was also dealing with some bad company (…). If it had not been for the orchestra, I sincerely today don't know where I would be… Probably I'd still be here in this school because I'd kept failing….*

MANUELA

# Index

# Preface

The *Orquestra Geração* project raises various questions. I here propose a list that seeks neither to be exhaustive nor to establish any type of ranking.

The first question stems from the value of music. How do we situate and engage with music in our social practices? What type of "utility" and meaning does it acquire whether for the formation and development of personal identity or for interactions and groups? As has been specifically demonstrated by the sociologist Tia DeNora, we may think of the regular uses of music by people as far more than some game interplaying with their social conditions and preferences or between their tastes and behaviours. Music and what this can do to us are decisive capacities of action that may be examined as such.

And this happens even when we consider musical forms in which technical complexity, social representation and institutional history defined them as reserved and socially selective environments. That music labelled erudite or classical is one of these forms and the structure of its organisational field is one of the most closed and hierarchal. Is there nevertheless the scope to observe phenomena of social appropriation reaching beyond the small social elite of "high culture"?

The Venezuelan *El Sistema* constitutes one of the most radically positive answers to this question and across both of these meanings: it is possible to "apply" erudite music, practiced in group, thus within an orchestral format, as a recourse and a method for social integration; and it is also possible to teach and train musical practice in order to render it accessible to children and young persons otherwise without family based cultural capital.

*Orquestra Geração* follows these fundamental principles. That also makes this approach simultaneously a challenge to the conventional methods of artistic teaching; a strategic proposal for promoting the integration and the educational success of children and adolescents from social backgrounds with low levels of cultural capital; and an instrument for better academic inclusion in these surroundings.

1

It therefore comes as no surprise that the project has attracted the attention of diverse and distinctive interested parties. From the outset, the actors in the musical education system, which would suggest a structural turning point, which seriously calls into question the traditional focus on individualised teaching and the corresponding value place on soloist instrumental practices. Then, there are the schools in the regular primary and secondary systems, which gain additional arguments for the integration of artistic subjects as core curricular components. The boards and teachers of these schools become involved whether from the point of view of pedagogical practices for their students or from the perspective of the relationship with their respective families. Next, there are the external partners of educational communities, especially local government but as well as the public, private and third sector organisations that intervene in this field. And, clearly, the political authorities, the trends in current opinions and the administrative devices interconnected with public education, culture and social integration policies.

The clear effects and impacts of *El Sistema,* its structuring as a paradigm disseminated internationally and the attention gained in the media and among public audiences, turned it into an attractive object for political investment and sponsorship. *Orquestra Geração* has also benefitted from this, gaining consistent support both from the Ministry of Education and from Municipal Councils and as well as foundations and companies, cultural institutions and specialist circles and broader public opinion.

As a social process, *Orquestra Geração* constitutes a very rich and complex object of study. The questions follow upon each other. What most distinctively characterises the method and what are their theoretical and pedagogical foundations? How does this dimension interrelate with the ideological (a word used here without any negative connotations) dimension that endows social and political meaning, in addition to the ethics, to the method? How is all this appropriated by teachers, teacher trainers and school leaders and managers? What motivates the councils, foundations and sponsoring companies and what effects do they expect to and actually  obtain from their patronage? What motivates schools to participate in the project and how do they integrate this into their education and social outreach strategies? How do they select and frame student participation in the Orchestra? What consequences do they

observe in the behaviours and academic results that may be attributed to this participation? How do they structure long periods of training that may lead to artistic teaching at the secondary or higher professional level and make possible a future professional or semi-professional musical experience? How do their families and communities react? What effects does the project produce for the more general panorama of the education system and its methods, and especially artistic teaching, in Portugal?

As happens in any research, the responses here prove complex and encountering them requires a theoretical framework, a lot of empirical research and the care to nurture an even-handed approach (avoiding pre-judgements and/or emotional bias, whether positive or negative). The drive and ambition of this project, the commitment of the children and young persons, the performance of persons from profoundly distanced social backgrounds, thus otherwise excluded from the field of erudite music, are observable and noticeable features that also affectively impact on whoever engages with this univers. However, this should never, at any moment, divert critical analysis.

Two aspects in particular stand out.

One stems from the doctrinaire profile of *El Sistema*, its almost messianic aura, putting forward a narrative that doe not lack in mythological features whether in relation to the time of foundation or the founder but also in relation to the mobility, the organisational culture and the duration of the effects generated. While the Portuguese project is relatively distanced from the Venezuelan paradigm in these terms, this aspect should not be overlooked from the analytical perspective.

The other directly relates to the mobilisation strategy, the framework and the training prioritised. There is in *El Sistema* a socialisation dimension in accordance with the patterns of mass political mobilisation and alongside the repetitive usage of proximate teaching procedures for training in an almost physical approach that also requires questioning.

For the meanwhile, it is already clear that the research, situated both in the field of music and in sociology, has to swiftly focus on topics that emerge out of the

exchanges between analysis and strategy, between knowledge and action. Studying with care and conceptual density, the unfurling and the impact of the *Orquestra Geração* project also involves making a contribution to the design and implementation of education strategies and integration of and through music.

The research that this book conveys is interdisciplinary by its inherent nature and correspondingly incorporating different scientific, theoretical and institutional affiliations. This furthermore seeks to empirically approach the social process that considers complementary levels: the points of view of leaders, of teachers, of school boards, of students; the musical pedagogies, both in schools and in orchestras, and their relationships with education practices; individual and group paths, in terms of personal and social development and the collective dynamics; the perspectives, expectations and investments of families.

I had the pleasure to accompany the evolution of the research project that this book testifies to as its consultant. However, holding public office forced me to suspend any other activities that brought about the interruption of this accompanying process. May this preface, written during a flight between Havana and Madrid, serve of proof that, even while unable for the meanwhile to add to the labours of my colleagues, I continue to believe, better stated, I ever more firmly believe that such labours are truly indispensable.

29 June 2016


*AUGUSTO SANTOS SILVA*

# Introduction

*GRAÇA MOTA, JOÃO TEIXEIRA LOPES*

This study emerges within the framework of continuing the work undertaken by CIPEM (Research Centre in Psychology of Music and Music Education), in particular its interest in the relationship between Music Education and music in the community as the necessary and essential interchange for the development of musically informed citizens both in terms of a potential professional option and as aware and critical consumers. This thus further builds upon prior investment in understanding the phenomena around the participation of young persons in Philharmonic Bands and seeking to expand knowledge based upon another view on the collective musical practices ongoing in multiple contexts and in accordance with diverse objectives.

The launch of *Orquestra Geração* in 2007, a project inspired on the *Venezuelan National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras* and better known internationally as *El Sistema*, appeared a particularly fascinating opportunity as this would enable us to deepen the study of a type of phenomenon that has today attained a worldwide projection and that reveals a common approach, even if not always interrogated from a systematic point of view: *music as a factor of social inclusion* or, as it so commonly referred to, *the transformative power of music.*

In fact, similar to the Venezuelan project, the *Orquestra Geração* project focuses upon a perspective of social inclusion through music, prioritising those children and adolescents in situations of greatest risk and educational and social vulnerability and it was therefore based upon this emphasis that this research began and was structured in accordance with two fundamental axes:

1. Ascertaining the socially inclusive reach of the *Orquestra Geração* project, especially through the identification of indicators for the progressive autonomy of participants through music as a vehicle for social insertion;

2. Grasping the ways in which musical meaning gets built and is nurtured by a community of practice, the orchestra, as a place where

determined competences get acquired and valued and which are the pedagogical and didactic practices that convey musical knowledge.

The sheer complexity of what we here seek to approach led to the need for a partner able to enrich the research team beyond the research competences of the CIPEM researchers in the field of music. This naturally extended to including the perspectives of Sociology as a logical complement to the Sociology of Culture and the Sociology of Music that would be enacted through cooperation with the Institute of Sociology of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Porto and the inclusion of the researchers João Teixeira Lopes and Pedro dos Santos Boia into the team. In addition to this clear strengthening of our research capacities, we also drew upon the priceless support of our guest consultant, Professor Augusto Santos Silva. His distanced vision, while always attentive to the core facets of this research and the feasible lines of analysis for development, provided a qualitative contribution that we wish here to highlight. Finally, there was the decision to include the young researcher Matilde Caldas who, as a full time employee of *Orquestra Geração*, accepted this dual role of somebody profoundly involved in the project but able to encounter the crossroads between the assumption of her subjectivity while retaining a distanced perspective.

From the methodological perspective, this involved the development of an extensive case study research strategy leading to mapping the sphere of project implementation across different institutional horizons (local government and schools) and territories, which then served to empirically underpin the subsequent focus on four case studies carried out based upon the selection of a vast range of complementary research methods and techniques, both quantitative and qualitative in nature. Effectively, the sheer magnitude of the data gathered revealed how we had before us a more difficult task than we had eventually foreseen prior to designing this study and proving, on the one hand, the scale of the questions under appreciation and, on the other hand, driving a certain discomfort towards facets that had seemed already acquired and that we wished to continue questioning in order to deepen our knowledge and resourcefulness.

This book is divided into four main sections.

Section I, **Inside *Orquestra Geração*,** includes a total of three chapters. The **first chapter,** on *Music and social inclusion,* seeks to clarify, on the one hand, the concept of social inclusion as a multidimensional process and, on the other hand, opening up some current perspectives on the relationship with music taking into consideration a critical approach as has been conveyed in the literature on those social projects in which music plays a fundamental role. The **second chapter** tells the story of *Orquestra Geração between 2007 and 2015*, its expansion and development based upon the core inspiration of the Venezuelan *El Sistema* in conjunction with the search for an autonomous approach able to respond to the specific features of the contexts operated in and the respective characteristics of the Portuguese education system. The **third chapter,** on *Methodology,* depicts the methodological options applied in this research, the respective methods and procedures developed within the framework of the four case studies.

Section II, **Interweaving Perspectives on *Orquestra Geração*,** also contains three chapters. Thus, **chapter four**, *A perspective based on multiple narratives*, seeks to interpret the fundamental questions that guided this research based upon the data gathered from the teachers, school boards, coordinators, parents and guardians of the young orchestra members and, in summary, all of the actors that play crucial roles within the approach to this multifaceted and rich project. This only leaves out those who deserve the particular and privileged focus of the research team, the children and young persons who form the heart of *Orquestra Geração* and who we return to below. In the **fifth chapter**, *Unveilling the complexity*, we establish a framework for *Orquestra Geração* based upon two theoretical models and their perspectives on the structure, organisation and systematic approach, identifying some critical points to its development while also suggesting potential future opportunities for its expansion. Finally, in the **sixth chapter**, *Learning music in Orquestra Geração*, we arrive at the second axis of this research, thus, understanding how musical meaning gets constructed, analysing the ways in which ear training and sight singing, instrument, and orchestra pedagogies are conveyed.

Section III, **Biographies and paths,** spans two chapters. The **seventh chapter**, which sets out the original perspective of Matilde Caldas in her dual role as project

researcher and full time employee of *Orquestra Geração* and **chapter eight,** *Sociological portraits,* constituting, in our perspective, the truly original contribution of this research project. Through the construction of sociological portraits, inspired on the French sociologist Bernard Lahire, a biographical methodology interweaves life paths with multiple actors and situations of socialisation, enabling sociology at the individual scale (how the individual and his/her patrimony of dispositions get socially produced, that is, the set of structured and long lasting ways of acting, thinking and feeling).

Finally, Part IV, **Coda,** includes **chapter nine**, *New points of departure: past, present and possible future(s) of the Orquestra Geração*, in which, based upon the two leading axes of this research, there is discussion of the most relevant themes that emerged over the course of data collection, and their weighting relative to our overall vision of the *Orquestra Geração* project. This seeks to nominate all of those aspects that we consider of greatest relevance, and identify possible paths, both in terms of research and as suggestions that may eventually hold significance for the construction of projects that draw upon the power of music as a driving motor for social inclusion.

A final comment. Already around halfway through the development of this study, CIPEM was integrated into INET-MD (the Institute of Ethnomusicology, Centre of Music and Dance Studies) with this research centre thus becoming its branch within Porto Polytechnic. Simultaneously, and in keeping with the line of work under development, the Research Group on Education and Music in the Community was launched. The research on *Orquestra Geração* thus became an integral dimension of this Group given that its study object not only unequivocally projects the importance we attribute to collective musical practices but also out of the need for the presence of music in the education system and its intimate interconnections with the community. With this work, we do hope to have contributed towards these fundamental objectives.

# INSIDE ORQUESTRA GERAÇÃO

*A MULTIFACETED RESEARCH PROJECT*

PART I

# Chapter 1

## MUSIC AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

### CONTRIBUTIONS FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF YOUTH ORCHESTRA PROJECTS

*João Teixeira Lopes, Graça Mota, Ana Luísa Veloso, Rute Teixeira*

## Clarifying the concept of social inclusion

The concept of social inclusion is, necessarily, a multidimensional process. In other words, inclusion (inevitably related to exclusion) signifies a certain time span, a number of interrelated and cumulative situations, and exposure to a greater or lesser extent to systematic socialising patterns. Therefore, we may acknowledge the existence of inclusion whenever someone possesses economic, but also cultural, social, political, and not least, symbolic resources (Bourdieu, 1989), enabling a condition (objective side), and a feeling (subjective side) of belonging to a whole, be it a group, social class, institution, organization or country. Another way of approaching this issue is to think about inclusion within a system of inequalities, i.e., a systemic and relational vision that intersects social class inequalities with other types of inequalities that are substantively as important as those that lie at the origins of ethnic, gender, and sexual orientation. Such inequalities interact and interfere with each other (Bihr & Pfefferkorn, 2008), according to particular configurations (coherent sets of relationships), historical moments, and life cycles of individual pathways.

Originally, the binomial inclusion/exclusion was associated with a certain relaxation in the more structural visions of social inequalities and includes a semantic ambiguity, homogenizing a diversified continuum of situations. This notion began being widely applied in the context of the "new public management" to account for dysfunctions between the achieved results and the intended objectives and in view of a certain spending of public resources. Such an administrative vision overlooks, either implicitly or explicitly, the deepest reasons for the inclusion/exclusion condition in favour of the idea of fragmentation and individualization of the social relationships. As if, all of a sudden, the world might simply be divided into included and excluded people, with no origin, process, context or incorporation.

In the scope of this study, inclusion is approached:

i) As a (dynamic) process and not as a (fixed) state, as a moment in someone's trajectory and not as a bureaucratic classification;

ii) As the intersection of diverse inequalities and disparities in the production/distribution/ownership of resources;

iii) As a *continuum* of situations rather than a homogenous designation;

iv) As a condition that connects an objective position with one's life conditions but also as a feeling, a perception, an identity representation;

v) As an attribute recognisable by the others (hetero image) but equally as a condition for the production of autonomy and of a sense of legitimacy of the place in the world (therefore the crucial importance of the symbolic power);

vi) As a set of durable and structured dispositions (ways of feeling, acting, thinking, and doing)[1], that may be mobilised in plural contexts (family, friends, school, orchestra...), and activated in the body (postures, non-verbal languages...) and in the consciousness, or, more precisely, in the limbo between them, in that sort of interstice where the practical, common and daily acting emerges;

vii) As a set of shared, transferable, social resources, mediated by pedagogical practices and discourses, prone to multiplication over the course of the interaction.

In order to happen, inclusion therefore requires "playing on several boards" to nurture effects of contamination and dragging amongst different spheres of life producing affiliations and social integration, to be and to feel "part of", "inside of", in plenitude, i.e., without any need for either the approval of or being awarded by others.

A duly successful trajectory of social inclusion may lead to processes of social mobility whenever these encompass the incorporation of certain dispositions and skills. This is demonstrated by the cases of some students from less privileged social classes, who embark on "unexpected" or "atypical" paths of academic success and

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[1] See chapter eight for a more detailed explanation of the notions of dispositions and incorporation (internalization) and their theoretical implications

qualified and qualifying professional integration, despite deterministic prophecies perceiving only their social origins, and ignoring the guidelines for action and the power of their own projects. Hence, important factors include, for example, the capacity to manage timetables, certain stimuli for autonomy and self-organisation, interest in school life, conversations about learning experiences, care taken to provide a minimally calm environment, informal stimuli so that children read their family's mail, write notes or draft lists,. In summary, recognition within the household environment of a certain legitimacy of the school that counters the propensity towards self-depreciation and self-elimination (Lahire, 2004).

However, organisations also play a crucial role in that process. This study thus strives to understand how *Orquestra Geração* (OG) might function as a plural learning environment (socially, culturally and ethnically) within a framework of interactions that foster sociability, collaboration, the enrichment of codes and linguistics repertoires. In summary, the construction, of trajectories of social mobility.


**Critical perspectives on music and social inclusion**

Grasping the relationship between music and social inclusion represents the crucial goal of this study. That will help us identify aspects of the practices that take place at OG, which may suggest the social inclusion of its participants whether or not followed by processes of social mobility. Music for inclusion or the transformative power of music are flags long since hoisted but not always with the social implications that they have attained in recent decades. In general terms, the approaches have come from the domain of psychology of music, from the social psychology of music (Hargreaves & North, 1997) and, more recently, from the cultural psychology of musical education (Barrett, 2011).

DeNora (2000) played a fundamental role in the interpretation of the ways in which music marks the daily lives of individuals. Firstly, she refers to the contribution made by Adorno in terms of his commitment to studying the critical questions of fundamental importance to the human sciences. Secondly, as regards his conceptual work on the alleged role of music in the formation of social awareness, DeNora

criticises the 'grand approach' of Adorno considering that "it does not account, in any extensive manner, for how the genius of Zeitgeist[2] originally got into the bottle of music or, conversely, how music's organising properties come to be decanted into society" (DeNora, 2000: 3).

> In this regard, Adorno's work represents the most significant development in the twentieth century of the idea that music is a "force" in social life, a building material of consciousness and social structure. But because it provides no machinery for viewing these matters as they actually take place, Adorno's work also has the power to frustrate; his work offers no conceptual scaffolding from which to view music in the act of training unconsciousness, no consideration of how music gets into action. The weakness of Adorno's approach thus lies in its failure to provide some means by which its tantalizing claims can be evaluated. *idem*, 2000: 2)

DeNora maintains that the question of *process[3]* is fundamental to understanding just how the social gets inscribed into the musical and vice-versa. Only thus are we able to grasp up to what point the structural affinities between music and social formations are palpable and equally susceptible to change. Furthermore, she advances with a second path of analysis that she does not consider antagonistic to that of Adorno but simply more flexible and observable as regards this relationship between music and the social structure. In opposition to the 'grand approach', she proposes what she terms the 'small tradition' based upon, for example, the first studies by Simon Frith (1978, 1981) about the intimate involvement of young persons in music. Within this perspective,

> Music's structuring properties were understood as actualized in and through the practices of musical use, through the ways music was used and referred to by actors during their ongoing attempts to produce their social situations and themselves *as* selves. (DeNora, 2000: 5-6)

This vision helps us think in a more proximate manner within the context of this research about what might be one means of analysing the benefits of high art music as the predominant repertoire in the set of works played by OG, and the ways in

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[2] The word Zeitgeist, "the spirit of the time", usually appears in the literature in the original language.
[3] In *italics* in the work by DeNora

which studying and interpreting such works might influence and/or modify the musical preferences of the young musicians.

Another aspect, that of the relationship between the music and both affections and emotions, represents a contribution that extends to critically approaching the semiotic power of music, that which DeNora (2000: 21) termed as 'human-music interaction'. This argument emerged out of the criticism levied at the assumption made by various authors according to which

> ... the semiotic force of musical works can be decoded or read, and that, through this decoding, semiotic analysis may specify how given musical examples will 'work' in social life, how, for example, they will imply, constrain, or enable certain modes of conduct, evaluative judgements, social scenes and certain emotional conditions". (*Idem,* 2000: 21)

According to this premise, semiotics becomes the preferred means of analysis for understanding the relationship between music and the social, always based upon the shortest route between the decoding of the musical work and its social impact. On the contrary, running counter to some traditional musicology that deems it imperative not to abandon the analysis centred around the intrinsic properties of music to the detriment of questions interrelated with its reception, DeNora proposes:

> A reflexive conception of music's force as something that is constituted in relation to its reception by no means ignores music's properties; rather, it considers how particular aspects of the music come to be significant in relation to particular recipients at particular moments, and under particular circumstances. [...] Music analysis, traditionally conceived as an exercise that 'tells' us about the 'music itself', is insufficient as a means for understanding musical affect, for describing music's semiotic force in social life. For that task we shall need new ways of attending to music, ones that are overly interdisciplinary, that conjoin the hitherto separate tasks of music scholars and social scientists. (*idem*, 2000: 23)

In fact, this study does conjugate these two fields of knowledge in an attempt to interweave the perspectives able to configure a more elaborate way of understanding a relationship which, while duly experienced and empirically valued, has hitherto lacked a systematic approach.

**Music in social projects**

In recent decades, the social projects that have advocated the transformative power of music and correspondingly fostering social mobility through musical activities, have attained very impressive proportions (Burnard *et al*, 2008; North and Hargreaves, 2009; Hallam & Macdonald, 2009; Hallam, 2010; Tunstall, 2012). Such projects have been able to attract funding to a greater or lesser extent across the world whether from governments, non-governmental organisations or private companies based upon different objectives and targeting populations with diversified characteristics.

If we consider the relationship between music and social inclusion in broad terms, this involves explicitly setting out the opportunity that each individual should have, and particularly each child, to access environments in which they might get music education irrespective of their financial means, social class, ethnic background, religion, linguistic and cultural heritage or gender (Burnard *et al*, 2008). Furthermore, the concept of non-formal heritage and the creation of communities of musical practice, which we shall return to in greater detail, is increasingly approached in terms of musical programs that develop beyond the formal system of teaching, as extracurricular activities and specifically targeting populations deemed at risk. We now put forward a brief summary that identifies a set of questions present in the academic field regarding the relationship between music and social inclusion within the framework of non-formal teaching:

i) Music as a social practice is perceived as a vehicle for fostering citizenship and social inclusion in terms of belonging and developing group identity while keeping the door open to some dissidence and musical experimentation (Dillon, 2006; Welch *et al*, 2009; Wright, 2014).

ii) Musical projects working with populations in situations of exclusion, interrelated with serious social disadvantages are able to bring about new perspectives on life (O'Neill, 2006; Odena, 2010; Henley *et al*, 2014).

iii) One of the typical references to musical programs taking place in processes outside of the education system is the construction of knowledge understood from a revolutionary perspective and which takes place through

shared experiences that break down the barriers between what gets termed high art music and popular musical cultures (Green, 2006, 2008; Pino, 2009; Campbell, 2010).

However, this somehow cause and effect linear reading has recently been subject to criticism especially following the appearance of systematic work in fields such as 'music and conflict' or 'music and social justice' (Bergh, 2007; Bergh & Sloboda, 2010; O'Connell & Castelo Branco, 2010; Urbain, 2014; Benedict *et al*; Bates, 2016). Essentially, this calls into question the taken for granted assumption that there is a direct connection between involvement in music and the social inclusion that effectively enables cultural and social mobility. Bergh & Sloboda, for example, consider that "in general, there exists an overly optimistic view of what music and art can achieve in conflict transformation situations which has a negative effect on the outcomes". (Bergh & Sloboda, 2010: 8)

The same authors equally draw attention to the fact that these programs are always exclusively deployed within the psychosocial field, generally accompanied by a lack of theoretical justification, concluding that "academic research that focuses on the intersection of music/art and conflict transformation is rather limited" (*idem*: 4).

Further dimensions identified by the aforementioned authors proved of particular importance to the development of our study.

Firstly, the fact that the voices of participants in these orchestras rarely get heard as well as the usual top-down implementation of decisions; these dimensions thus deserved our particular attention as for example detailed in chapter three regarding the methodological options.

Secondly, the observation that the evaluations of programs claiming to have achieved inclusion through music tend to get constructed from the perspective of proclaiming their success while playing down the real effects of music on the lives of young learners[4]. This led the research team to strive to maintain a critical view of all situations involving value judgements as regards the outcomes, so frequently compelling and capable of eliciting natural affective and emotional adherence.

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[4] To this end, consult the *Orquestra Geração* Evaluation Study by the Centre of Geography Studies – IGOT (University of Lisbon), 2012.

**The *El Sistema* case**

One of the most emblematic of all the musical practices claiming to foster social inclusion through music is the *Venezuelan National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras*, known as *El Sistema* (ES hereafter). This program was launched in 1975 by the Venezuelan maestro José António Abreu, having subsequently attracted attention from various countries that in turn embarked on their own programs that adopted and, sometimes, adapted the ES ideals. In the majority of cases, descriptions of this program come in highly celebratory terms, highlighting its statute as a social project that assumes a leading role in relation to its musical value. Eric Booth, one of its most convinced international supporters, on his first visit to Venezuela, wrote: "I had to feel where the excitement grew in the poorest barrios where each "nucleo" (their word for the community music school) lives. I had to sniff out the truth of the implausible claims" (Booth, 2008: 1). He continued clearly assuming the ES objective of social inclusiveness and describing the program as one hundred percent successful in achieving that aim, in addition to its impressive music quality.

> This is what makes El Sistema so mind-boggling—it is not only an effective nationwide social service program that turns around the lives of hundreds of thousands of at-risk kids; it also produces capital A art as well or better than anyone in the Western systems can manage. The 27 year old conductor Gustavo Dudamel, a product of El Sistema, is the new Music Director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, and has achieved international music star status, a long way from his barrio home and small town nucleo where he played second violin as a child. (Booth, 2008: 2)

More recently, however, various critical voices have been rising as regards the entire way ES functions, especially its positioning towards the political and economic system of Venezuela, the emphasis placed on the Western musical canon and its proselytising vision regarding 'spreading the word' as a model appropriate for replication in various countries (Borchert, 2012; Baker, 2014). Within this framework, the book by Geoffrey Baker *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (2014) represented one of the most notable works in systematically challenging all of the previously taken for granted assumptions about the program even while never denying that ES represents a 'source of pleasure'. In fact, some of the ideological strengths

identified by Baker might be "ethically problematic yet perfectly compatible with enjoyment" (Baker, 2014: 17). His ethnographic based study intended to call into question the rhetorical foundations of ES, unveiling poorly clarified realities and apprehending its political and marketing functions. Despite this, Baker states:

> Skepticism, critique, and the raising of uncomfortable issues should not then be confused with a desire to weaken El Sistema – quite the opposite. It is a lack of scrutiny, criticism, and public debate that puts the program at risk. (Baker, 2014: 21)

The recent publication of a special edition of the online journal *Action, Criticism & Theory for Music Education* (volume 15, number 1, January 2016) falls within the same scope.  This holds the objective of questioning all of the general tone, essentially promotional and laudatory, that is present in the majority of what has been written about ES and the systems inspired upon it, correspondingly presenting a set of mostly critical articles even while taking the care to emphasise that such criticism should be:

> intended as constructive for those involved in the ongoing development of the program, in the interest of refining or changing it accordingly; for those who are considering this or other programs in order to address poverty and social inequality; or for individual music educators working to forge more socially just practices. (Bates, 2016: 7)

Equally interesting is the current position of Jonathan Govias who, after having been an enthusiastic defender of the program and guest maestro in Venezuela conducting orchestras at various ES nuclei, published an incisive reflection with his view on the program's current state.  He questions its sustainability and suggests that the future of ET might lie outside of Venezuela: "It's now in the hands of the programs and researchers around the world looking to connect the group practice of music with quantifiable social benefit." (Govias, 2015)[5].

While not seeking to review all of these arguments in detail, our study recognises the importance of maintaining a critical perspective as regards the framework of references prevailing for OG as a Portuguese program inspired by ES,

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[5] https://jonathangovias.com/2015/11/08/what-next-for-sistema/ consulted on 28.04.2016

while bringing to light some of the questions that require discussion given the data that we present here.

Correspondingly, we identified the need to ascertain up to what point OG might be considered a community of (musical) practice within the parameters today assumed in the literature (Wenger-Trayner, 2015).

**Musical Learning in Communities of Practice**

Recent research on non-formal and informal learning contexts addresses how young musicians learn through actions and social practices such as playing in groups, going to concerts or playing an instrument by ear. This has served to highlight how these practices very commonly lead their youth participants to accept a tacit commitment not only to the music that they play but also to their colleagues, members of the same community or group (DeNora, 2000; Folkestad, 2005, 2006; Pitts, 2007; Wright & Kanellopoulos, 2010). In fact, such practices would seem to favour a conception of "music making as a means of communion with others, as a wordless way of knowing others" (Dillon, 2007: 165), which, in turn, seems to trigger attitudes of active participation and a strong commitment towards group activities and its members. Furthermore, and as proposed by Dillon (2007), this profound commitment and feeling of responsible participation ensures that these young students do not quit and believe that they can in fact do better, and work harder. As Brader (2011) stated, they create their own "songs of resilience" (Brader, 2011) by developing new modes of acting and being in the world (DeNora, 2000, 2003; Frith, 2003, Bowman, 2009).

The musical practices mentioned in the paragraph above are interconnected with a cultural and social perspective on learning in which the concepts "community of practice" and "participation" play a fundamental role. Thus, in our study, the term "community of practice" serves to characterise "groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly" (Wenger-Trayner, 2015: 1). Furthermore, according to these same authors, this definition allows for but does not assume intentionality. This means that not every

community may be considered as a community of practice as this requires the presence of three crucial characteristics: <u>domain</u>, <u>community</u> and <u>practice</u>. The domain arises as an identity defined by the sharing of a common interest while the community emerges from a set of activities, discussions and relationships that enable shared learning. In turn, practice gathers the participants in search of a repertoire of resources that in sum constitutes a shared practice. "It is the combination of these three elements that constitutes a community of practice. And it is by developing these three elements in parallel that one cultivates such a community" (Wenger-Trayner, 2015: 2).

Despite the controversy generated around ES, the projects it has inspired, such as OG, would seem to convey, in their founding origins, a conceptual perspective that highlights musical learning as a social practice. This then develops in relation with the other through the particular modes of participation that individuals develop in their musical communities and always focused upon the construction and reconstruction of meanings (Bowman, 2009). In this context, it is important to comprehend how this process of constructing meaning does not occur in a vacuum but rather within a web of interactions that grows out of the personal and social trajectories that take place in the development of each particular musical world. Therefore, the learning of music may be perceived as an activity that depends on individual, social and cultural processes of negotiating meaning, which take place through the diverse interactions that are daily established between each individual, the specific events experienced and the persons they meet.

It is debatable whether OG falls within the aforementioned definition of communities of musical practice. While true that the three characteristics presented would seem in place in its origins and development (see chapter 2), it remains to be seen to what extent they interconnect and establish coherence within the scope of musical practices that appear to be hierarchically pre-determined and do not always foresee the active intervention of their participants.

One aspect we believe requires fundamental exploration arises from the mere assumption that within the framework of teaching based essentially on high art music is the implicit idea of exclusion given that such teaching rests upon systematic practices that value talent and marginalise, where not excluding, all those who fail to

achieve certain levels of excellence. We question whether simple access to such conventional practices of teaching and learning music proves sufficient to generate inclusion and new musical and cultural practices among young OG musicians.

**Art, cultural democracy and citizenship**

We know that the dispositions created in one specific context of socialisation (in this case the OG) cannot be transferred in an automatic or generalized manner into other realms of life. For this to happen, the spheres of social activity need to actively mobilise the principles that provide the foundations for the incorporation of dispositions (for example, the interest in learning, cultivating autonomy and a critical sense, as well as adhering to certain aesthetic criteria, the pleasure in listening and practicing, the reflective relationships with institutions and organisations, etcetera). Indeed, as already mentioned, this transport function neither occurs without mediation nor can it be reduced to a cause and effect mechanism. OG participation thus simultaneously represents a dependent and independent variable; either it will be bound up with a chain of social relationships, with actors and the contexts of socialisation, of organisations and institutions, or it will fail in its (re)socialising purpose. The implicit or explicit alliances between families, schools, local social environments and the OG are crucial.

The setting of such dispositions is favoured by a prevailing environment of cultural democracy (Lopes, 2007) which rejects hierarchical or hierarchizing usages of culture; in which cultural arbitration gets suspended in favour of negotiation (Lopes, 2005), mediation and compromise; in which the professional approach of education organisations stimulates the multiplication (and not the closing off) of points of view. In sum, this amounts to a context that overcomes the temptation to apply culture, art and aesthetic learning as symbolic violence or a means of inflicting suffering, unhappiness and humiliation onto other social subjects.

In truth, cultural democracy embodies a right to culture, simultaneously individual and collective, a duty arising from a conception of public service centred on the very idea of liberty. Cultural democracy happens only through socially, politically

and ontologically dignifying all of the languages and forms of cultural expression, and in the openness of repertoires and range of possibilities. Such are the *sine qua non* conditions for the freedom of expression and choice. This does not mean abdicating from criteria of quality and does incorporate an underlying questioning of the universal character of these criteria as well as explicitly detailing their intersubjective, provisional and necessarily conflictual construction.

In summary, cultural democracy points to a transversal incidence: in the creation of cultural goods and works, in their distribution and reception. A conception of cultural democracy based only on familiarisation, through means of reception of all the codes and modes of expression (within an ideal-typical meaning) would only result in a reduced and ineffective version. José Madureira Pinto, in a now classic article (Pinto, 1994), clearly affirms the intentions of democratising the cultural field of production:

> To foster in vast segments of the population, especially the working classes, contact with the most demanding cultural forms in terms of the aesthetic-cognitive instruments necessary to their decoding and enjoyment (broadening audiences). To seek, as systematically as possible, that the reception of the work extends into an empathic approximation to the creative act (participation) which, in turn, will promote over time the autonomous and self-enriching intervention at the level of creativity (democratising the sphere of cultural production). (Pinto, 1994: 773)[6]

Correspondingly, through musical teaching and practice, OG aims to serve as a catalysing and driving focus of democratic citizenship and, consequently, of the right to equality in access to culture.

These are the core dimensions to exercising the rights to democratic citizenship. Hence, places interweaving  aspirations and opportunities, fields of creative possibilities, revelations of other social horizons enable their protagonists to gain unexpected interpretations of the world.

The OG therefore wants to affirm its members not as vulnerable or marginalised subjects but rather as a group that stands out for its capacity to deploy

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[6] In this book, all of the translations from text originally written in Portuguese or other languages are the responsibility of the authors.

difference, thereby affirming itself as a process of social construction of the rights and duties and as an instrument for the reconstruction of social identities and representations:

> Multidimensional, involving both material and subjective dimensions of existence, and relational, in two ways: drawing attention to the importance of social belonging and, simultaneously, to the relationship between persons and institutions within which the resources and the rules that bestow access to these rights are inscribed (Capucha, 2010: 26).

Art as a form of social integration and the conquest of citizenship constitutes one of the paths that artistic education projects seek to achieve. However, we cannot dissolve this among the far broader platform of social relationships of group belonging to the extent that the latter acquires a significant profile in accessing a vast range of social resources that enable the subjects to "participate successfully and simultaneously in various groups and institutions" (Lahire, 2008: 14).

Therefore, the greater the expansion in the networks of knowledge and social relations, the greater the quantity of resources that children and young persons in this project may benefit to their own favour. These mechanisms encourage the search for aptitudes and competences hitherto either lost or sleeping in an imaginary reality in which the exercise of citizenship should in no way remain illusory.

Social capital, here referred to as an instrument for empowerment of the actors involved in the OG, may also function as a source of social mediation and above all useful to the parents to the extent they establish dynamics of mutual help within families and school institutions. This may also positively influence the performance of these actors not only in school but also in their interactions with other subjects and institutions in the surrounding community.

We thus face the scope for the inversion of the life cycles and trajectories interconnected with poverty, school failure and marginality with the introduction of new horizons, new conceptions of life and, consequently, the benefits from exercising the rights of citizenship as a pillar to a democratic state.

Finally, given that the participants involved in this artistic project come from diverse ethnic backgrounds, intercultural education is of crucial importance. Through

it, interwoven commitments are built, whether professionally or with the public entities involved, enabling the emergence of plurality within communities in which cultural diversity is a reality.

In locating music education, and especially its practical consequences, within this approach to the concept of social inclusion, community of practice, art, cultural democracy and citizenship, we will bear in mind an entire set of perspectives that allow us to find points of confluence from which to interpret the OG project.

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# Chapter 2

## *Orquestra Geração* 2007-2015

Matilde Caldas, Graça Mota

### Introduction

The *Orquestra Geração* (OG) was launched in 2007 in the Casal da Boba neighbourhood within the framework of the *Geração* project that had been under implementation by Amadora Municipal Council since 2005. Financed by the European Union's EQUAL[7] program, this project was jointly coordinated by the aforementioned municipality and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation[8].

The Geração project strove to develop a set of actions able to help combat factors of social exclusion, such as school absenteeism or unemployment, especially among young persons, which made up the bulk of the population originally from other neighbourhoods and rehoused in Casal da Boba. (Machado & Matias, 2005, 2007).

This represents the context in which Jorge Miranda (former director of the Amadora Municipal Council Department of Education and Culture) and António Wagner Diniz (former president of the executive council of the National Conservatory School of Music) launched the idea of adding a musical component to the Geração project, which would be centred on action and social integration through music and awarding priority to young persons facing situations of social and educational vulnerability.

The OG emerged in this context under the pedagogical and administrative orientation of the EMCN – the National Conservatory School of Music and inspired above all on the *Venezuelan National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras* but also drawing on other projects such as the Harlem String Program (USA) and Vibrato

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[7] A European Union Program that "seeks to promote new practices in the struggle against discrimination and inequality of any nature interrelated with the labour market within a context of national cooperation and encouraging the social and professional integration of asylum seekers" (in http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/PT/TXT/?uri=URISERV%3Ac10237, accessed on 18 May 2016).

[8] Furthermore, other project partners were the High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue, the Casal da Boba Parish Centre, Miguel Torga Middle School, São Brás Parish Council, healthcare centres, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, the Association Unidos de Cabo Verde and the Amadora Intercultural School of Professions and Sport (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2008).

(Rosário-Argentina). Through the collective practice of music, the OG program sought to contribute towards the integration of young persons, initially beginning in the fifth grade of schooling, living within precarious social and educational contexts. Thus, it was expected to create environments favourable to socialisation that would be able to help in combating school dropouts and stimulating social mobility among the populations living in surroundings displaying particularly phenomena of social exclusion (EMCN, s/d).

Initially planned as a phased formation process for an 80-member Orchestra at Miguel Torga Middle School, this involved the implementation of a teaching methodology above all based on collective work. Starting out as a pilot project, the long term objective was to expand the program to other areas in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area as well as other parts of the country (idem).

The pedagogical responsibility for the OG Program remained with the EMCN, especially as regards the organisation of the teacher training program, selecting both the teachers' trainers and the teachers to work in the project as well as integrating and accompanying students (idem). To this end, the project drew upon the collaboration of two Venezuelan musicians who, while resident in Portugal, are also products of the *El Sistema* (ES) where they first began their studies (idem).


**The early stages of *Orquestra Geração***

The project launched with fifteen students from the Miguel Torga Middle School in Casal da Boba, which on the date of the OG implementation, was beginning to advance with a management process due to changes in the school context caused by the construction of a new adjoining neighbourhood. Given its social dimension, the Orchestra ended up falling under the auspices of the TEIP (Priority Intervention Education Territories) program that the school joined in 2010.

Despite the doubts and concerns regarding the ambition of this project and the fact that it relied on a cultural practice distant to those normally associated with students from this school, especially as regards the consumption of music from the western classical tradition, the project ended up advancing. This involved the process

of attracting students who volunteered to appear at instrument demonstrations performed by Orchestra teachers.

This group, while still counting on a limited number of participants, made its first public presentations to the school community and families in December of that same year and correspondingly reflecting the central role played by concerts in the project's methodology, a point to which we shall return.

At this time, the Orchestra had four string instrument teachers and one ear training and sight singing teacher from the school. In addition to this theoretical component, the program included individual instrument classes, section classes and orchestra classes. The other groups – wind and percussion – for budgetary reasons, were only launched in the academic years of 2008/2009 and 2009/2010 respectively.

Having begun their musical studies in the fifth or seventh grades, many of these students are no longer in this school and today attend professional music schools or study other academic areas already within a university setting. However, a large number continue to attend the Orchestra, especially through the Municipal and Inter-Municipal Orchestra project. These orchestras were founded as a means of providing municipalities with a tool for culturally leveraging their territories and as a means of integrating the former students emerging out of the project's activities. With OG attributing priority to primary and middle school students, these orchestras also enable the bringing together of other young persons who have completed their ninth year of schooling.

At the end of 2008, the OG already involved around 100 students, not only from Amadora but also from Vila Franca de Xira Municipal Council, which had joined the project in that academic year.

*The Vialonga nuclei*

While incorporating the OG pedagogical orientations, this nucleus took a relatively distinctive path and with some administrative autonomy. Effectively, the

Vialonga School Group[9], which was also involved in the Priority Intervention Education Territories projects, already provided musical teaching in its school curriculum. In 2004, on the initiative of the School Group Board and with support from the Ministry of Education, Vila Franca de Xira Municipal Council[10] and the *Central de Cervejas* beverage company, launched a violin teaching project for students in the group's primary school that ended up later getting merged into the OG project.

However, the most distinctive feature of this School Group, in relation to the other groups participating in the OG, stems from having been granted the School with Artistic Music Teaching status in the second and third cycles in 2008-2009 (General Inspectorate of Education and Science, 2011)[11].

The framework for the already integrated teaching regime for music distinguishes this group not only across the administrative dimensions but also in terms of its objectives given that the targets relative to the musical component are central to its development. Contrary to the other OG nuclei, which essentially focus on the social development components, students in this group fall under a framework with specific parameters for the specialist teaching of music that, for example, include the evaluation of their musical progress in order to ensure they get their learning formally recognised. It should also be noted that the integrated teaching approach ensures that the music classes get incorporated into the timetable of normal school classes[12].

Furthermore, while the other OG nuclei do not work exclusively with students from vulnerable socioeconomic conditions, the admission to the Vialonga Orchestra is explicitly open to any student irrespective of the socioeconomic context. In fact, the entrance criteria for this Orchestra fundamentally depend on the age of the children who are grouped accordingly.

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[9] In Portugal, a School Group is an organisational unit of the educational system, provided with its own administration and management board, and including pre-school and one or more further education levels under a common pedagogical project.

[10] Specifically through the provision of the Vialonga Community Centre, where the Orchestra meets daily.

[11] In turn, the other OG nuclei in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area benefit from the status of a special project operating according to an after school regime.

[12] According to the juridical regime granting financial support by the state under the auspices of sponsorship contracts, under the terms and for the effects stipulated by the Statute of Private and Cooperative Teaching at the non-higher level, go to Dispatch no. 224-A/2015 DR 146/2015 series I, 29 July.

In the specific case of the Vialonga Orchestra, the teachers are not contracted by the EMCN but rather directly by the Group Board. Thus, as an integrated teaching school, there are not, as there are at the other nuclei, the annual uncertainties around program continuity. Finally, the number of students is not confined by an upper limit of hours assigned by the Ministry, as happens in the other nuclei in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, and may grow in accordance with the respective needs.

We may thus conclude that the Vialonga OG takes on a very distinct profile and only shares certain dimensions with the remaining OG schools, as is the case with the repertoire, pedagogical guidelines and some activities.

**The OG expansion**

In 2008/2009 academic year, on the request of the AUCV – the Association Unidos de Cabo Verde, young persons from the Casal da Mira neighbourhood joined the project. Following the pedagogical orientations of the Conservatory, for the meanwhile they remained under the management of this Association. This orchestra emerged out of a protocol signed between AUCV, EMCN and Grupo Chamartín (owners of the Dolce Vita shopping malls) which, within the framework of its social responsibility programs, financially supported the launching of the OG in this neighbourhood. This nucleus ended up deactivated in the 2009/2010 academic year with some students transferred to the Miguel Torga OG nucleus and the teaching team redeployed to a nucleus that was due to open in Damaia.

The 2008/2009 academic year ended with around 200 students including children belonging to these first three groups. However, it was in the following year that the project expanded significantly as detailed in Table 1 showing the development of OG between 2007 and 2010.

This wider entrance of municipalities proved possible due to funding resulting from the application by the Lisbon Metropolitan Area to *PorLisboa*, from funding by local councils and the contracting of teachers by the Ministry of Education, summing

up to around 85% of the project's costs[13]. The schools in Camarate and Sacavém (the Eduardo Gageiro School Group) also received financial backing from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, through the local government, and with support from the *Portugal Telecom* Foundation and the University of Lisbon. These protocols took place under the auspices of the Loures Security Contract, setting up a series of orchestras that were together entitled the *Orquestra Geração* Bora Nessa.

| 2007/8 | 2008/09 | 2009/10 | | | |
|--------|---------|---------|--|--|--|
| Amadora 1 – Miguel Torga Schools Group | | | | | |
| | Amadora 2 - AUCV | | | | |
| | | Amadora 3 – Almeida Garrett Schools Group | | | |
| | | | Amadora 4 – Damaia Schools Group | | |
| Vila Franca de Xira – Vialonga Schools Group | | | | | |
| | | Oeiras – Carnaxide – Portela Schools Group | | | |
| | | Sintra – Mestre Domingos Saraiva Schools Group | | | |
| | | Sesimbra – Boa Água Schools Group | | | |
| | | Loures 1 – Eduardo Gageiro Schools Group | | | |
| | | Loures 2 – Camarate Schools Group | | | |
| | | Loures 3 – Apelação Schools Group | | | |

Table 1 – Evolution of the OG between 2007 and 2010

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[13] Through a Dispatch dated 20 August 2009, the then Minister of Education, Maria de Lourdes Rodrigues, recognised *Orquestra Geração* as a special education project of the National Conservatory School of Music. "By Ministry of Education dispatch (dated 20 August 2009 and 30 July 2010), that approved the project, the Conservatory is authorised to contract teachers for its respective development with its coordination the responsibility of an assistant director and an assessor" (in EMCN, 2012).

*The Apelação nucleus*

While Apelação did not fall within the scope of the Security Contract mentioned above, this nucleus began, from an early stage, to undertake its activities in conjunction with the other schools in Loures. The Apelação nucleus differs from the outset by the strong characteristics of deprivation and exclusion as well as its levels of school dropout. In parallel, these factors ended up reflected in the reception of the project by students and the multiple difficulties experienced as regards changing the attitudes and behaviours in the Orchestra classes. Also falling within a TEIP framework, this school group welcomed the Orchestra project initially with 25 students. Beyond the socioeconomic vulnerabilities characterising this territory, there were also further restrictions stemming from the isolation of the neighbourhood and the school itself. In order to minimise these and other aspects, this school hired a mediator, a resident in the neighbourhood that provided a point of linkage between the students and the OG project.[14]

*The Amarante, Mirandela and Murça nuclei*

Fully supported by the EDP Foundation (within the scope of social compensation on account of the construction of new hydroelectric plants), 2010 saw the launch of the Amarante and Mirandela nuclei followed by Murça in 2011/2012. This thus expanded the range of the OG to other zones in the country and regions with a less urbanised profile than those in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. The Amarante nucleus began working with the *Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso* School Group and, in addition to private sponsorship, also gained support from the Amarante Cultural Centre, which hosted some of its activities. The Mirandela nucleus counted upon the collaboration of the respective Municipal Council, the Esproarte – the Professional Art School of Mirandela – the primary schools, and the *S. J. Bosco Salesian* Centre. The Murça nucleus, in turn, stemmed from a partnership between Artemir/Esproarte and the Murça School Group.

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[14] For further details on this, consult chapter 4, *Madalena – 'I control everything from my window' section.*

In 2013, the Amarante nucleus was successful in an application to the PARTIS program run by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation while Mirandela and Murça retained the support from EDP: "The management of this triad is done by the EDP Foundation" (interview with Margarida Pinto Correia, coordinator of the social programme of the EDP Foundation). While following the syllabus set down by the EMCN pedagogical coordination, these nuclei were given autonomy both in the recruitment of teaching staff and in the running of their activities.

These orchestras were to follow their own autonomous paths as regards the overall OG management framework, transforming into the *Orquestra Nova Geração* project and, later, into the *Orquestra Energia* project with pedagogical and artistic management by *Casa da Música*[15].

*New nuclei in the municipalities of Lisbon, Amadora and the central and northern regions*

In the 2010/2011 academic year, Lisbon Municipal Council joined the OG, launching the project in the neighbourhoods of Ajuda and Boavista. The latter only opened courses for string instruments.

In 2011, the project also expanded into the central region of Portugal with a nucleus established in Coimbra under the charge of the local music conservatory. In the academic year of 2011/2012, there emerged another nucleus in Amadora and in the following year, the Lisbon council expanded its project participation into the neighbourhood of Armador. In 2014/2015, an orchestra was launched in Lisbon and another in Gondomar in the Porto Metropolitan Region.

Right from the beginning of its development, when counting upon only fifteen students, the OG reached the end of 2014-2015 with over 700 students (Table 2).

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[15] *Casa da Música* is the main Concert Hall in Porto.

| 2007/8 | 2008/09 | 2009/10 | 2010/11 | 2011/12 | 2012/13 | 2013/14 | 2014/15 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Amadora 1 – Miguel Torga Schools Group | | | | | | | |
| | Amadora 2 - AUCV | | | | | | |
| | | Amadora 3 – Almeida Garrett Schools Group | | | | | |
| | | | | Amadora 4 – Damaia Schools Group | | | |
| Vila Franca de Xira – Vialonga Schools Group | | | | | | | |
| | | Oeiras – Carnaxide – Portela Schools Group | | | | | |
| | | Sintra – Mestre Domingos Saraiva Schools Group | | | | | |
| | | Sesimbra – Boa Água Schools Group | | | | | |
| | | Loures 1 – Eduardo Gageiro Schools Group | | | | | |
| | | Loures 2 – Camarate Schools Group | | | | | |
| | | Loures 3 – Apelação Schools Group | | | | | |
| | | | Lisboa 1 – Francisco Arruda Schools Group | | | | |
| | | | Lisboa 2 – Benfica  Schools Group | | | | |
| | | | | | Lisboa 3 – Olaias  Schools Group | | |
| | | | | | | | Lisboa 4 – Gil Vicente SG |
| | | | Amarante – Amadeo de Souza Cardoso Schools Group | | | | |
| | | | Mirandela – Mirandela Schools Group | | | | |
| | | | | Murça – Murça Schools Group | | | |
| | | | | Coimbra – S. Silvestre School | | | |
| | | | | | | | Gondomar – S. P. Cova SG |

Table 2 – The OG at the end of 2015

### *Orquestra Geração* and *El Sistema* – adaptation and development

The OG bases its methodology on the experience of *El Sistema* (ES) – the *Venezuelan National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras*, founded in 1975 by the Maestro José António Abreu. Starting out as a project designed to foster the training of Venezuelan musicians, this rapidly took on a predominantly social

character, approaching orchestral practice – and above all its dimension of collective work – as a form of personal and social intervention. This system has spread throughout the country through orchestral and choral nuclei that may each contain up to and over 1,500 students. Such structures follow the pedagogical orientations stipulated by the ES that, in a very hierarchical and structured organisation, disseminates the methodology through its respective ramifications.

It is this methodological framework that guides the implementation of the OG in the Portuguese case even while there have been multiple specific characteristics that configured the local adaptations of the ES. In general terms, three core principles would seem to orient the work of the OG and distinguish its teaching methodology from those deployed in the majority of music schools. On the one hand, the principle that if children learn to speak before they learn to write or understand the theory that sustains language, then they are also able to play prior to knowing about musical theory and reading. The way of achieving this, and here approaching the second principle, stems above all from a process of imitating the teacher or even fellow students at a later phase in their studies. This thus introduces the third principle that encapsulates the priority attributed to group work. Effectively, this moves on from a paradigm of individual teaching focused on attaining musical objectives, and disseminated in the overwhelming majority of music schools, to a social paradigm based on collective work.

Therefore, the time spent on group classes takes up almost the entirety of the practice of each student distributed, in the majority of cases, across three hours of orchestra, two hours of instrumental section, one hour of ear training and sight singing and thirty minutes of individual class per week. The high weighting of this timetable commitment stands out, in the majority of school groups, from any other extracurricular activity on offer.

These classes are, in the majority of cases, given inside the school, whether at the main school or another school in the group. Students either voluntarily enrol or are put forward by their teachers, form teachers, psychologists or school partner entities, such as child protection commissions. All of these students are provided with, free of any

charge, an instrument[16], transportation to training camps and concerts and, in the majority of cases, with meals during activities outside of the school.

*The repertoire*

The orchestra repertoires are defined by the pedagogical and artistic coordination team of the project based largely on the repertoire already in effect at the ES in Venezuela. Students gradually progress, advancing piece by piece through the repertoire, which is in turn structured and organised into four levels – initiation, pre-infant, infant and youth. These levels generally stipulate the specific orchestral groups even while they may also be grouped into Municipal or Intermunicipal Orchestras. The repertoires of orchestras also frequently contain pieces that do not feature in the generally defined repertoire, such as works defined by the respective teacher within a particular nucleus in accordance with each individual case.

In addition to the repertoire based on the Venezuelan methodology, the OG also integrates into its programs other works that reach out to the ethno-cultural imaginaries of the groups of students they work with. Hence, the orchestral repertoires correspondingly feature fados, funanás, kizombas, mornas, Portuguese popular music, film soundtracks, among others.

*Teacher training*

Given the specificity of  the OG teaching methodology, there is a fundamental need to focus upon teacher training especially because the majority possess working tools fashioned by the "traditional" teaching of music that very commonly do not include an approach to teaching methodologies. This therefore spans training programs designed to provide resources for group learning and taking into consideration the profile of students displaying multiple emotional and social shortcomings and various failings in terms of academic progress. Hence, right from the outset of the project, training has acquired an increasingly important and diversified

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[16] Those students that go onto join professional training programs gain the opportunity to continue playing with the *Orquestra Geração* instrument. These students henceforth only attend the group classes of the project.

role. In the first years, training sessions were carried out by ES trained members who were in Portugal in order both to provide the working tools and to monitor the activities already under development[17]. In recent years, these trainers have been joined by educators from other national backgrounds (especially Portuguese) and from other fields beyond that of music[18].

*Internships*

The work carried out over the course of the year gets intensified at the various internships that bring together children from all of the nuclei (or at least a great majority) in conjunction with their respective teachers, as well as guest conductors, both Portuguese and Venezuelan. These camps take place during the holiday periods in the school calendar – Christmas, Carnival, Easter and Summer – during which students spend entire days with different teachers or conductors inside one of the project school buildings. These camps normally culminate in a concert for family members and the public in general.

When the OG timetable ends, during the summer holidays, some students are selected to join the *European Sistema* camp and thus bringing together some of the many other students from countries also implementing the ES methodology.

*Public presentations and community involvement*

Within this context, two other core aspects to the OG program emerge – public presentations and community involvement. The concerts in fact constitute a fundamental component to the project to the extent that they enable students to incorporate the results of their studies, rewarding them for such efforts and creating visibility for the public, their families and school and as well as for the project funders. These aim to establish invigorating moments for students and for the surrounding

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[17] In the first project year, in October 2007, a theoretical-practical seminar was run by two Venezuelan method teachers.

[18] Standing out among the examples is the training of musical directors, the orientations for pedagogical practices, conflict management, community relations, creativity, among others. We would also emphasise the collaboration with institutions such as *Nariz Vermelho* (Red Nose), SOS Racismo or the Child and Young Person Protection Commission in launching these training sessions.

community, fostering the self-esteem of participants and breaking down stigmas and ghettoized cycles of cultural practices. As detailed above, these are objectives that prove complementary to that of contributing to reducing school dropouts and social exclusion.

The concerts are not only held in school and community settings but also in emblematic concert halls such as those of the *Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation*, the *Belém Cultural Centre*, *Casa da Música*, *São Luís Theatre*, *Aula Magna of the Lisbon University Rectory*, *Olga Cadaval Cultural Centre*, *Circo Theatre in Braga*, among so many others.

Above all, in the concerts at the end of the year but also at other events held over the course of the school year, families display high levels of involvement, filling rooms that may contain audiences of over a thousand and that frequently do not represent their normal environments for cultural consumption. The involvement of the family and the surrounding community is a fact duly considered as an important aspect of the project and for which there are also purpose designed activities.

*Other activities*

Beyond the classes, concerts, training camps and family socialisation events, the OG develops other activities in parallel, even if sometimes on only an occasional basis. Drama, choir, and opera classes, study visits, and attending concerts are some examples of activities that have taken place. The *Gerajazz* group plays a prominent role, given its continuity and transversal nature to the various Lisbon Metropolitan Area groups. It holds activities fortnightly with students from various nuclei.

Today, the OG also runs experimental projects such as *GeraChoirs*, carried out with students from primary schools in Loures, and *GeraMeetings*, which bring together students from schools, philharmonic bands and other musical groups that do not belong to the OG. Furthermore, there is also the work undertaken by the wind and percussion groups – *GeraWind* – and the recently created *Geratchimpum* with percussion students.

**The organisational structure of the *Orquestra Geração***

Through to 2014, the OG institutional structure was under the responsibility of the EMCN Friends Association gaining in that year its own juridical basis through the launching of AOSJSP – the Sistema Portugal Association of Youth Symphonic Orchestras, a non-profit organisation responsible for the dissemination of the social intervention methodology through music based on the experiences of *Fundamusical Simon Bolívar* (El Sistema - Venezuela) and other methodologies. Following this objective the AOSJSP and *Fundamusical* signed a protocol, with the ambition of facilitating the exchange of teachers and pedagogical training initiatives, in 2015.

While the OG structure has displayed stability, some changes have occurred over the course of the years in keeping with the constant evolution of the project and its adaptation to the new contexts[19].

The pedagogical and administrative orientations are centralised in the EMCN and counted, throughout the project launch and in the first years, on the coordination of two Venezuelan musicians that play in the Portuguese Symphonic Orchestra and the Gulbenkian Orchestra and who carried out their studies in the ES. The pedagogical and artistic coordination of the project was attributed to these two musicians and is today under the coordination of two OG teachers – for strings (also a former ES student) and wind –, as well as a Venezuelan conductor who regularly returns to Portugal to monitor and implement the repertoire alongside the pedagogical orientations and to undertake the role of orchestra conductor.

The pedagogical coordinating teachers also sit on the current board alongside its president and a vice-president. The pedagogical or administrative orientations handed down by the OG board are implemented in the field through the musical coordinators who are responsible for the running of each nucleus. This responsibility implies articulation with the school coordinators, a function performed by the group teachers responsible for organising the work of the Orchestras in conjunction with the musical coordinators (with the exception of the Vialonga case where the coordinator combines both these functions). These two figures – one from the school and the other from

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[19] The organisational structure organogram for the OG features in Chapter 5.

AOSJSP – ensure the coordination between the various project participants, ranging from the Orchestra board to the school board, the Orchestra teachers through to the students and their families. Intermediate coordination plays a fundamental role in this project through channelling information to the different levels of decision making and implementation. There is also, at the majority of the nuclei, the role of Orchestra Leader, responsible for accompanying students in the orchestral practice and in any out of school activities.

In general terms, each nucleus today deploys teachers for each string instrument (with some doubling up in accordance with different timetable requirements), teachers for the eight wind instruments, a percussion teacher as well as an ear training, sight singing and choir teacher. These members of staff are generally young, qualified and frequently with diversified professional lives. Given that their commitments depend on the restriction placed on the number of hours provided by the Ministry of Education, the majority of teachers do not work full time for the project.

Numerous meetings take place over the year either for decision making and distributing information at the school level or about the musical work itself. These range from plenary meetings of all involved teachers, coordinators and directions to meetings at the school level with parents/guardians of the students. Furthermore, the work is also monitored through the visits made by the pedagogical coordinators to the Orchestra nuclei as well as the reports on project implementation submitted annually to the Municipal Councils.

As stated above, the financial stability of the OG depends to a great extent on the support provided by the host municipalities and the Ministry of Education. However, other partners have had a fundamental role not only for setting up nuclei but also for equipping them and launching specific projects. Further, the Metropolitan Council of Lisbon, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the EDP Foundation and the PT Foundation (meeting 15% of costs up to 2012), the University of Lisbon, BNP Paribas, the Share Foundation, Antral Cipan, D. Pedro V Association, Rodoviária de Lisboa, among others, have been providing support in different ways and are associated with the project over the long term.

**Planning the future**

The program was designed for implementation over three years with the first focused on the introduction of string instruments followed by wind instruments in the second before launching percussion instruments in the third[20]. Furthermore, there were plans for development spanning four phases with the first targeting project implementation at schools with students through to the ninth grade. The second phase, which began in 2012/2013, involved the founding of the Municipal and Intermunicipal Orchestras[21]. A third phase includes the launching of regional orchestras, assuming project dissemination at the national level, while the fourth phase will establish a national orchestra.

While the ES methodology shapes the OG, the latter does display its own specific features and undergoes constant adaptation to the new contexts. Furthermore, in addition to the activities staged on the initiative of the project's board, the Portuguese social and economic context also contains some particular characteristics.

From the outset, the dimension, sustainability and material and physical conditions of ES are only possible due to the absolute support of successive governments and continuous financial donations of very substantial amounts. Furthermore, the school system, not only referring to the general curriculum but also to the specific specialist music teaching coexists with and complements the ES. This particularly reflects on the number of hours dedicated to orchestral practice that is only possible because classes usually finish in Venezuela at lunchtime, leaving the remainder of the day to focus on music. On the other hand, the fact that ES students in have music class timetables totalling 20 to 24 hours per week is easily accepted by their parents which would be impossible to happen in Portugal.

These are some of the many examples that ensure OG cannot just copy and paste the ES wholesale, but must rather advance with adjustments and adaptations in keeping with the characteristics of its target public, and in accordance with its multiple restrictions as regards the annual lack of certainty over sources of funding.

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[20] As stated above, this distribution fundamentally derives from budgetary reasons.
[21] As existing in Amadora Council (Geração da Amadora Municipal Orchestra), in Loures Council (*Geração BoraNessa* Loures Municipal Orchestra), in Lisbon Council (Geração de Lisboa Municipal Orchestra) and that which brings together the municipalities of Sintra, Sesimbra and Oeiras (Geração do Atlântico Intermunicipal Orchestra).

Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the OG does provide personal, social and academic paths that would frequently be deemed improbable especially when taking into consideration the focus on the social dimension of its activities. The clearest expression of these outcomes derives from the entrance of students into professional music schools, as well as higher education programs in Portugal and internationally.

The success of the OG project has been recognised by various entities and has already been distinguished as one of the initiatives included within the list of the 50 Best Practices of Europe[22], has been the object of numerous research works and emerged as a recognisable brand to the mass public. In fact, given the recognition of the work already carried out, one member of its board and pedagogical coordination team was this year invited to join the board of *Sistema Europe*.

However, the project still faces some important challenges, especially as regards its national dissemination, its financial sustainability and the stability of its human resources. We may thus state that there is still a long way to go to consolidate its structure and define its identity in keeping with a methodology that, while embodying a set of main characteristics, does not avoid the multiple adaptations to the particularities posed by the Portuguese context.

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[22] Information available at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/projects/best-practices/portugal/2686, accessed on 18 May 2016.

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# Chapter 3

**METHODOLOGY**

*GRAÇA BOAL-PALHEIROS, ANA LUÍSA VELOSO, ANA ISABEL CRUZ, PEDRO SANTOS BOIA*

## Introduction

This chapter presents and details the methodologies applied to study the *Orquestra Geração* (OG hereafter). Adopting different theoretical perspectives raised various research questions requiring the application of diverse methodological approaches within the framework of exploring the case of OG – a complex and multidimensional case. This correspondingly sought to grasp the multifaceted reality of this musical, social and pedagogical project and deepen knowledge about the intervening participants, that continually interact with each other, expressing and confronting different points of view as well as sharing rich social and musical experiences and feelings that converge around a single, common objective: growing, while making music together.

One aspect worth highlighting is how the interaction established over the course of this study between team members, with different  academic backgrounds in the social and human sciences, enabled the discussion of different perspectives thereby developing the individual  look of each researcher alongside a collective view about the OG. To a certain extent, the interactions reflected and accompanied the development of the project over the course of the time and space defined by the study, ensuring researchers grew with the orchestra and developed their views on the multiple interactions established by the OG participants – founders, mentors, sponsors, coordinators, teachers and maestros, students and their respective families.

The description and the justification of the methodologies shall follow the approximate chronological order of their application throughout the study. The selection of methodologies stemmed from the needs encountered by researchers in the successive phases of the study as they explored the complexity of this project in their fieldwork and related their reflections with the literature review. Thus, this chapter presents the case study as the general methodology followed by diverse

methods and techniques for data collection: documental analysis and project mapping; questionnaire survey of the teachers, interviews with the founders, coordinators, music teachers, students and their families; and as well as observation and recording of the musical practices taking place within the contexts of classes, rehearsals, camps and concerts.

**Research questions**

The two pillars of this research are the socially inclusive reach of the OG project – the possible relationships between music and social inclusion developed through the orchestra and the processes of socialisation that occur within its framework – and the questions emerging from the implemented music pedagogy, which are determinant to the success of the project and to the musical, social and educational growth of the young musicians. Thus, there are various research questions that this study seeks to explore:

i) What principles prevailed over the founding of the OG, what objectives were set and what results did the project aim to achieve?

ii) How do participants deal with the probable tensions between the objectives of social inclusion and musical excellence?

iii) How did the project implementation and coordination process take place at social, musical and educational levels?

iv) What were the social and musical interactions established among participants through orchestral practice?

v) What impact has the project had on the participants and their immediate environment (school, family, peers, and friends)?

vi) What pedagogical approaches have been developed to achieve the goals of social inclusion and musical excellence? What reflections have these approaches had on the personal and musical development of the young students?

vii) What perceptions do the young participants hold about the benefits of musical learning on their lives?

**Justifying the methodology**

In order to explore and understand these multiple questions, a 'multi-method' approach was adopted (Robson, 2011) with complementary methodological options: an initial quantitative approach followed by a qualitative study, together deemed appropriate in terms of the study objectives and phases and were constantly articulated with the theoretical perspectives.

Below, we shall describe and justify the research methods, techniques and instruments applied as well as the context, the participants, the procedures of data collection and their interpretation. The design and procedures of some specific methods and their respective analysis are presented in the following chapter: the two models of analysis for the organisational and systemic structure of the OG (ch. 5), a narrative by one of the study team members in a dual role as an OG member and researcher (ch. 7), and the sociological portraits of the young participants (ch. 8).

The general research methodology is that of the ***case study** – Orquestra Geração* – an empirical study of a specific phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 2009). This seeks to grasp the nature of the case, its specific features, activities and ways of functioning; its historical, physical and sociocultural contexts; and as well as other cases within the 'main case' (Stake, 2008).

In some phases of this research, the data informs the theory within the framework of the *Grounded Theory* approach. This strategy highlights the processual and interactive nature of this research, thus, the 'need for systematic interactions between data and ideas as well as the properties of the research design and data analysis, which remain in constant dialogue' (Atkinson & Delamont, 2008, p. 301).

The qualitative approach sought to return deep and profound knowledge about the phenomena studied. Triangulation – contrasting the data collected through the utilisation of various methods – responded to the needs of listening to multiple voices, in different places and with different perspectives on the same reality. The

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interpretation and meaning were central to this research and assume that the same activity might be grasped in different fashions by different participants, taking into consideration the ways in which they interrelate with the various phenomena that make up this case study. In this sense, subjectivity is both assumed and negotiated (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

In the initial phase of research, necessarily exploratory, the ***mapping*** of the OG took place across its diverse territories and institutions (local government, schools) in which the project takes place, and that enabled the identification of the diversity of its intervening actors. ***Documentary analysis*** was also carried out on the official documentation produced since the launch of the project and provided by the OG Board, including the identification of the sponsors (official or others) and of other social intervention projects implemented in the same populations. This documentation – annual activity plans, timetables and lists of participants, contacts for schools and teachers, internal regulations and reports and musical repertoire lists – was analysed to identify the structure and means of project functioning and to prepare the fieldwork.

To obtain a deeper approach, four OG nuclei were selected in accordance with the following criteria: geographic location; characteristics of host neighbourhoods; and source of financing (public or private). Three of these nuclei are situated on the outskirts of Lisbon, the location of the project headquarters and its major geographic area of implementation, and another nucleus is in the north of Portugal: Miguel Torga (Amadora) and Vialonga, the first nuclei set up in 2007; Apelação, from 2009, a neighbourhood identified by the directors as particularly difficult for project implementation, and Amarante, from 2010, which belongs to a different geographic context[23].

In the second phase, we applied the following methods: ***direct observation*** of the ongoing musical activities (instrument and music theory classes, ensemble music, rehearsals and concerts); ***non-structured interviews*** with the project mentors and directors held in different phases in order to better accompany the project's growth and development; ***semi-structured interviews*** with music teachers, coordinators and

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[23] Cf. Chapter 2.

other persons responsible for the project's pedagogical dimensions; interviews with students, which  originated *sociological portraits*; and *focus group interviews* with the parents and guardians of students. Although not planned at the outset, a small *quasi-experimental study* was also carried out in the Vialonga school in order to better understand the possible relationship between students' participation in the orchestra and their academic results given that this is the only school with integrated music lessons and, therefore, with homogenous classes of OG students.

**Description of the methods and procedures**

*Questionnaire for music teachers*

In the 2012-13 academic year, we carried out a **questionnaire**[24] survey with the 94 music teachers teaching in 13 of the 17 OG nuclei. The questionnaire, with open and closed questions, had 37 questions organised into two sections: the first attempted to characterised the profile of the music teachers (gender, age, academic and complementary education and training, professional qualifications and experience, instrumental practice and musical preferences); the second section inquired about the teachers' pedagogical experiences and practices in the project and their opinion as regards the quality and appropriateness of the teaching methods and materials, the musical repertoire and the project in general.

The questionnaire was placed online for a three-month period with music coordinators and teachers informed via email. The quantitative and qualitative data collected were then analysed by statistical software (IBM SPSS Statistics) and by qualitative content analysis, respectively.

*Observation of classes, rehearsals and concerts*

The period dedicated to fieldwork was adapted to the school calendar and participant availability. In the visits to the nuclei, carried out by various researchers over a two year, observation took place of music theory classes, individual instrument

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[24] In the appendix.

classes, study camps, instrumental groups and orchestra rehearsals, and concerts. These *observations* enabled the gathering of material on real contexts (Robson, 2011) and included *field notes* and *video records*, some of which were subject to analysis. The data incorporate not only descriptions of actions, interactions and dialogues but also moments of reflection by the observers revolving around their readings of events occurring during their periods of observation.

The *in situ* visits took on an ethnographic character through field notes and informal conversations, with researchers accompanying the participants in their practices, interactions and discourses and experiencing the rehearsal sites and zones inhabited, which together adds a great depth of understanding of both the project and its intervening actors.

*Individual and group interviews of participants*

Almost all of the interviews carried out with OG participants were individually based. We opted mainly for *semi-structured interviews* with *open-ended questions* (Schmidt, 2004)*,* which were answered by music teachers, nucleus coordinators, school directors, maestros, mediators and students. *Non-structured interviews* took place with founders, mentors, directors, national coordinators and OG sponsors. We also held *focus group interviews* with students' families (Kamberelis and Dimitriades, 2008). All the interviews were sound recorded and then subsequently subject to transcription, analysis and categorisation.

The interviews held with OG directors, school group directors, nuclei coordinators and music teachers approached transversal themes to those responsible for the project, including: its history, objectives, organisation and project structure, positioning on the tension between social inclusion and musical excellence, involvement in project implementation and perceptions around the impact generated for academic achievement and student development.

The OG directors and coordinators were also asked about the criteria used for the recruitment of teachers. The school directors received questions about their relationships with the schools and with the OG project and their perceptions about

how the orchestra interacts with the school community and with the other projects ongoing at that school.

Instrument and music theory teachers were asked about their own academic and professional backgrounds, the characteristics of the subjects they teach, the pedagogies they use and their relationships with the students, with the project and the different subject fields. This analysis focused upon the teachers' profiles, their teaching strategies in the classroom and their opinions about the different subjects.

Some themes had been previously defined while others emerged over the course of the analysis. The categorisation of the responses revealed the emerging themes that underwent adjustment over the course of this process. In order to better grasp the OG music teaching process, content analysis of the interviews was duly complemented by observations in the classrooms, music camps and concerts.

The students' families interview script spanned the characterisation of those interviewed (professional and musical experiences) and included the following items: perceptions of the relationships that the pupils maintain with the school and with the orchestra; their perceptions of any eventual transformations taking place in students and their families; the overall image that they have of the project (including its management, teachers, repertoire and orchestra concerts); and in what ways they see their participation in the OG project as an opportunity for a professional future for their children. These interviews took place inside the schools and the responses were categorised according to their relevant themes[25].

Tables 1 and 2 present a summary description of all the fieldwork undertaken.

| Position | No. interviews |
|---|---|
| Members of the Board (Wagner Dinis and Helena Lima) | 3 |
| Mentors (Jorge Miranda) | 1 |
| Sponsors (Representatives of the FCG and EDP Foundations) | 2 |
| Former National Coordinators | 1 |
| National Pedagogical Coordinators | 2 |
| Maestro / National Artistic Coordinator | 1 |

Table 1. Summary of general interviews

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[25] Cf. Chapter 4.

| Position | No. interviews |
|---|---|
| Director of the Amarante Cultural Centre | 1 |
| Directors of Schools | 4 |
| Nucleus Coordinators | 4 |
| School Coordinators | 2 |
| Music Teachers (Instrument and Music Theory) | 23 (19 + 4) |
| Participants (children and adolescents) | 54 |
| Parents and Guardians | 6 |
| Mediator | 1 |
| Orchestra employees | 2 |

Table 2. Summary of Interviews at selected nuclei

*Interviews with young participants and sociological portraits*

As already detailed, semi-structured interviews were held with young OG participants; some of these were subject to a process of categorisation in order to enable a first approach to the transformative power of music and the ways in which this might eventually be occurring within the OG framework (Veloso, 2015).

Based upon these interviews, we drafted *sociological portraits* (Lahire, 2002), a methodology adapted in a flexible fashion so as to provide scope for the voices, views and experiences of these young musicians as well as operationally attaining an outline of their life histories, specifically the key moments on their trajectories and respective processes of socialisation and internalisation of their dispositions[26].

The selection of the interviewees took place in accordance with the following criteria: diversity of ages and school backgrounds (general education and specialist music education) and territorially distinct contexts (Metropolitan Area of Lisbon and Amarante). The interview script sought to obtain data on the different socialisation contexts of participants, especially: family and kinship; school; eventual participation in the labour market; place of residence; friends and affective circles and, finally, the OG. Data was gathered to characterise the family household and the school record of the young respondents. We approached their experiences and views on the project, the eventual impact of orchestra participation on their lives as well as their discourses about their future professional and life projects. In certain cases, the data gathering ran two interview sessions in order to obtain greater depth about the respondent trajectories and clarify and deepen certain themes.

[26] Cf. Chapter 8.

During the process of drafting a total of thirty-five *sociological portraits,* team members exchanged information, and the portraits were validated by at least two researchers and therefore resulted from a collective process. This then proceeded with transversal analysis of all the portraits, seeking to detect shared and regular aspects among them as well as unique features through the categorisation of the relevant aspects.

*Quasi-experimental study*

The data collection process registered the opinions (statements) of various OG members (directors, coordinators, and teachers) about improvements to the academic performance of orchestra participants in relation to other school students in which the nuclei were located. While this topic did not feature among the initial research objectives, we carried out a quasi-experimental study (Tuckman, 2005), on the academic results of OG participant students, following its proposal by the research consultant, In the EB 2.3 Vialonga School, we gathered and compared academic performance data (grades and pass rates), over the course of five academic years (from 2009/10 to 2013/14), for two classes belonging to the OG and two classes that did not[27].

The variety of methodological approaches applied in this study emerged from the desire to respond to the initially raised research questions and correspondingly gather diverse and different data with different methods. This also and above all sought to *observe* situations of musical practice involving young musicians, teachers and maestros, and *inquire* of the participants about their opinions regarding the project and its implementation, and extending a voice to its core participants: children and young people.

The following chapters present the analysis and the discussion of the results within the framework of deepening the knowledge and better understanding the multifaceted reality of this social, musical and educational project.

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[27] Cf. Chapter 4.

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# INTERWEAVING PERSPECTIVES ON ORQUESTRA GERAÇÃO

PART II

# Chapter 4

**THE *ORQUESTRA GERAÇÃO* PROJECT – A PERSPECTIVE BASED ON MULTIPLE NARRATIVES**

*ANA ISABEL CRUZ, GRAÇA MOTA, JORGE ALEXANDRE COSTA*


**Introduction**

This chapter covers some of the questions that represented central concerns of the team since we began researching *Orquestra Geração* (OG) and that, over the course of study development, proved determinant to our perceptions of this multifaceted and rich project: determining the profile of the OG music teachers (questionnaire), hearing all of the key figures involved in the construction of the project in order to identify the terms of its origins and subsequent development (interviews) and giving a voice to the parents and guardians of the children and young persons playing in the orchestra (focus group interviews). As described in the introductory chapter, the most significant actors in this project, the young musicians, were subject to particular attention from the research team through the construction of the sociological portraits that feature in chapter 8.


**Teachers general profiles – The Questionnaire**

*Constructing the sample*

The questionnaire, as one of our initial information collecting instruments, targeted a specific group of OG music teachers. The questionnaire contained a total of 37 questions[28] (with *closed*, *open* and *dual* questions) on a diversity of topics – *gender*, *age*, *personal and family level of education, academic training, complementary training, professional experience, pedagogical practices, musical tastes and practices, functions in the project, and opinions on the pedagogical methods, repertoires and the overall project*.

The questionnaire script, made available online, was distributed through a personal email sent to each teacher and the various orchestra coordinators, making up

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[28] See appendix I.

a total of 94 music teachers (total universe) undertaking educational roles at 13 of the 17 OG nuclei operational in the 2012/13 academic year. This did not include the nuclei located in Coimbra, Lisboa 3, Mirandela and Murça as they were just at the beginning of the implementation process[29]. Throughout an approximate three month period, the OG music teachers had the opportunity to complete the aforementioned questionnaire. There was a total of 49 questionnaires completed (no questionnaires rejected or annulled), corresponding to 52.1% of the universe in question. The different data collected (both quantitative and qualitative) were processed/analysed through IBM SPSS Statistics software and a content analysis process.

This instrument enabled the observation of, among other aspects[30], the following two features: 1. the profile of OG music teachers (sex and age; musical qualifications and OG teaching experience; instrumental practices and musical preferences) and 2. their opinions about the didactic materials and the repertoire, as well as their considerations about the positive and negative aspects of the project itself.

*Summary of the most relevant data*

Of the 49 OG music teachers who completed the questionnaire, 30 taught the subjects of instrument, orchestra and section (61.2%), 11 of instrument and section (22.4%), 3 of instrument (6.1%), 1 of instrument, orchestra, section and ear training and sight singing (2%) and 4 of ear training and sight singing (8.2%).

As may be seen in Figures 1 and 2, there was a broadly equal distribution among the male and female teachers with their ages falling in the majority into the twenty-four to thirty five year old age group (83.7% of teachers who responded to the questionnaire). The OG music teachers were predominantly young in age.

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[29] Cf. Table 2 in chapter 2.
[30] To access the document with full analysis of every questionnaire item, please go to: https://cipem.files.wordpress.com/2007/01/04-anc3a1lise-do-inquc3a9rito.pdf
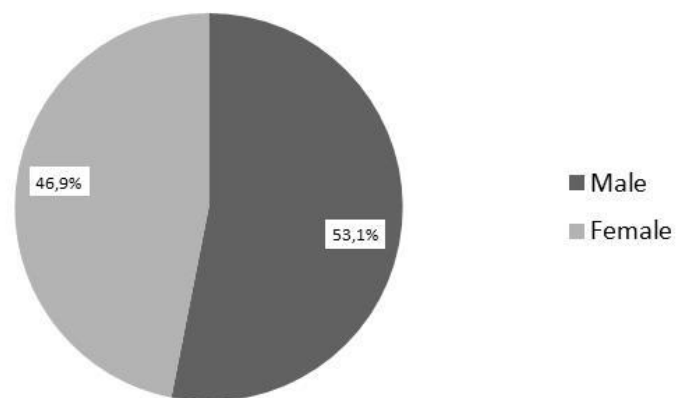
Figure 1. Distribution of teachers by sex
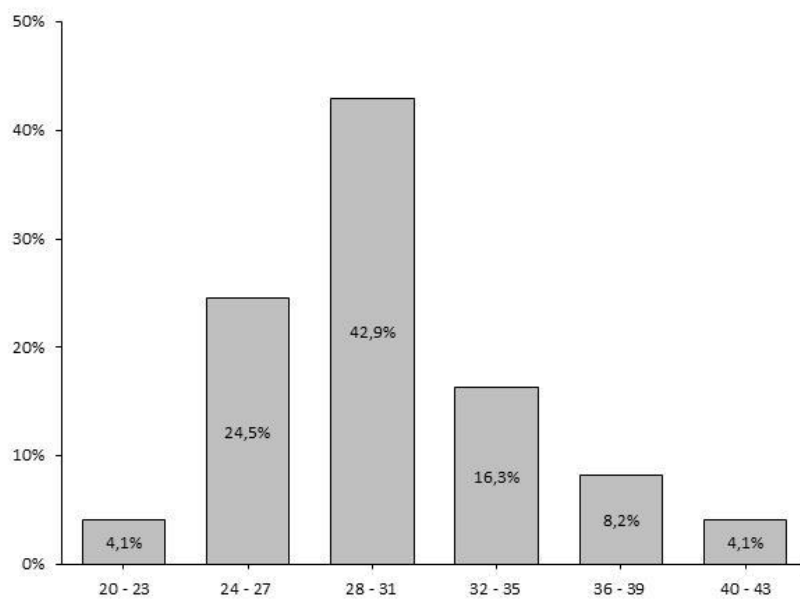


Figure 2. Distribution of teachers by age group

Over 90% of the teacher sample presented higher education academic qualifications (Figure 3). As regards the qualification type, these were mostly either in instrumental performance or in instrument teaching.
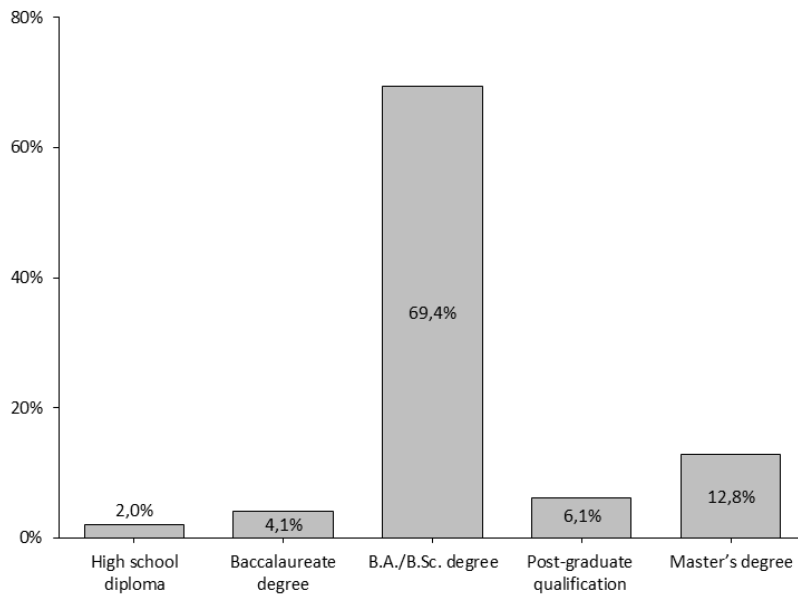
Figure 3. Distribution of teachers by level of education

On the date of completing the questionnaire, 32.7% of music teachers, in fact the most relevant group, had worked at the OG for three years, which corresponds to half of the project's own duration (see Figure 4).
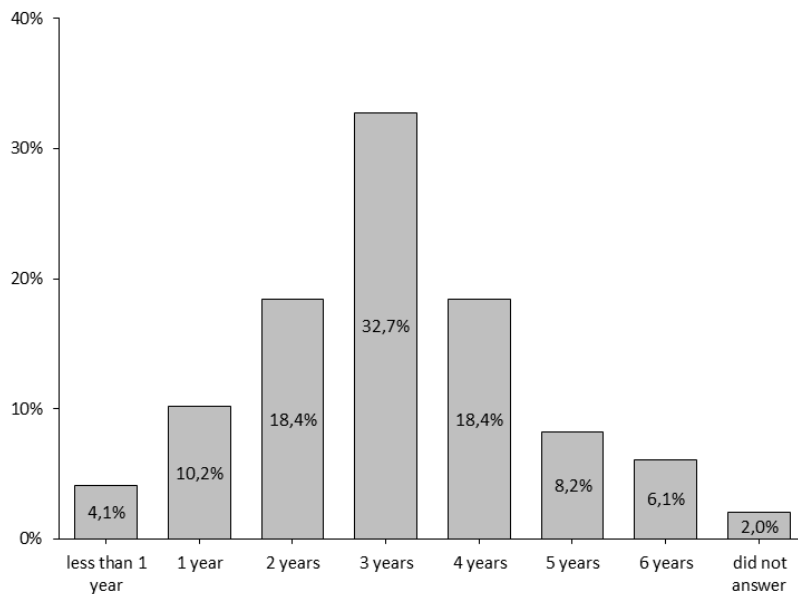


Figure 4. Length of service at OG

A large majority of teachers, around 88%, did not have full timetables (see Figure 5). This implied the need to look for work in various other schools thus preventing a full time commitment to the project. Presently, this situation remains unchanged[31].
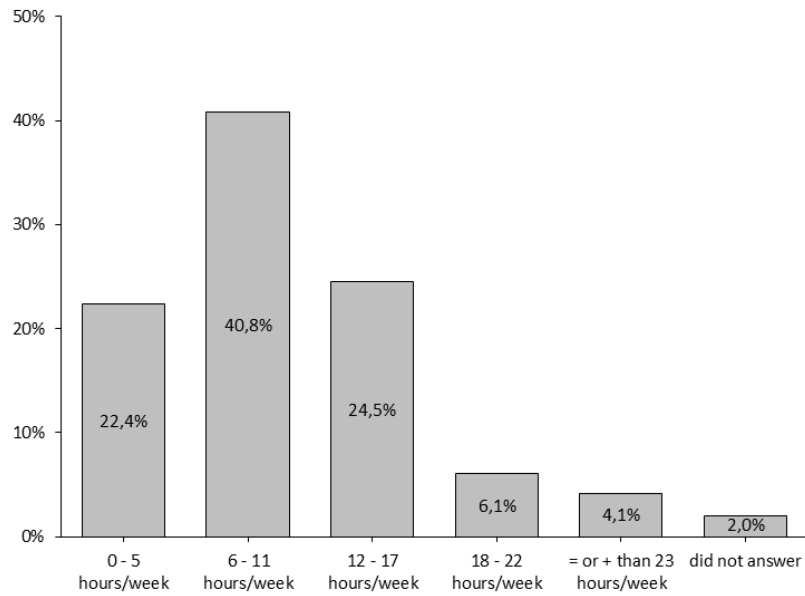


Figure 5. Number of OG hours taught weekly
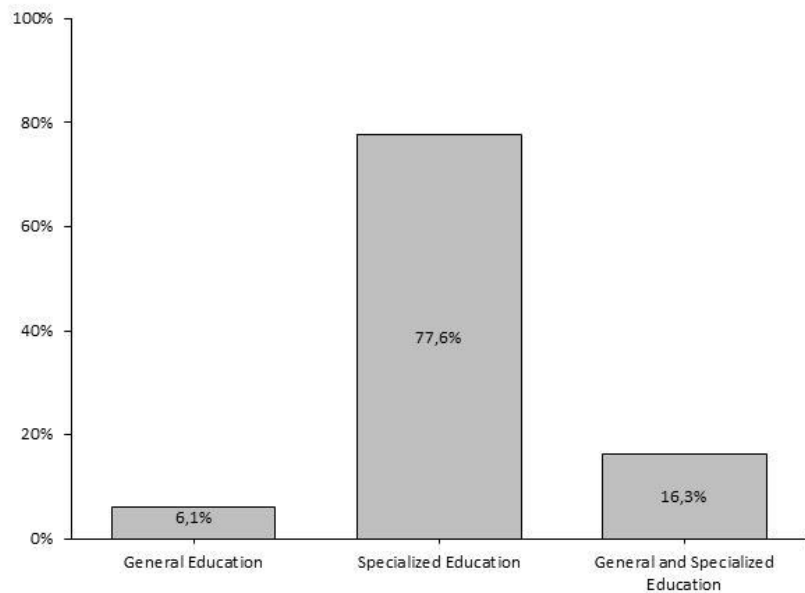


Figure 6. Type of teaching environment

[31] Cf. Chapter 2.

The OG music teachers were in the majority specialist music teachers, 77.6%, and with only 6.1% coming from general teaching backgrounds. The remainder, 16.3%, taught both types of class (Figure 6).

As regards the *musical habits* of the OG music teachers, where listening and performing emerge on identical terms in a sort of *ceremony of pleasure*[32], we may observe the following.

In terms of instrumental practice outside of the OG project, 75.5% responded affirmatively. Figure 7 sets out the respective distribution by type of musical group.
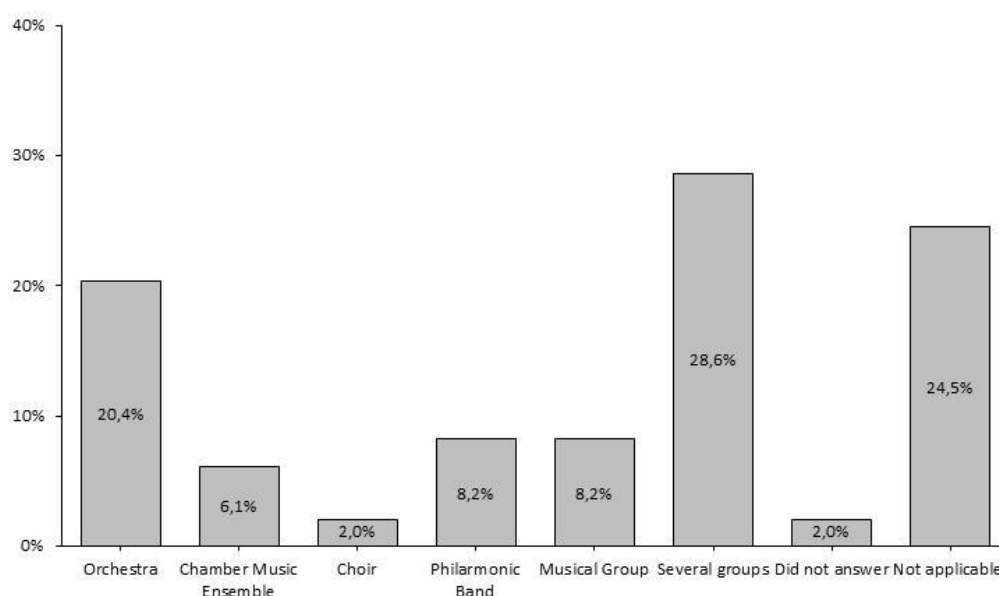


Figure 7. Type of musical group

The OG music teachers expressed a preference for playing high art music (89.7%), with 30.5% referring to *proximate*[33] musical genres (jazz and world music) and 12.1% *distant* musical genres (pop, rock and others). As regards their listening habits,

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[32] On this issue, see the work by Antoine Hennion *Music Lovers. Taste as Perfomance*, published in the journal *Theory, Culture & Society* in October 2001.
[33] The designations of *proximate* and *distant* do not contain any hierarchical intent and only seek to highlight genres that, in keeping with the complexity of their oral and written musical codes are either approximate to or distanced from erudite music.

98% of teachers stated they listened to erudite music, 95.9% refered to *proximate* and 71.4% to *distant* musical genres.

Such results would suggest that OG teachers tend to be more eclectic in relation to the music they listen to than the music they play.

As regards the second relevant facet detailed above, namely the quality and appropriateness of the teaching materials to the teaching contexts and the repertoire, we may note that the percentages for the quality and the appropriateness of the didactic materials are broadly the same (see Table 1).

The percentage of teachers who do not have any opinions about the quality of the didactic materials (35%) also proves the same as those holding no opinions about their appropriateness (35%). Furthermore, the percentage of teachers stating that the didactic materials hold interest (35%) borders on the same number terming them as appropriate (37%).

| | not of interest | little interest | no opinion | interesting | very interesting |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | inappropriate | poorly appropriate | no opinion | appropriate | very appropriate |
| teaching books and methods [interest] | 3 (6%) | 9 (18%) | 17 (35%) | 17 (35%) | 3 (6%) |
| teaching books and methods [appropriateness] | 6 (10%) | 6 (12%) | 17 (35%) | 18 (37%) | 3 (6%) |
| orchestra repertoire [interest] | 0 | 5 (10%) | 4 (8%) | 35 (71%) | 5 (10%) |
| orchestra repertoire [appropriateness] | 0 | 11 (22%) | 4 (8%) | 32 (65%) | 2 (4%) |

Table 1. Interest and appropriateness of the teaching materials and repertoire

A similar situation emerges in terms of the relationship between the quality of the repertoire and its appropriateness. We may here observe a small difference between the category *very interesting* (on 10%) and *very appropriate* (on 4%). The OG music teachers thus expressed better opinions about the repertoire played by the OG than about the didactic materials in usage.

Finally, the question about the positive aspects of the OG project, these teachers above all emphasised: the importance of issues around social inclusion; the importance of promoting personal and collective values – the attitudes dimension; and the idea that the children might thereby gain access to another type of musical repertoire and thereby expand their musical preferences.

As regards the negative aspects of the OG project, the teachers highlighted: difficulties in the capacity to involve children in the project in terms of accepting greater levels of responsibility; problems with coordinating all of the human and organisational components of the project; and the lack of time dedicated to musical teaching. However, this last aspect proved to be somewhat ambiguous given that there is a lack of clarity over whether the reference is to improvements in terms of instrumental performance or to the orchestral competences that are effectively the major target of this project.

**Outlines for a possible pedagogical profile**

As the music teacher questionnaire confirmed, in order to develop a team working dynamic, the OG employs young teachers, recent graduates and with little experience, a joint option by both the management and the pedagogical coordination: "we have the advantage of hiring very young people, that have just finished their graduate degrees and are open minded" (Wagner Dinis, Director, 02-05-2012). Despite such efforts, not all of the teachers display a suitable profile for the social and methodological characteristics of the project. As regards this issue, the sub-director stated that these young teachers "are not minimally prepared to teach group classes but, in the OG, they have to assume the role of a conductor. Many things get learned through experience" (Helena Lima, sub-director, 25-03-2014).

In order to offset this lack of pedagogical experience, the management has been holding and promoting a range of training opportunities for the teachers:

> *We have been investing in teacher training, particularly in group teaching, orchestral and section teaching but also very much in the individual classes, how to captivate the pupils (…). We must have that capacity to captivate young*

> *children with this representing our prime objective and, hence, the importance of improving teacher training.* (Wagner Dinis, director, 02-05-2012)

The context of the nuclei, the student characteristics and the orchestra focused teaching methodology on occasion ended up playing a role of natural selection of the teachers, favouring those who best adapt to the project's social objectives and to team work:

> *I have a lot of pride in my team… our team of teachers. (…) We were the first in the project, we did not know anything about it, we simply had to improvise (…) All of the decisions were always jointly taken, with the help of Helena Lima. Without her, this simply would not have been possible. We work here as a team and there is no other way for this to function. (…) Of course, there's always one teacher who has a slightly different manner of thinking but… but the bulk of the team works for the same cause... Those who saw that this was not quite what they wanted to be doing, left and made a place for others. (Miguel Torga Coordinator, 26-03-2014)*

The national coordinator defines the ideal profile of an OG teacher closely in keeping with the Venezuelan reality. This teacher must hold leadership and initiative capacities and not be limited to the role of an instrument teacher. He or she must be available for performing different tasks and in full awareness of what such a teaching-learning process involves:

> *We all have to be maestros, that is, the masters of our classes and we must know how to lead a rehearsal, how to manage a team, how to speak, how to take decisions (…), we have to be very active, we have to be capable of doing everything (…). The ideal is that the teacher is an orchestra conductor, a section teacher, a violin teacher and an ear training and sight singing teacher. If you have all that in a teacher, then you've got a fantastic teacher.* (National Coordinator, 7-05-2013)

**Motivations and objectives of the OG project | Duality: musical excellence *vs.* social inclusion**

Within the framework of the original Geração project, there were no initial plans to deploy music for social intervention. As mentioned in chapter 2, the opportunity ended up emerging on the suggestion of the former president of the executive council of the National Conservatory School of Music (EMCN). Furthermore,

the conjunction of the Amadora Municipal Council, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (FCG) and the EMCN proved determinant to the project success:

> *There were three key roles here. First, the relationship that the Council [of Amadora] had, at the time, [with the community]. (…) This relationship created a socially favourable environment to these things. Therefore, the role of the Council was central. After that came the knowledge, knowing about music, because all of this is very pretty, I tell you: it has to be the music in the service of social transformation, but it has to be music, this cannot be trash. (…) There has to be excellence. Really, this is what Wagner, Helena Lima, the Conservatory brought (…). And after there was another input with the institutional commitment and the excellence that the Gulbenkian also has (…) and that made us able to reach further.* (Jorge Miranda, mentor, 9-05-2013)

The discourses of the mentor, coordinators and sponsors all highlight some of the ideas that regulated the development of the OG and that reflect a certain ambivalence about the way the two major objectives of the project – social inclusion and musical excellence – are assumed. Sometimes, these two objectives would seem distant or even opposing, highlighting the primacy of the social and educational character of the project in relation to which musical development appears as a secondary objective:

> *In terms of education, we are acting on the knowing how to be, knowing how to behave. (…) We are acting in a structuring way. (…) We are talking about adolescents and we are dealing with people who have not closed their processes of socialisation or the development of their personalities. (…) Doing this at a time when these two things are under construction is for them profoundly transformative. We don't intervene in who they are because it is they who do or do not make this transformation. Therefore, this is the great space of freedom in which we are here intervening, clearly working on social mobility, (…) improving the educational path, the competences of persons and above all we are fostering people who are citizens. And that can be done, now, with music, with the orchestra.* (Jorge Miranda, mentor, 9-05-2013)

> *In an initial phase, we are not teaching music, we are creating structures, strengthening values, nurturing strong ties with the kids… In this collective practice, we strongly boosted just what are the values of self-esteem, of security, of companionship and creating a great family which is a great community that is, in itself, the orchestra… This is a complete transformation of a system that helps to develop not only great musicians but especially great persons.* (National Coordinator, 7-05-2013)

*We understand, here at the Gulbenkian Foundation, that artistic practices, taught, worked in the care of good professionals, are able to bring us, for the children and for publics in traditionally repetitive cycles of vulnerability and exclusion, some competences, specifically team working, discipline, respect for timetables, which may contribute to these kids then becoming better students and better professionals one day later on.* (Luisa Valle, representative of FCG, sponsor, 27-03-2014)

*It's very difficult to be perfect: there is always something left behind, either artistic excellence or social excellence. What do we opt for as the right posture? If this is a social inclusion project, well then our priority has to be social inclusion – irrespective of whether or not we are able to attain artistic excellence, irrespective of the child getting into OG being able to become or not a great musician!* (…) *In the projects we support, we want to see excellence in social resolution and not in artistic performance.* (Margarida Pinto Correia, representative of EDP, sponsor, 13-03-2015)

On other occasions, these two objectives – social inclusion and musical excellence – get described as complementary, assuming that, in order to achieve social inclusion through music, there has to be musical development and, eventually, musical excellence:

*Music is music, it is not any old rubbish. Therefore, if we wish to use music [for social development] so then it must be music, mustn't it? It cannot just be… nonsense, a sub-product, it cannot be noise, it cannot be anything that is not controlled* (…)*. It has to be real, it has to be true.* (…) *If it's not true, if it's not something that really seriously motivates the students, it loses them.* (Jorge Miranda, mentor, 9-05-2013)

*The fact of being a project dedicated to unfavourable backgrounds does not mean that the musical level has to be low. No, it has to be to the contrary… the kids have to have an opportunity to access teaching of the very highest standard…* (National Coordinator, 7-05-2013)

*We perceive how the artistic practices may have an absolutely fundamental role in an education process.* (…) *We also realize that if we want them to be truly effective, people have to work with professionals and not in any logic of free time occupation.* (Luísa Valle, representative of FCG, sponsor, 27-03-2014)

*Obviously, as this takes place through musical learning, the better they become, the more tools we are giving them to be something in life.* (Margarida Pinto Correia, representative of EDP, sponsor, 13-02-2015)

*It's complicated… because, firstly, we must never forget, and Wagner always makes a point of reminding us (…): 'Oh, don't go forgetting that this is a job of social inclusion!' (…) However, on the other side: 'You have to play really well in Porto.' Well… how do we go about managing this? (…) We always have to be working with both, with the social integration dimension and the musical dimension, together. I, at least, do so. (…) I can only be proud of my students, and proud of the work we have been doing! Because this is a work of excellence across two points: because we are changing the lives of these children, both personally and musically, and there are students that are studying music and they're no longer just a handful in number either.* (Miguel Torga Coordinator, 26-03-2014)

**The (re)construction of an identity**

In order to CONSTRUCT its identity, the OG has made recourse to the guiding principles of the *Venezuelan National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras* (*El Sistema*). *El Sistema* (ES) frequently gets raised in the discourses of the founders: as an inspiration, as a pedagogical reference and as a model to be attained. This presence also takes effect through the ES connected musicians that collaborate with the project (whether continuously or sporadically). They have been cooperating with the OG from the beginning both in teacher training, and in the coordination and supervision of teaching and orchestral activities, as well as in the adaptation of pedagogical materials. These musicians identify themselves completely with the ES, where they acquired a large part of their musical training:

*I did all my training in Venezuela, in the Sistema, I began in the Symphonic Youth Orchestra of Caracas… This is a fantastic orchestra, I began there (…) Really, my strongest training took place in Venezuela. I am very grateful to Venezuela for this training that is fantastic and give us many grounds to believe in our dreams, in our future. It really is a fantastic environment, an environment that is so very productive and above all constructive in every aspect.* (National Coordinator, 7-05-2013)

It is interesting to note how the ES is present in the discourses not only as a pedagogical *praxis* but also as a model to be attained, especially at the level of the

project board and coordination, as becomes clear in the following statement from the national coordinator:

> *We have had meetings, have shown [to the teachers] the video of Venezuela, in which they see the reality and, step by step, they get to understand what it's like.*

> *Now, we will visit Venezuela, (…) with the ten coordinators. (…) It is important that they all go so that they see just what this reality is like. (…) For me, it is a privilege to work with the [Venezuelan] teachers as everything we can learn from them contributes to our own growing process.*

> *We have a handbook that is all very well produced (…) organized by levels; (…), the music pieces are chosen so that one can start a group music class from scratch.* (National Coordinator, 7-05-2013)

While there is the unavoidable influence of the ES, the discourses nevertheless reflect the existence of a latent conflict between the Venezuelan project and the conditions and realities of the Portuguese project: financial limitations; shorter timetables; dispersion/low levels of interactions between the different nuclei; smaller number of students per nucleus; teachers with different backgrounds and with different teaching timetables, which fosters not only the potential for divergences in practices but also diverse levels of involvement with the project (Figure 8).
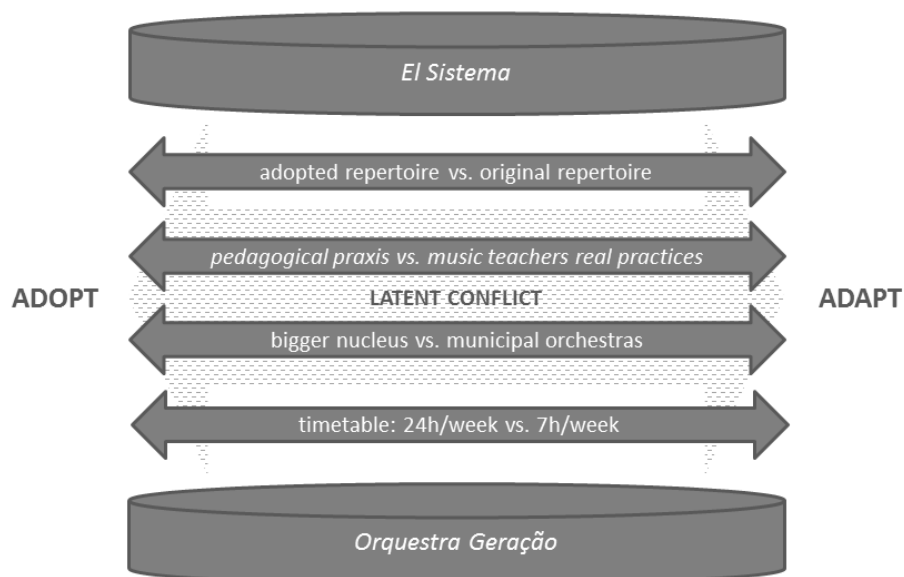
*Figure 8. Between adoption and adaptation: Latent conflict between El Sistema and the real conditions faced by the Portuguese OG project*

For those perceiving the ES as 'the reality' to be attained, the OG project lacks: intensity and coordination of the pedagogical work and the orchestral scale of the nuclei, facets deemed essential to boosting the motivation and the ambition of the children. One good example of this comes with the opinions of a former national coordinator:

> *Clearly, many of the things (…) that they do over there [in Venezuela] were not possible to do here as the timetable load did not allow for it (…). It was a very great struggle to make all this more intense. At the beginning [there were] and there still are many dropouts. We discuss this a lot, in the good sense, why this happens and I insist that there was not the motivation necessary as there was not the right kind of intensity appropriate to stimulate the students. (…) Our nucleus [ES] is made in a way in which the students all go to the nucleus and then form a great nucleus. Here, it's a bit different as the nuclei are in the schools where there are groups of twenty five to thirty persons. Well then, I always said (…), and the Sistema says, that the number, the orchestral mass is where the ambition begins, where the stimulus first comes.* (Former National Coordinator, 11-10-2013)

The approach implemented by the OG board sought some flexibility and adaptation to the Portuguese reality and the contexts faced by each respective nucleus as indeed the project director explained:

> *For example, the methodology that is followed in Venezuela, they are extremely intense there and... sometimes, to us, it makes a bit of impression the way that they teach (...). We also have some flexibility, when we arrive in the school, in analysing the situations in the schools, the subjects and needs of the kids rather than starting out from the traditional grid format, we are able to adapt to the situation as we have done in some school in which it is purely and simply impossible to get 30 kids together. So then, we started out with a strategy of groups of five or whatever the circumstances determine and, bit by bit, we go about adding on until able to do the 'tutti'.* (Wagner Dinis, director, 21-05-2012)

Between any possible adoption and adaptation of the ES pedagogical praxis, there are shared axes among all of the nuclei that ensure the cohesion of the project: an orchestra focused curricular plan, the same orchestral repertoire for all the nuclei and the holding of intensive training camps bringing together teachers and students from various nuclei, generally organised into levels, for the preparation of the final joint concerts. The following was the comment from the OG national coordinator on this matter:

> *We work together, we maintain a program and that is important* (…) *in every school there is a feeling of a network, there is the same methodology.* (…) *It's important that there is a line, that there is a criterion. When we get together for the internships, there has to be a result, a particular way of working. This is the most important facet, creating a model, thus, a common strategy.* (National Coordinator, 7-05-2013)

**The impact of the project: some data, evidences and questions**

Beyond the global impact of this project in terms of its media coverage and its preponderant role within the scope of a current, broadly consensual trend towards a relationship between music and social inclusion[34], the OG, as it began to become unveiled over the course of the analysis of the research data, also reveals some important aspects that deserve highlighting.

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[34] See chapter 1 on this issue.

*Community involvement in the project*

One aspect referred to by the interviewees, when questioned about the project impact, is an improvement in the family integration of participants as a consequence of the involvement of their families, particulary when participating in auditions and concerts, moments in which the OG educational role also ends up embracing the surrounding community:

> *The Concert Hall was packed with uncles and aunts, grandparents of little children, of unlikely people (…). The families are present and they feel, well then, I don't know exactly what they understand but they do feel that there is some kind of valuation, both personally, for the students, and for themselves, and there is a great sense of community in the fact that their children are there in this place, being seen and being recognised in that way. There, this all gives fact to this notion of stability.* (Miguel Torga School Group director, 3-12-2013)

> *The children were the targets, the students were the target of accusations and suddenly became the target of pride: they became those who held privilege in the family, they became those who took the family to things where the community was there that applauded and the family began having a place in this community. And, therefore, there is here a belonging of the children to their families that changes radically and then there is a belonging of the family to the community that also changes.* (Margarida Pinto Correia, representative of EDP, sponsor, 13-02-2015)

> *It's not only the children who participate in this project who get this training. We end up having to educate the parents and guardians in a number of issues… Because the parents had never been to concerts before! The parents do not know that they should not clap their hands, that they should not talk, that they should not eat… At the beginning, this is an intense job that needs doing. (…) So, this is a job that is done not only for those who are here. I see the work as always going a little further, to all of the family and all of the community because Vialonga does not have just one orchestra, Vialonga has five orchestras! (…) Some people still don't know this but we have already held an opera on the site where the fair is held!* (Vialonga teacher, 21-03-2014)

*Improving school integration (behaviours and attitudes)*

When questioned about evidence regarding any eventual impact of orchestra participation on the academic performances of the children and youths involved, the

majority of the school directors prefered to highlight the improvements observed in behaviours and attitudes, coupled with the development of habits of concentration and discipline, while expressing doubts both in relation to the existence of a direct improvement in the academic results of students and, when existing, whether this may be unequivocally attributed to orchestra participation:

*We do not have any perception of whether in fact there is an improvement in this improvement [in education] and, if I may say so, whether this in fact matters. Indeed, to me, it's enough that there is the feeling, both on behalf of the students and those who see them perform that there is a team. I only regret that such spirit has not yet been transfered to other dynamics within the school because it is a fact that a cohesive team like this one really brings added value - there is already knowledge and a culture of discipline and performance that proves of importance to their own lives.* (Miguel Torga group director, 03-12-2013)

*I recall how complicated this all was at the beginning, (…) bringing together twenty, all of a sudden, twenty of the worst, or rather those with the most complicated behaviours in the school, getting them together in a room, that really was pretty difficult. With time, with two, three, four or five months, you got pleasure from entering the room, the same room with the same teacher, as now happens, and seeing how their behaviours are so very, very, very different and so very much more concentrated (…) In an initial phase, you did not note this immediately but afterwards this began emerging in terms of attendance, in terms of learning, there was then noted and continues to be noted a great deal of development in relation to these students.* (Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso group director, Amarante, 24-01-2014)

*I have seen educational results, clearly, but for academic results I cannot yet make that connection. (…) I cannot do that also because we have insisted strongly here that there is to be no selection of the best students for Orquestra Geração, therefore we have attempted to place the students with most difficulties in Orquestra Geração. (…) Orquestra Geração is a more structural work that implies a set of more refined competences. (…) They are subject to a different culture and that is also good for them. (…) The fact that they are constantly getting called on to play at festivities, at commemorations, therefore regularly attending what we may call serious situations (…), people there go over and congratulate them and this immediately boosts their self-esteem. (…) The effects are far broader than just the qcademic results.* (Apelação group director, 08-05-2013)

However, there are also other actors who more clearly pronounce in favour of evidence of improvements in the academic learning of students or that the results obtained by orchestra students are better than those of their peer school students:

> *In relation to the results, in fact, we have a very heterogeneous work in terms of the groups. We have excellent kids who, from the outset, would be excellent in any situation, (…) we have kids with difficulties across all levels, whether the social point of view, the behavioural point of view or that of the availability for learning… and that have been able to achieve. The kids who are in the Orchestra, who remain in the orchestra, do not fail years, (…) they are able to overcome difficulties and make it through (…) and they get results, some very good and some others reasonable but better than their colleagues who are there [in the class] and who are not involved with music.* (former Vialonga group director, 25-03-2014)

In fact, over the course of the data collection process, the research team encountered fairly assertive affirmations on various occasions by OG members (nucleus coordinators and teachers) about the improvements made to the academic performances of students when compared with other students in the respective school hosting the OG. To this end, and following a suggestion from the project consultant, we advanced with the data collection necessary for a quasi-experimental study on the academic performance of the Vialonga nucleus given that this is the only school with integrated teaching and therefore homogenous classes of OG students. In these classes, the music subject is integrated into the curriculum and correspondingly undergoes formal evaluation.

*Quasi-experimental study of academic performance in Vialonga*

We gathered data on the academic results (grades and failure to pass rates) for five years (2009/10 to 2013/14) and for two classes belonging to the OG and two classes that did not belong.

Analysis of this data conveys how both groups underwent alterations over the course of the five years with the departure of some students – due to failing the year, transferring school or other unidentified reasons – and the arrival of new students.

Classes A – with students belonging to the OG – started out with 38 students and ended with 24 and were combined into a single class. Out of the original 38 students, only 20 made it into the 9$^{th}$ year (group A). Over this five-year period, 50 students attended these OG classes for at least one year of whom 20% failed to pass the year and 40% left the classes either by transfer or for unknown reasons (see Figure 9 and Table 2).

Classes B – not belonging to the OG – started out with 54 students and finished the period with 36. Of the original 54, only 19 students attained the 9$^{th}$ year (group B). Over these five years, a total of 89 students attended B classes for a period of at least one year, of whom 26% failed the year and 39% left the class via transfer or other unknown reason (Figure 10 and Table 3).

The flux in students (the number of students who entered and left the classes over the course of these five years) was greater in the B classes than in the A classes, which may convey a greater level of instability in the former. This may furthermore represent a key reason for the year failure rate being slightly higher in the B classes (26%, compared with 20% in classes A).
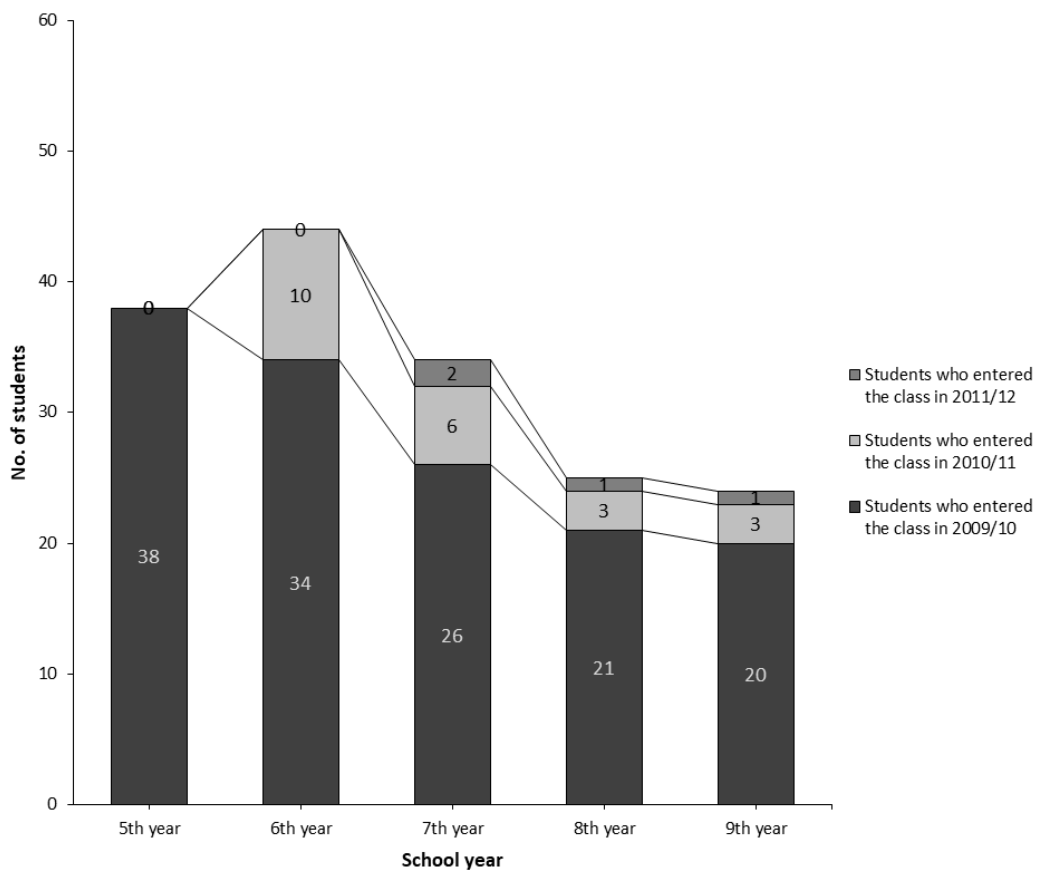
Figure 9. Evolution of A classes (Integrated Music Teaching) between 2009/2010 and 2013/14

|  | 5th year | 6th year | 7th year | 8th year | 9th year | % total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of new students | 38 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 0 | |
| No. of students failing annually | 0 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 4 | |
| % of failures | 0% | 2% | 12% | 4% | 17% | 20% |
| No. of students transferred (a) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | |
| No. of students leaving the class (b) | 3 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 0 | |
| % of class departures (a+b) | 11% | 25% | 15% | 0% | 0% | 40% |
| **TOTAL NO. OF STUDENTS [class/year]** | **38** | **44** | **34** | **25** | **24** | |

Table 2. Evolution of A classes (Integrated Music Teaching) between 2009/2010 and 2013/14
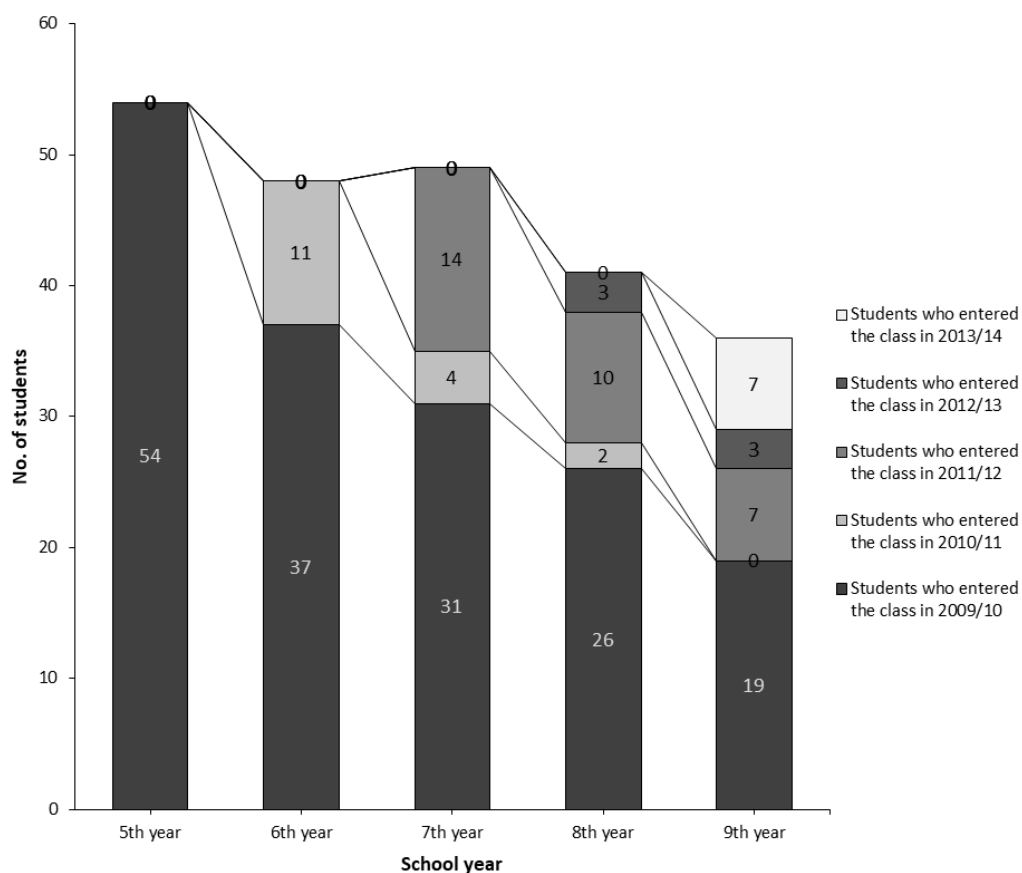
Figure 10. Evolution of B classes (Regular Teaching) between 2009/2010 and 2013/14

| | 5th year | 6th year | 7th year | 8th year | 9th year | % total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of new students | 54 | 11 | 14 | 3 | 7 | |
| No. of students failing annually | 3 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 5 | |
| % of failures | 6% | 4% | 12% | 17% | 14% | 26% |
| No. of students transferred (a) | 5 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | |
| No. of students leaving the class (b) | 9 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 0 | |
| % of class departures (a+b) | 26% | 23% | 10% | 12% | 0% | 39% |
| **TOTAL NO. OF STUDENTS [class/year]** | **54** | **48** | **49** | **41** | **36** | |

**Table 3.** Evolution of B classes (Regular Teaching) between 2009/2010 and 2013/14

When comparing the averages for the A classes with group A and the B classes with group B, we find that in both cases the group (students attending classes A and B from the 5th to the 9th year) report better averages than the corresponding classes (Figures 11 and 12).

The B classes report average evaluations similar to the A classes (Figure 13). However, while the A and B groups report similar average evaluations in the 5th year, some differences do emerge over the course of the following years with the B group turning in slightly higher average evaluation results (Figure 14). In general terms, the average grades display a descending trajectory over the five years considered both in the classes as in the groups.

Considering only group A, we may observe how the average grades received from the general curriculum studies are below the averages received on musical curriculum subjects and hence the musical grades positively boost the final group average (Figure 15).
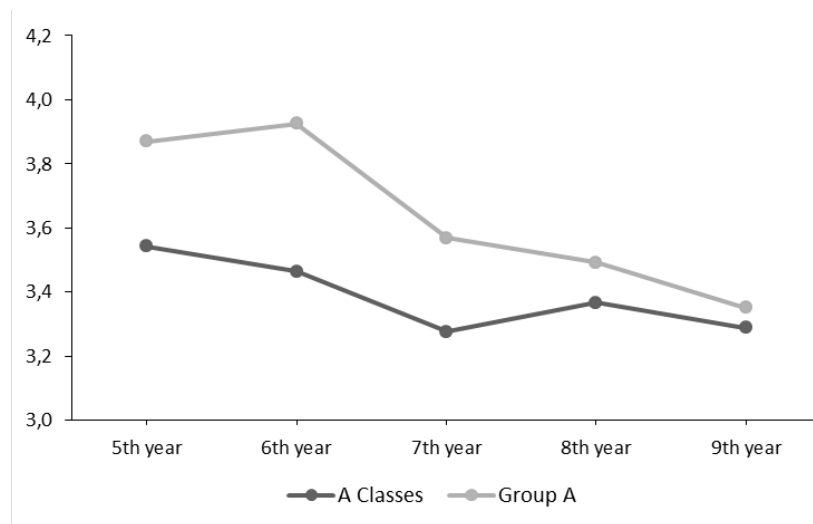


Figure 11. Average evaluation results for A classes (Integrated Music Teaching)
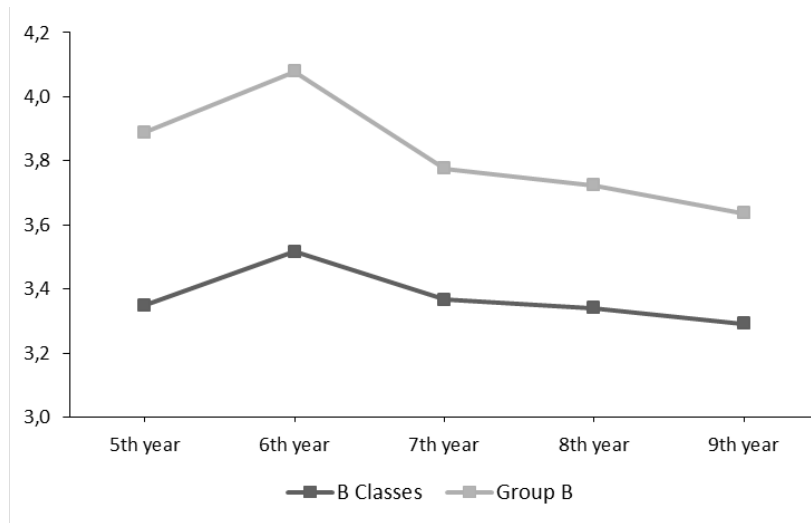
Figure 12. Average evaluation results for B classes (Regular Teaching)
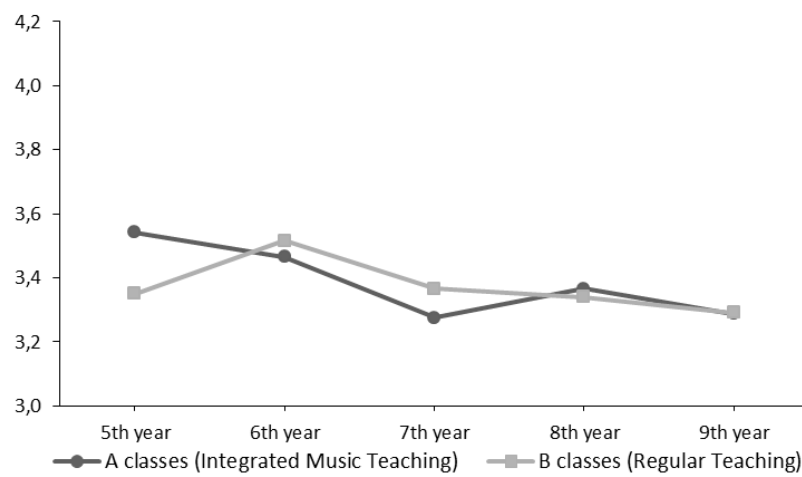


Figure 13. Comparison of average evaluation grades for the A and B classes
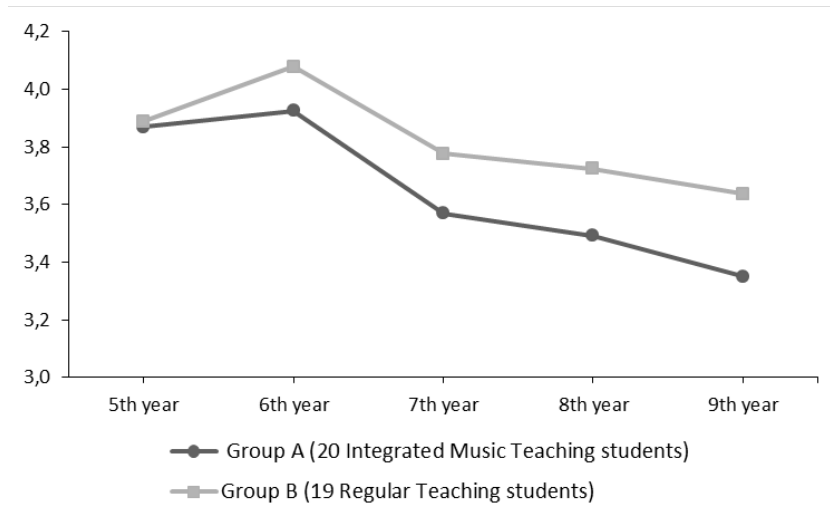
Figure 14. Comparison of average evaluation grades for the A and B groups
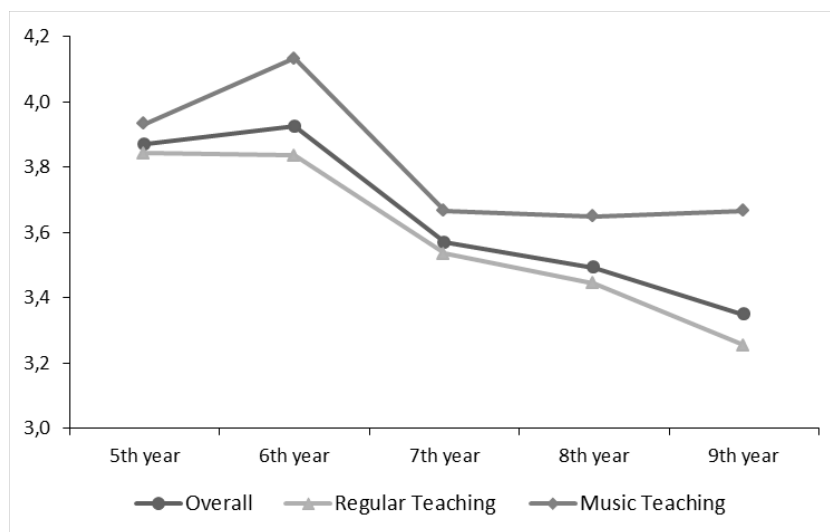


Figure 15. Comparison of the average annual evaluation grades for group A in Regular Teaching, in Musical Teaching and Overall.

Based upon these results, we cannot consider that OG students turn in better academic results in comparison with other students in the same school that do not attend the orchestra. However, while the project was only able to implement this

quasi-experimental study on a very small sample of the set of OG participants, it does also seem that there are strong indications of a significant change in attitudes and behaviours, systematically referred to across all the discourses analysed, that easily lead onto extrapolations as regards success in terms of the obtained academic results. Once again, and similar to that suggested by the findings of various international studies on the relationships between studying music, cognitive competences and academic success (Mehr *et al, 2013;* Schellenberg, 2011), there seems to be no ground for making such affirmations. The number of variables at play would require a large scale longitudinal study that falls beyond the scope of this research project.

We would nevertheless record with pleasure that the indicators for advancing in musical studies, even while in still relatively small percentages, encapsulates a trend worth following with every possible interest.

*Continuing with musical studies*

The enrolment of OG students in Specialised Music Teaching Programs is identified by teachers and boards as evidence of the social mobility brought about by the project even while not everybody shares a positive evaluation of this dimension:

> [Social mobility/inclusion] *is already happening. (…) We already have students from some groups and here [Vialonga] also has cases of those entering professional music school, and therefore they are already being welcomed by all. Nobody is excluding them.* (Miguel Torga and Vialonga teacher, 31-03-2014)

> *If you want to talk about integration, to me, (…) it cannot only be the students who come here out of their liking for a particular instrument (…) I see the project and any activity even when perceived as extracurricular, as a moment for learning and for the acquisition of competences. If they are here in classes, or in the orchestra, they should learn the instrument and should, following a particular path, be capable of overcoming those objectives, (…) in the case of 9th year students, they should be able to play any 5th [grade] piece, get approval, in sum, get a diploma (…) In fact, the entrance [in specialized music schools] of the majority of students… does not take place. They arrive for the auditions and they fail, they do not get in. (…) The majority of students after arriving there don't even go to the auditions. And I think that this is one of the*

*problems, one of the greatest shortcomings…* (Miguel Torga and Vialonga teacher, 04-02-2014)

In fact, not even the entrance of students into Specialist Music Programs has been easy (some students are not able to pass the entrance exam) nor has this always been a synonym for success – some students have also expressed problems over adapting to the Secondary School Music context[35].

In general terms, taking into account the quantity of students that have spent time with the OG project since 2007, the numbers entering Specialist Music Teaching is not especially high (see Table 4).

| | | No. students |
|---|---|---|
| Applied to Specialist Music Teaching but were not accepted | | 9 |
| Applied to Specialist Music Teaching, were accepted but did not enrol | | 4 |
| Attended Specialist Music Teaching but "left" (moved country) | | 2 |
| Attended Specialist Music Teaching but dropped out | | 3 |
| Concluded Specialist Teaching but did not proceed to Higher Education | | 5 |
| Attending Specialist Teaching | Primary | 8[36] |
| | Secondary | 25 |
| | Higher | 2 |
| Attending / attended Specialist Music Teaching (TOTAL) | | 45 |

Table 4. OG students who attend /attended Specialist Music Teaching[37]

*Drop outs*

As referenced by some teachers, the dropout rate, especially in the early years of attendance, calls into question the impact that the project seeks to generate in terms of the school and the social integration of students who engage with the orchestra:

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[35] On this matter, see the Sociological Portraits in chapter 8.
[36] These eight students include three who, due to decisions by their family, did not continue to attend the OG project.
[37] Table made based on data provided by Helena Lima, OG subdirector and by the Vialonga Coordinator in October 2015.

*There is no justification for, in one year* [the first] *students only work by imitation and in the following year they have to know how to read scores (...), whoever does not know how to read simply cannot. This makes the students give up. Which then leads onto another question which is: why is there such a high rate of dropouts at the nuclei? Why in fact is there this enormous dropout rate. (...) Quitting is always fairly substantial in the first year. (...) Afterwards, as students advance, there are few dropouts. What we also find is that later,when they reach the final year, many drag on an on, force themselves and push themselves but are still not able to... enrol, that is, they do not even have the courage, or... they simply do not go and register for the audition.s* (Miguel Torga and Vialonga teacher, 04-02-2014)

*Unfortunately, here in our school* [Vialonga], *there has been a trend for dropouts over the years. Students who cannot get along or cannot get along particularly well or because of the heavy workload or because they can't keep up with all of this and their school work. For these kids, it's difficult, more difficult than for a kid at a normal conservatory. And, there is sometimes a level of dropouts that would be a bit above that what you get or would expect at a normal conservatory.* (Vialonga teacher, 06-06-2014)

These teacher statements are further backed up by the data on the numbers of students quitting from the four nuclei approached in this study (see Tables 5 to 8), reporting high withdrawl levels, especially in the first year of participation in the project, and tending to decline over the following years.

|  | No. students |  |
|---|---|---|
| TOTAL from 2007/08 to 2013/14 | 206 | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 1 | 43 (21%) | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 2 | 34 (17%) | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 3 | 16 (8%) | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 4 | 7 (3%) | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 5 | 13 (6%) | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 6 | 1 (0,5%) | |
| Attending in 2013/14 | for 1 year | 19 (21%) |
| | for 2 years | 29 (32%) |
| | for 3 years | 5 (5%) |
| | for 4 years | 14 (15%) |
| | for 5 years | 7 (8%) |
| | for 6 years | 11 (12%) |
| | for 7 years | 7 (8%) |

Note: "Attending in 2013/14" total column = 92 (45%)

Table 5. Miguel Torga Nucleus dropout rate [from 2007/08 to 2013/14]

|  | No. students |  |
|---|---|---|
| TOTAL from 2008/09 to 2013/14 | 468 | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 1 | 157 (34%) | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 2 | 38 (8%) | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 3 | 25 (5%) | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 4 | 16 (3%) | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 5 | 1 (0,2%) | |
| Leaving in 2012/13 (completion of 9th year) | 21 (4%) | |
| Attending in 2013/14 | for 1 year | 62 (30%) |
| | for 2 years | 49 (23%) |
| | for 3 years | 40 (19%) |
| | for 4 years | 20 (10%) |
| | for 5 years | 5 (2%) |
| | for 6 years | 34 (16%) |

Note: "Attending in 2013/14" total column = 210 (45%)

Table 6. Vialonga Nucleus abandonment rate [from 2008/09 to 2013/14]

| | No. students | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **No. students** | | | |
| TOTAL from 2009/10 to 2013/14 | 143 | | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 1 | 48 (34%) | | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 2 | 22 (15%) | | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 3 | 12 (8%) | | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 4 | 5 (3%) | | |
| Attending in 2013/14 | for 1 year | 33 (59%) | 56 (39%) |
| | for 2 years | 13 (23%) | |
| | for 3 years | 2 (4%) | |
| | for 4 years | 2 (4%) | |
| | for 5 years | 6 (11%) | |

Table 7. Apelação Nucleus abandonment rate [from 2009/10 to 2013/14]

| | No. students | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL from 2010/11 to 2013/14 | 71 | | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 1 | 24 (34%) | | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 2 | 7 (10%) | | |
| Drop outs by the end of year 3 | 3 (4%) | | |
| Attending in 2013/14 | for 1 year | 12 (32%) | 37 (52%) |
| | for 2 years | 5 (14%) | |
| | for 3 years | 13 (35%) | |
| | for 4 years | 7 (19%) | |

Table 8. Amarante Nucleus abandonment rate [from 2010/11 to 2013/14]

The dropout rates vary from nucleus to nucleus thus reflecting different levels of attendance among participants and consequently the stability of the respective nucleus. High levels of drop outs in the first year of project attendance (21% in Miguel Torga and 34% in Vialonga, Apelação and Amarante) reflect on the higher numbers of new students joining each academic year and ensuring that around 50% of nucleus

members consist of children and young persons attending the project for two or fewer years (53% in Miguel Torga, 53% in Vialonga, 82% in Apelação[38] and 46% in Amarante, in the 2013/14 academic year).

**Parents and guardians: a crucial dimension**

In chapter 1, when discussing the democratisation of the *field* of cultural production, we departed from the assumption that the OG, through teaching music and musical practice, strives to be a catalysing focus and a driver of democratic citizenship and correspondingly of the right to equality in accessing culture. This furthermore references how crucial are the implicit and explicit alliances among families, schools, the local social environment and the OG.

Therefore, sounding out the parents and guardians of young OG musicians generates insights into the outreach of core dimensions such as aspirations and the glimpse of other social horizons that may open up windows of opportunities to their children even while perhaps very different from their own.

In this section, we set out some of these dimensions that we categorise in general terms according to: i) *the overall perception of the OG*, ii) *their own and their children's personal relationships with music,* iii) *perceptions of change by means of OG membership and integration,* iv) *projections for the future* and v) *feelings of pride as regards the visibility of the project.*

*Overall OG perceptions*

Two questions stand out about the image that the parents and guardians hold of the OG – the value of the project and the evaluation made of the music teachers.

> *I define it as a big, big project. They really struggle so that this project does not come to an end. Every year, I note that they are always with that heavy weight that they don't have any sponsors and that the Orquestra Geração will have to end because there aren't the funds to continue and they need instruments and*

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[38] According to the information supplied by the Apelação school group director and coordinators at this nucleus, this rate may have been inflated due to the scale of emigration of families from the neighbourhood in 2013.

*they need money. And they really struggle a lot, really a lot for this project. I see this and my daughter has only been there for the last four years or so.* (Miguel Torga parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

*I have a good image. This is a job done. I really like it when it reaches the end of the school year, that they have those days when they go and do the internship and after bring together schools from all over the country. The Gulbenkian is always packed and it's not only the parents but also other people who also go there to see and I think it's a really good image that they get, the year that they've spent working. It's the success of working for the whole year round.* (Apelação parent/guardian, 7-06-2015)

*The Orchestra represents a dream and I would like the dream to continue.* (Amarante parent/guardian, 17-05-2015)

*They are tireless. Always very concerned. I think they give their very best. Really, even more than they can give. Very concerned. And I speak here for myself as, well G., as I said, missed a rehearsal and M. called me to find out what had happened because G. had not gone. So, I think there are so many students but that they take care of them all, all and with their commitment and their attention and concern. Both for the project and for the teachers, I don't think I've got any bad words.* (Apelação parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

*I would just like to add one thing that I think that the feeling of responsibility within the orchestra is also the result of the great motivation that they get from the teachers that they have.* (Amarante parent/guardian, 17-05-2015)

*Relationship with music*

In this category, we portray not only the way parents and guardians perceive changes in their own relationship with music, based upon the repertoire worked on at the OG, but also their perceptions of this relationship in their children.

*From the moment that she joined the orchestra, she began listening to another type of music, didn't she? In addition to orchestras, the violins, that vibrato that she tells me that I have to understand even if I don't. Sure, even my husband, we began going to concerts here in Amarante, even the Orquestra do Norte, which is generally what plays here, we always have to go. And I even like it, even we like it and I'm being sincere. Sometimes there is an introduction to an opera along with the orchestra and that's very pleasing. So, this changed.*

*Music began getting seen in a different way… Before, I thought that Mozart or I don't know who… [sound/grimace of disapproval] and now we like to listen to it.* (Amarante parent/guardian, 17-05-2015)

*For us, who were not connected to the music, for myself and my husband, for example, going to a classical music concert was something that we had never done before. It simply did not awake a minimum of interest. And we began when it was our son as we go everywhere and are always present. And it is impressive to have our own interest in music triggered and looking on it with a different view. We who did not listen to classical music, and in my family we didn't, now everybody listens and appreciates classical music. And this dimension is also… is also really interesting.* (Miguel Torga parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

*And well, this has… has… helped a lot… there at home with the music. He: 'Mum, I can already play this! Oh Mum, I'm already playing this like that, the F played up there, the F played down below.' And me: 'That's great, son.' (laughter) This is important and he now even brings the instrument: 'Mum, have a go, see if you can also play.' He gets me there trying to play but I cannot. (laughter) Well then… it's almost as if the sun has come out and in his life, especially in the life of my son because… this has filled in a lot of his life and has worked really well.* (Amarante parent/guardian, 17-05-2015)

*Sure, F. really likes kuduro[39] a lot but I always… I always put on other types of music. I've already said: it's not just orchestra and kuduro, there are also other songs that you have to know how to listen to. He sometimes asks me to put on some classical music from the internet. He listens to every type of music because I listen to every type and that's good, isn't it?* (Apelação parent/guardian, 07-06-2015).

*Perceptions of change*

This category approaches the changes perceived in the lives of their children, brought about by participation in the OG, and also conveys what they consider to be the collateral effects on the areas of attitudes and motivation. In the same way, they recognise their own roles as supporters of the aspirations of their children and the potential future professional opportunities within the field of music.

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[39] **Kuduro** (or **kuduru**) is a type of music and dance that originally developed in Angola in the 1980s. It is characterized as uptempo, energetic, and danceable.

*And I don't know whether my daughter grew up more or whether I did. Because she is an only child... at the age of eleven, her going away for a week... or about that, to Lisbon. It really cost me to let her go that first time. There have also been some trips... They have already been to France and I... have grown up and she has grown up.* (Amarante parent/guardian, 17-05-2015)

*And one day [my daughter] arrived at school and said to Ms Armandina[40]: 'I want to but my mother does not want to.' I arrived here and Armandina told me: 'You do not have to want to, you have to sign the paper, the authorisation, and you then have to support your daughter.' 'Okay. I'll sign the paper but I'm not going to call you every morning. You have to get up on your own.' I never called her. Whatever the time might be, she's always ready, waking up alone. And she loved it! Still does today. Now, she's in the Conservatory.* (Vialonga parent/guardian, 06-06-2015)

*My sister here, my sister has already said 'we have to get together and buy a violin for him'. Well, I thought that it's not with growing older that is going to make him quit*. (Apelação parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

*I think that they also learn a lot from working in a group and that's very important, not only now but also for their future, this knowing how to work in a group. They know that they have to help their companions, they have to know how to sort things out themselves but also having another person by their side, they cannot just leave them alone. And this, at this phase, is very important to them, for their lives now and something that is going to be important for the rest of their lives.* (Apelação parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

*Perhaps the parents, at least those in this region, I think that they need to be educated because tomorrow or after, instead of going to see our children playing, we're going to see our children in prison. I think that's something to make us all sad. And I really like the Orchestra because many children are perhaps here instead of being there and perhaps doing I don't know what, and this part is really important because they later have a lot of pride in playing. But, later, there is that part when, if the dad is not accompanying, then tomorrow or later, he's going to quit and head elsewhere...* (Apelação parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

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[40] Maria Armandina da Costa Soares, former-director of Vialonga School and the great driver of the initial violin project, both integrating the school into the OG and into the national integrated music teaching system.

*Future projections*

Some parents and guardians reveal concerns over the future of their young, conveying a perspective of the lives of their children connected to music whether in terms of continuing their studies in academies and conservatories or continuing in the OG following completion of the 9th year.

> *And he still continues to have that dream that tells him that he is going to study music and it is to Berlin that he has to go, to that particular orchestra. He's still convinced that… that that is what he wants.* (Amarante parent/guardian, 17-05-2015)

> *So, she had been attending the Geração here for a year when she went to the Metropolitan. She made major progress and even her teacher who supported her here said yes that she should apply to the Metropolitan, that she had everything needed… furthermore… that she was capable. And then she was capable, she did the tests to get in and it has all been going well, continuing here in the Geração and in the Metropolitana[41] and she says that that is what she wants.* (Miguel Torga parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

> *She discovered for herself that she no longer wanted to study Science, which she had wanted since very little… to go into medicine, and when she got into 11th year in Science, with a good achievement, she wanted to go back to the 10th year in the Metropolitana. Really, I have to back her up if that is what she wants.* (Miguel Torga parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

> *There was an interview that he gave right at the beginning of joining the orchestra and he said: 'I want to be the best drummer in the world.' And that is what built his enthusiasm. He's been here for the last four years. In addition to the orchestra, he also joined the project Gerajazz, which really is his big objective, isn't it? It's about one day getting to play in the Hot Club or similar places.* (Miguel Torga parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

> *When my daughter arrived home: 'Mum, I'm going to play violin.'Sure, daughter, you're going to do just what your mother was never able to do' because there were eleven of us and our parents put us to work at the age of twelve.* (Amarante parent/guardian, 17-05-2015)

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[41] Specialized Music School.

*Feelings of pride*

Various factors seem to jointly contribute towards parents and guardians feeling pride over the visibility of the OG. On the one hand, there is the satisfaction that this causes in their children, and on the other hand the visibility of the project in the public sphere.

> *They would say: 'We are in a room just like in the Golden Globe awards, with red carpets and everything'. They would send messages: 'they are playing this, they are playing that, they're showing it on television on such a date. They were really glazed.' It's really emotional!* (Amarante parent/guardian, 17-05-2015)

> *The majority of my family is all in Cape Verde but I go to all of the performances, all of them… I always film them... And I send them to them: my mother, my brothers and sisters. I have some siblings here but they also never miss the concerts. Whenever there is the final one there in the Gulbenkian, they always go.* (Apelação parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

> *It's true, they begin getting very high levels of self-control. And then comes the connotation that the orchestra now has: 'Ah, this is an Orquestra Geração girl'. Now, there is a lot of public exposure. I would note, even in my kid's school that there is this difference because of the girl being in the Orquestra Geração: 'do you see, you're getting top grades because you are there in the Orquestra Geração.' In the case of my daughter, it's not so much about being in the Orquestra Geração but there is already this connotation.* (Miguel Torga parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

> *They have a notion that increasingly… the repertoires become more demanding. And that just has to be. And the first time that they played the 5$^{th}$ movement from I don't know what (laughter), well, I cried. Because a person listening to them play "O Grilito" ti-ti, ti-ti, and then listening to that! And then there was the time with that choir… with the choir of Lisbon. Oh, really, that was something …!* (Miguel Torga parent/guardian, 07-06-2015)

> *I, when it's like that… there was a time when I went to the São Luiz Theatre and she did not know that I was there. I'd been working and she arrived at home all sad and said: 'Mum, you didn't go.' And I told her: 'Yes, I did.' 'No, you didn't.' 'Yes, I did.' I showed her the pictures. She was so very happy (laughter)* (Vialonga parent/guardian, 06-06-2015).

While the favourable sentiments prevail, explicit in the discourses of the parents and guardians, there are also some criticisms about the way in which the OG gets presented by some media outlets. They also consider the way in which the young musicians are selected for foreign tours to be unfair in some nuclei.

> *It's the way it is. When I see on television the reports that they show one thing that simply is not… I don't like it because it's that way, it's the orchestra of the poor kids. But it isn't! There are poor kids, there are rich kids, there's middle class, there is everything. And it all gets shown as the same… it seems like they're talking about some bad types who live I don't know where. Both those from here and those from Amadora. It's all the same, all the same. But it isn't!* (Vialonga parent/guardian, 06-06-2015)

> *I think that they began as poor little things who were with the Orquestra Geração. (…) And now, they're the big ones who are from the Orquestra Geração. There you go, the portrayal [media ].* (Miguel Torga parent/guardian, 07-06-2014)

> *Yes,. I've… only been here for a while. Perhaps what seems to have happened is that we were not explained why it was that way rather than the criteria being… unclear. I think this reading is different. Perhaps it has not been clarified why it was this selection and even eventually why it got repeated leaving others out.* (Amarante parent/guardian, 17-05-2015)

> *And the only thing he is sad about in all of this…, in all of the project, was the fact that he never went out with the Orchestra. It was a difficult phase… of him being in the Orchestra when he saw his colleagues going off, especially when they went to Brazil and he stayed here. He got really very…very, very sad. It was the only occasion when I felt his demotivation.* (Amarante parent/guardian, 17-05-2015)

The revelations around the ways in which families get involved in the participation of their younger members in the OG project immediately recalls the importance of the connection between the community, the family, students and the project, especially in the nuclei as they get set up in the different schools. The OG board sought out persons who might be able to make this bridge in a meaningful way so as to foster communication among all intervening parties. However, it would appear that only the Apelação school encountered the ideal person to fill this role.

In the final part of this chapter, we provide a short witness account from Madalena, simultaneously an orchestra cellist and a mediator between the families, their young persons and the OG.

**Madalena - 'I control everything from my window'**

Madalena lives in Apelação and plays in the OG. She is aged 23 and an Audiovisual and Multimedia graduate. She has always worked and studied in order to pay for her education. One day, by chance, she heard some sonatas for cello and piano by Beethoven and fell for the cello. She immediately set about getting some classes and, as she had 'a bit of cash', she purchased her own instrument. Meanwhile, with the arrival of the OG in the neighbourhood school, M. enrolled and, after a period when she also had another job and could only attend sporadically, she began participating in every class and playing in the orchestra.

> *I began by coming to the weekly orchestra rehearsals that were on Thursdays. And I got to rehearse with them. My first rehearsal was already with them in the orchestra. I think that this was with maestro Olivetti or it may have been with professor Pedro Muñoz and it was a shock. I arrived, surrounded by kids, this was the first time that I had been in a room with them all, they put a score down in front of me. And they asked me 'Do you know how to read it?'. And I said 'Yes, yes, I know how to read a score'. I'd already learned. They set it all down in front of me and I was like 'wow, really'. And then I played and played and it went pretty much okay.[42]*

Madalena today holds the role of mediator, working full time for the OG. The director, Wagner Diniz, was thus able to fill a role that he had always dreamed about and, in this case, give it to a person in a truly privileged position to carry it out.[43] That's why M. states: *"I control everything from my window"*. Effectively, she knows as well as anybody the neighbourhood and the families of the young persons in the OG and, on occasion, is better placed even than their parents to understand just what is happening with their children:

> *This is more than just a question of watching out. Sometimes, it is... seeing if the kids are going to classes, what they're doing in classes. There's a lot of that*

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[42] All of the excerpts in this section are drawn from an interview held on 3 December 2013.
[43] On this matter, please see chapter 1, *Apelação Nucleus section.*

*involved and also helping out when needed and also sometimes providing motivation... Sometimes, by chance, I go to the window, it's not yet my working timetable, but I see a student who should be there in class and is just wandering by. Yes, it's very good as I begin yelling right there from the window 'What are you doing here? Shouldn't you be in school? You have classes now!' That dimension facilitates others, coming to the window and seeing somebody there, oh my, this guy should not be there. That part is great.*

And sometimes, it is about calming a worried mother:

*But on Tuesdays it's impossible for her to be dating because she comes out of the class and goes into ear training and sight singing. She really doesn't have time and after, when she leaves at 8, I wait with her at the bus stop until she gets on the bus to take her home.' Therefore, I explain this to the mother.*

Madalena has family in the neighbourhood and has been steadily understanding the value attributed to the participation of children in this project.

*My aunty, at least, when her kids play, she is very happy, all proud and I think that in the future she would not at all mind were her children to become musicians.*

To the young and even to the other members of the neighbourhoods, she is a rare species for having studied and for setting an example of a future with other opportunities. However, her life choices are not always understood due to the fact that she is 23 and not yet married and with kids.

*I remember a very little girl on an internship, she touched my breasts and said: 'Ah, you have breasts! You can be a mother!' and I just sat and stared at her without any reaction. Then I said: 'Yes, it's true, I can be a mother, I'm 23 and I can be a mother. But for now, I don't want to.' And she then stared at me as if I was some kind of ET...*

Madalena has life plans that also involve travelling abroad and perhaps doing volunteer work. However, she is happy in this role because she feels purposeful and is herself involved in a unique musical and human learning process. From our perspective, she is the best example of somebody able to grab life with her own hands while simultaneously totally identifying with her own people and the desire to step across borders to discover other horizons of life.

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# Chapter 5

UNVEILING THE COMPLEXITY

*JORGE ALEXANDRE COSTA, ANA CRUZ, GRAÇA MOTA*

## Introduction

Analysis of the data presented in chapter 4 conveyed the scale of the complexity inherent to the *Orquestra Geração* (OG) project and the need for a systematised approach to its organisation and structure. Hence, in this chapter we look at the OG through the lenses of two conceptually different but nevertheless complementary models: the organisational typology of Mintzberg (1979, 1989) and the historical-cultural activity theory as proposed by Engeström (2001, 2014).

## In search of the organisational and structural dimensions of the *Orquestra Geração*

### *The Mintzberg organisational typology*

When analysing the OG organisational structure (see Fig. 1), we may indeed identify the six fundamental components defined by Henry Mintzberg (1979, 1989, 1995) and thus grasp how they interrelate in terms of project coordination (see Fig.2).

The organisation base, its *operating core*, spans all of those undertaking the core work related to the production and service system (Mintzberg, 1979). In the OG structure, we identify as the *operating core* the music teachers that deal directly with students, their families and communities in the different nuclei.

The *strategical apex* incorporates the senior managers, those holding the responsibility for the organisation complying with its mission and ensuring that all members have the means necessary to this end (*ibid.*). The *strategical apex* of OG emerges from the person endowed with overall responsibility for the project, in particular the director (the assistant director of the National Conservatory School of Music for the OG).
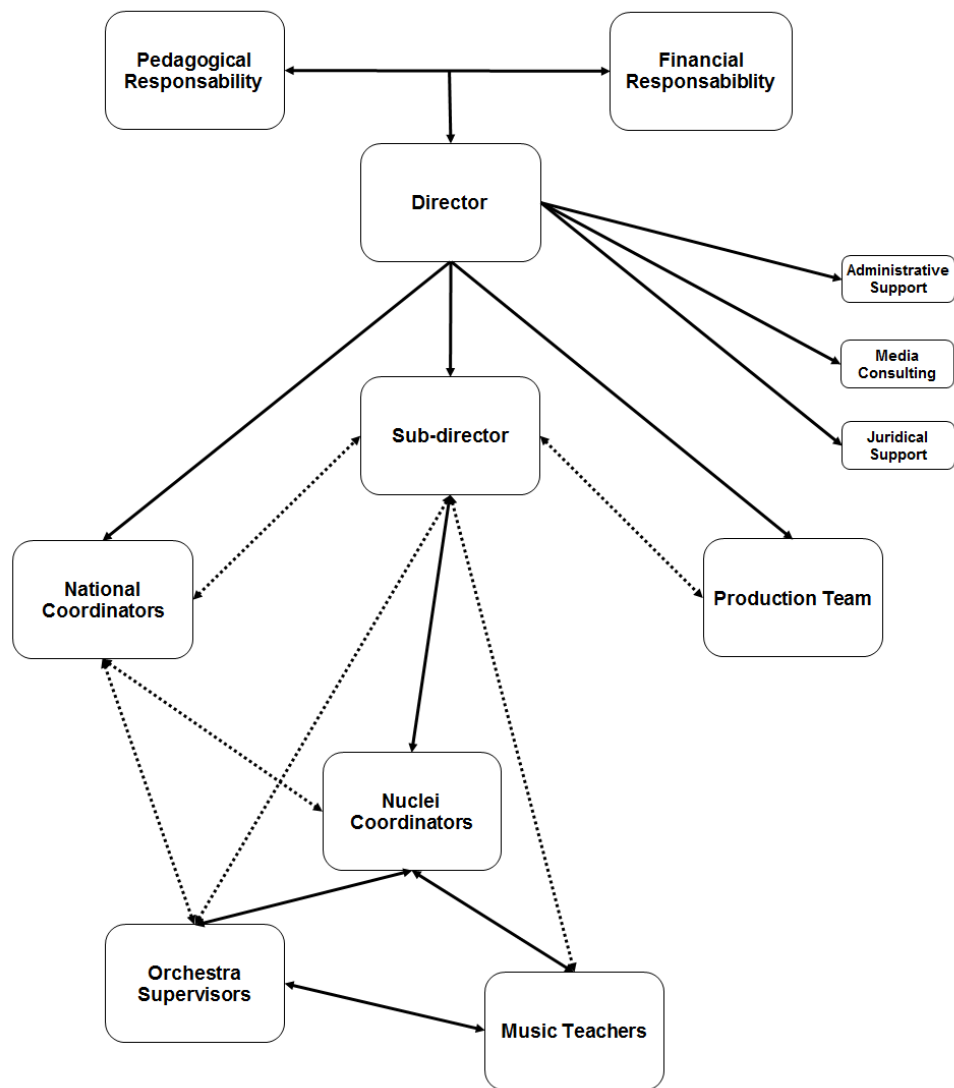
Figure 1. Organisational organigram of *Orquestra Geração*

The interconnection between the *strategical apex* and the *operational core* runs through a *middle-line* with formal authority (*ibid.*). In the OG, this *middle-line* is secured by a) a sub-director (consultant to the OG board) who reports to the director; b) the nucleus coordinators who report to the sub-director and supervise the teachers; and c) the staff preparing and engaging with the orchestras who also report to the sub-director and cooperate with the coordinators of the nuclei in the general management of each orchestra. Collectively, they bring about the operational implementation of the guidelines and orientations handed down by the *strategical apex.*

The fourth section of this model is the *technostructure* made up of the analysts responsible for the planning and organising the methods designed to obtain the working system that enables the standardisation of the organisation (*ibid.*). In the OG, these analysts correspond to the national coordinators, whose main functions include pedagogical and artistic coordination and the supervision of teaching activities (repertoire and didactic methods) in every nucleus. They also take on responsibilities for teacher training and an advisory role to the board.

In terms of *support staff*, in the OG we may identify all of the staff who hold roles in support services for legal and bureaucratic procedures, public and labour relations as well as the production team. Finally, as the overarching framework for these five sections, we encounter the *ideology*, which encapsulates the values, the beliefs and the traditions that distinguish different organisations and breathe life into their structures (Mintzberg, 1989). The strong influence of the *El Sistema* (ES)[44] identity and the systematic presence of Venezuelan members (methodology, repertoire, orchestra supervisors, pedagogical consultants) constitutes the most relevant characteristic of the OG organisational and ideological culture.

As with any complex organisation, the OG reflects the presence of *coordination mechanisms* (Mintzberg, 1979): *mutual adjustment* among teachers, among teachers and students and among the nucleus coordinators; *direct supervision* of the organisation carried out by its director and of its teachers by the middle-line managers; *the standardisation of work processes*, implemented through national coordination and supervision; *the standardisation of work outputs* obtained through the definition of a national repertoire that all orchestras (of a particular level) at the different nuclei are to study over the period of an academic year; *the standardisation of worker skills* ensured by the recruitment of young teachers and providing training opportunities.

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[44] Cf. chapters 2 and 4.
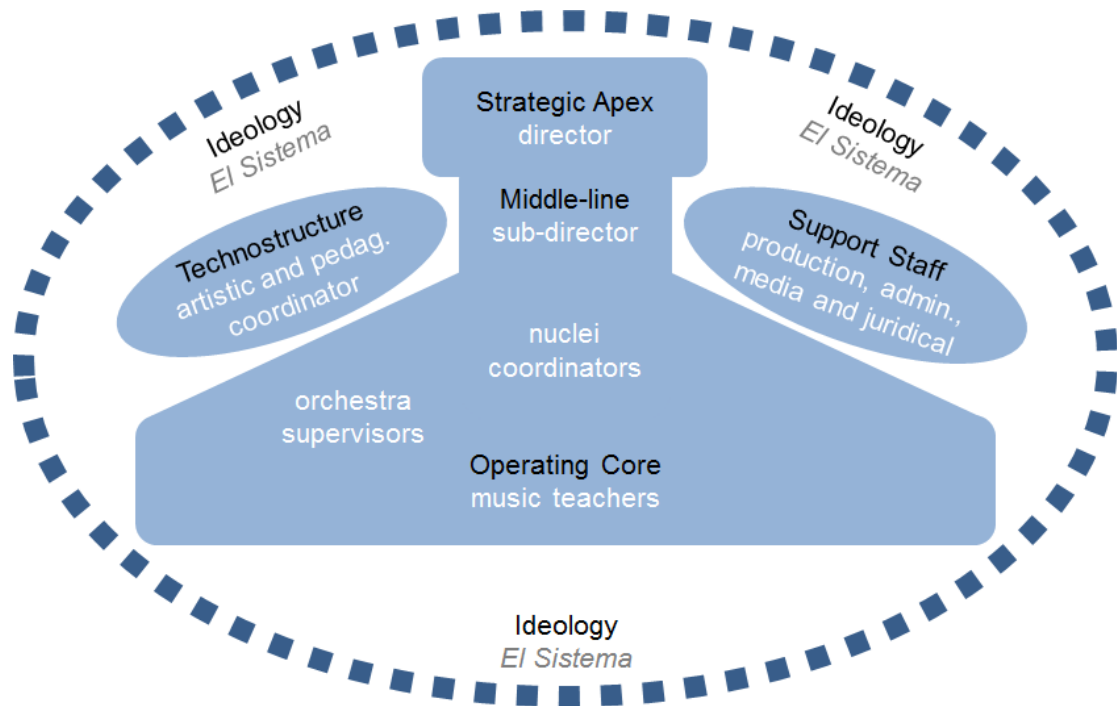
Figure 2. The organisational configuration of the *Orquestra Geração* (adapted from Mintzberg, 1989:99)

The implementation of the OG in the various nuclei seems to draw upon the powers of the intermediate managers (sub-director and nucleus coordinators) given that they act in close connection with the context of each nucleus that, in turn, strongly influences the local development of the project. This concept interrelates with the "delegation of formal power down the hierarchy to line managers" (Mintzberg, 1989: 105). In what are termed the *divisionalized* structures, each division/unit acquires some operational autonomy even while the power of decision making still remains concentrated in a small group of persons who determine that "divisionalization constitutes a rather limited form of vertical decentralization" (Mintzberg, 1979: 192):

> *I may state that the main brain behind this project is Professor Helena Lima, undoubtedly. She is in charge, she sends the information and details to coordinators by email and then they distribute them to our school teachers. Every coordinator has his own school and sends it to the teachers in his school.* (coordinator, Apelação, 12-03-2013)

*I know that sometimes I may take decisions alone or perhaps in conjunction with my colleagues but I would never be able to take a decision without first talking to Helena Lima (…) to me, she is still in my team, she is my boss and my team, I convey our ideas, those of teachers, to her, whatever is happening in the school (…). I do not feel alone, I cannot be… I know that this happens in other places but I do not know if I'm just used to it as from the very first moment when I joined the Geração, I've been dealing with Helena in this way. To me, this connection is very important.* (coordinator Miguel Torga, 26-03-2014)

The sub-director and nucleus coordinators (middle-line managers) work together in order to implement the same repertoire at each nucleus, thus, striving to achieve the *standardisation of outputs.* Therefore, when an organisation grants powers to its *middle-line* managers and controls the performance through the standardisation of outputs, this assumes a *diversified* configuration (Mintzberg, 1995: 331-332).

Furthermore, the artistic coordinator (*technostructure*) has begun to assume increasing levels of responsibility and today takes over advising the board, supervision of the ongoing work of teachers, coordinating the intensive training camps and training teachers. This coordinator also carried out a recent process of restructuring that resulted in the reduction of orchestral levels and established a new role in the organisation – orchestra supervisors -, that is, music teachers with management and supervision responsibilities:

*This year, we strengthened deeply that aspect with his presence [Olivetti]. (…) There was the suggestion that we think about three major levels and that these, we might say, form the foundations of the orchestra, the Initiation Orchestra that would be for students joining that year (…),the next orchestra is the Infant and then comes the Youth Orchestra. (...) In the meanwhile, we set up the role of the orchestra supervisor, which is a position that also exists in Venezuela. This person is responsible for the school repertoire or for the repertoire of an orchestra. (…) In summary, we have a supervisor for each level of orchestra. (…) The orchestra supervisor is responsible for ensuring the appropriate development of the respective repertoire.* (Helena Lima, OG sub-director, 25-03-2014)

In one way, this strengthening of the informal power of the artistic coordinator in relation to the coordinators of the nuclei, orchestra supervisors and teachers in general represents a "shift of power from managers to nonmanagers" (Mintzberg, 1979: 192), in a process entitled horizontal decentralisation. However, as such, this extends only to the artistic coordinator and we may consider that this constitutes only a limited form of horizontal decentralisation. Organisations placing the emphasis on standardisation of work processes, regulated by the *technostructure*, rather than establishing efficient routines, adopt a *machine* configuration (Mintzberg, 1995: 331).

This analysis thus suggests that the OG, taking into consideration the identification of a *middle-line* and the *technostructure* as core facets of the organisation, alongside the existence of limited vertical and horizontal decentralisation in terms of control of power, may be defined as oscillating between two fundamental configurations: *diversified* and m*achine organizations* (Mintzberg, 1995).

### *The Orquestra Geração as an activity system*

In advancing with our goal of unveiling the complexity of the OG, there emerged the need to cross-reference the Mintzberg based analysis with another model capable of serving as a tool for interpreting the learning processes that make up its practices. Within this scope, the historical-cultural activity theory was adopted as the analytical model able to answer central questions raised about any theory of learning:

> (1) Who are the subjects of learning, how are they defined and located?; (2) Why do they learn, what makes them make the effort?; (3) What do they learn, what are the contents and outcomes of learning?; and (4) How do they learn, what are the key actions or processes of learning? (Engeström, 2001: 133)

First proposed by Lev Vigotsky (1978), activity theory has evolved over the course of three generations of researchers. In this study, we depart from the contemporary applications of historical-cultural activity theory as expounded by Yrjö Engeström (2001). Hence, we correspondingly cross-reference the core facets of the

human systems and practices within a particular activity system – subject, object, instruments, rules, community and division of labour – with the following five principles: i) a system taken as the prime unit of analysis; ii) a system characterised by its multiple voices; iii) a system confronted with its own historicity; iv) a system in which contradictions play a central role as sources of change and development, and v) a system in which there is always the possibility for an expansive transformation (Daniels *et al.*, 2009; Engeström, 2001; Welch, 2007; Mota & Abreu, 2014). Furthermore, the concept of *artefact*, as a mediating instrument, would seem fundamental to any interpretation of the central learning processes taking place at the OG.

Michael Cole (1998) defined *artefact* as a cultural object that undergoes modification over the course of human history and always taking concrete form through a given action. As a means of objectifying human needs, Marx Wartofsky had already in 1979 identified three levels of artefact: primary, secondary and tertiary. In the primary artefacts, Cole (1998) included "the words, writing instruments, telecommunications networks and mythical cultural personages" (1998: 121). Within our OG context, we would correspondingly identify 'the musical instrument', with its presence in the life of children and in their homes fostering new interactions with their peers and family members:

> *I want the violin to be present in people's homes because it is an object and an object interacts with people, it has its own life (…), it will force people to interact with it, thus, this object joins the family agenda (…), has an impact on these families.* (Jorge Miranda, mentor, 09-05-2013)

As secondary artefacts, Wartofsky listed the means of action by which the primary artefacts get used. The proposal made by Cole attributes a central role to the preservation and transmission of the means of action and beliefs such as "recipes, traditional beliefs, norms, constitutions, and the like" (1998: 121). We correspondingly identify the orchestra as a secondary artefact that, through its norms, rituals and hierarchies, slowly modulates children's behaviours:

> *In this collective practice, we strongly reinforce those values such as self-esteem, feeling secure, companionship, creating a great family, that great*

*community which is the orchestra. I don't think there is any better discipline than the orchestra.* (National coordinator, 07-05-2013)

According to Wartofsky, the tertiary artefacts are the works of art, the imagined worlds and the processes of perception. These also provide us with the means to transform the world in which we live. In the OG, the musical works and the music itself are therefore identified as tertiary artefacts:

> *This is a complete transformation of a system that, through music, helps children become great musicians and great people, especially.* (National coordinator, 07-05-2013)

Cole considers that "one next step is to look at ways in which artifacts of the three different kinds are woven together in the process of joint human activity" (Cole, 1998: 122).

This is what we here aim to achieve in accordance with the five Engeström principles set out above and that are present in any system of activity.

### First principle – a system as a unit of analysis

The activity system as a "prime unit of analysis" (Engeström, 2001: 136) corresponds to the OG project in which music is the artefact mediating the following outcomes: social inclusion and mobility, and the personal and musical development of children and young persons exposed to educational and social vulnerability (the subjects) through collective musical practice (the object). This develops within the scope of a vast community (teachers, coordinators, families, etcetera), through explicit and implicit rules (musical curriculum, training camps, performances) and a specific division of labour (different roles within the orchestra) – see Fig. 3.

### Second principle – a system with multiple voices

The OG is a system of multiple voices within a multi-layered community in which the division of labour nurtures different positions and roles for each particular participant. The diversity of profiles of the different actors (directors, national coordinators, nucleus coordinators, teachers, students, families and so forth)

emphasises this same multiplicity of voices at the organisational level. This also results in contradictions that in turn bring about both innovation and difficulties and thus requiring a permanent state of negotiation.:

> *The teachers in schools identify the problems along with the coordinators. They say: "Look, this is not working, we are not being able to manage it, can something be done?" Well, the issue gets handed onto us [the board].* (Helena Lima, sub-director, 21-05-2012)

> *We have some resistances and we have to keep on managing them. And after this, very often the coordinators state: 'Well then, this aspect here is not functioning, we're facing difficulties…'  There are some schools that are still experiencing difficulty in accepting the role of the orchestra supervisor: 'are we now having someone watching over us?''. And that is precisely what we don't want but rather a means of promoting coordinated teamwork.* (Helena Lima, sub-director, 25-03-2014)



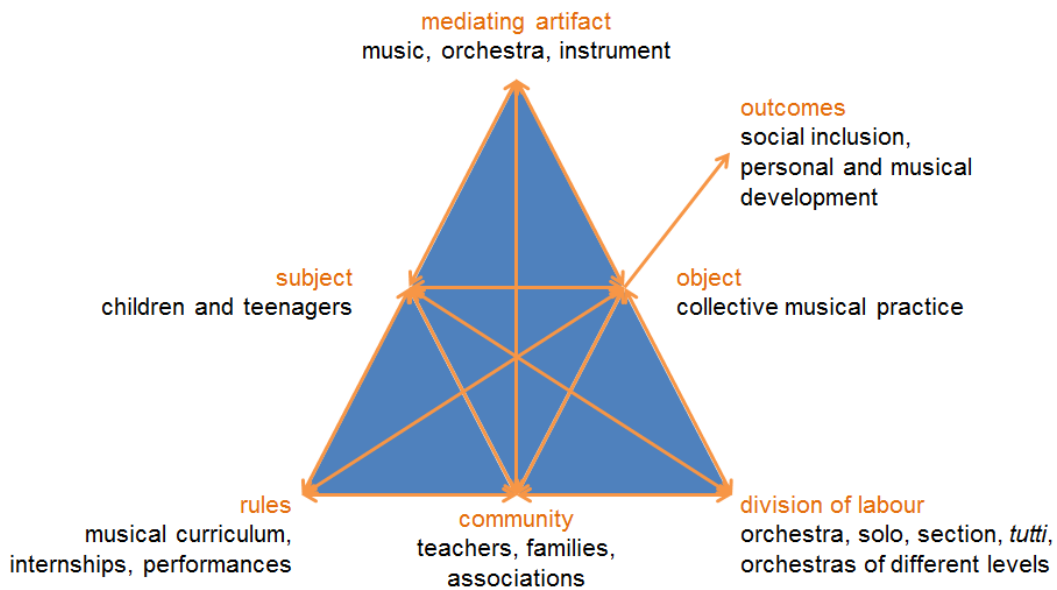Figure 3. Activity system that frames social inclusion and the personal and musical development of children and adolescents in *Orquestra Geração* (adapted from Engeström, 2001 & Welch, 2007)

### Third principle – a system confronted with its historicity

According to Engeström, "activity systems take shape and get transformed over lengthy periods of time. Their problems and potentials can only be understood against

their own history" (2001; 136). As a relatively recent project, we are not inclined to approach the OG as having its own historicity. However, the projects also reflects *El Sistema* and its four decades of history through both its methodology and its tangible successes, especially with the maestro Dudamel and the Símon Bolívar Symphonic Orchestra of Venezuela: "*El Sistema* and its offspring would not have sustained the world's scrutiny without its convincing artistic achievements" (Majno, 2012: 58).

We may analyse the OG as a specific case that, while globally inspired on the ES history, has begun to establish its own procedures and instruments that undergo testing and accumulation through local activities. This would constitute a clear theoretical basis for its history, which appropriately identifies the need for adaptation that requires continuous scrutiny and gets shaped by its day-to-day construction in a process of converging with and diverging from *El Sistema*.

### Fourth principle – the central role of contradictions

We identified various contradictions in the OG that may potentially serve as "sources of change and development" (Engeström, 2001: 137). One of them stems from the very diversity of pedagogical practices already referred to in the second principle. Another is the latent tension between either adopting the ES methodology just as implemented in Venezuela or adapting it to the Portuguese context. A third is the ambivalence between the two core objectives: social inclusion and musical excellence. Finally, cultural diversity and the social contexts of the communities hosting the nuclei also prove a source of multiple contradictions requiring a variety of approaches.

As suggested by Engeström, these contradictions do not equal problems or conflicts. Our data report how there were moments when it was necessary to take decisions, whether due to the recognition of the existence of issues interrelating with the pedagogical functioning of the project, the teaching and learning methodologies or with the actual musical repertoire: all gave rise to reflection and change:

> *We work on the constant adaptation according to our circumstances, the specific needs we detect, the needs of schools and of pupils. (...) And sometimes*

*we introduce a new course that may take the whole year or just function as a workshop. (Wagner Dinis, director, 21-05-2012)*

*The idea is to have a common repertoire so that they can all come together and play. There was a time in which we were already doing things more… more differentiated. Sometimes, even the teachers themselves suggested that we do this or that but now we want to focus on the same repertoire for all nuclei…* (Helena Lima, sub-director, 25-03-2014)

*Next year, we want to have some of this repertoire [traditional Portuguese] and… a fado, we want to have a fado arranged for orchestra, we also want to look for more funaná, or morna, as well as some kizomba. (…) They massively like all of them. And we never wanted them to get circumscribed: in this school, we have Cape Verdeans and so we are going to do a funaná here… Indeed, just as the schools are… more than multicultural, aren't they?* (Helena Lima, sub-director, 25-03-2014)

### Fifth principle – expansive transformation

The OG potential for expansive transformation resides in appropriating the contradictions identified within the scope of re-conceptualising "the object and the motive of the activity" (Engeström, 2001: 137). Some efforts in this direction may already be identified.

As regards the diversity in the teaching profiles, the approaches taken by the coordination have involved holding workshops and other training opportunities. Other intentions that we found in the discourses of various actors, but which do not seem to have been satisfactorily implemented, include improving communication between teachers and projects coordinators as well as fostering pedagogical innovations and the individual initiatives of teachers:

*Over the course of time, we have identified teachers that are best able to do the pure and hard work of the orchestra. (…) There are teachers who are very good at working the individual part but who then have some difficulties in managing the big group and even from the point of view of children's behaviours. (…) Therefore, we have identified the various functions that these people are able to perform.* (Helena Lima, sub-director, 25-03-2014)

*There are already many teachers with a lot of initiative who have shown great, great capacities for solving problems (...) Therefore, when I see that a person has the abilities or a particular gift for running a camp, marketing, I give her direct support; or has a knack for section work or jazz groups… Any time that we see initiative being shown, that's always worth supporting.* (National coordinator, 07-05-2013)

As regards the adoption or adaptation of the ES methodology, the direction is aware of the national and local contexts and strives to foster the necessary and essential adaptations to ensure cultural diversity and autonomy concerning the ES as a primary source of inspiration.

In summary, we recognise that any significant expansion of the OG as an activity system has to take into account the cross-referencing of the five principles set out above and the four questions raised at the beginning of this chapter (Engeström, 2001). At the present moment, and given its eight years of existence, it only seems pertinent to raise some questions that bear the potential for significant expansive transformation:

1. *Who are the subjects of learning, how are they defined and located?*

   In the OG, the learning subjects are not only the students but also their teachers and families. Therefore, the first and second principles (the OG and its multiple voices) are involved in replying to this entire question. Should we return to fig. 3, we may easily perceive how the mediating *artifact* (the music, the orchestra, the instrument) and the collective musical practice (object) generate a complex network of individual and group actions that, in turn, determine the ways in which the learning subjects bring their different life stories into the system as "a community of multiple points of view, traditions and interests" (Engeström, 2001: 136).

2. *Why do they learn, what makes them make the effort?*

   In this aspect, Engeström draws upon the theory of situated learning proposed by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger to affirm that "motivation to learn stems from participation in culturally valued collaborative practices in

112

which something useful is produced" (Engeström, 2001: 141). This is thus where we may find an anchor in OG practices. Given the ES inspiration (historicity) and the apparent ambiguity between fostering musical excellence all the while proclaiming that the project is primarily about social inclusion (contradictions), it would seem that the continued motivation to learn and encounter new perspectives on life through collective musical practices has to be subject to careful attention. This is most important especially taking into consideration the permanent demands imposed upon participants in keeping with their social and economic contexts.

3. *What do they learn, what are the contents and outcomes of learning?*
   We may approach this question by drawing on contributions made by the first, third, fourth and fifth principles. It is in the orchestra as a whole, within the coexistence of old and new concepts and procedures (adopting/adapting the historicity of *El Sistema*) that teaching and learning take place in terms of the expected outcomes of significant musical development. Working the ambivalence generated by the two major objectives – social inclusion and musical excellence – there is the expectation that the OG undergoes successive cycles of expansion that shall determine the terms of its future.

4. *How do they learn, what are the key actions or processes of learning?*
   The development of the OG, since its foundation in 2007, has steadily proven that dialogue and debate are vital to its survival in order to ensure significant teaching and learning. This process has to be accompanied by continuously listening to the multiple voices that act within its scope to ensure the focus on the common objective: improving the collective musical practice while including the greatest possible number of children. Within this framework, it is essential to positively overcome these contradictions and take up an independent position regarding the dichotomy of 'adopting/adapting' towards the ES. The actions determinant to any

transformative expansion should certainly span questioning, analysis, implementation and, once again, reflection.

**Some final reflections**

In terms of the Mintzberg model, the standardisation that we identified in the processes and products, as currently practiced by the OG, and, above all, through the introduction of the role of orchestra supervisor, seems to generate apparently unsolved contradictions. While this conveys the need to support a greater level of OG decentralisation (more in tune with Engeström's expansive transformation ), in which school coordinators and teachers would be welcome to deploy their initiatives and take on more power within the organization, it remains a fact that the OG presents a limited level of both vertical and horizontal decentralization..

It would therefore seem fair to speculate up to what point might the concentration of power in a reduced number of core figures end up hindering the *Orquestra Geração* from prospering within a framework of reference in which its identity gets highlighted as a project effectively autonomous from that of *El Sistema*.

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# Chapter 6

**LEARNING MUSIC IN ORQUESTRA GERAÇÃO**

QUESTIONS ABOUT MUSICAL PEDAGOGY

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**An old *orquestra* stand for a young *Generation*[45]**

As stated before, the *Orquestra Geração* (OG) strives to provide disadvantaged primary school age populations with i) the development of social and personal competences, ii) the acquisition of essential knowledge in the field of musical instruments, iii) better school and social integration (Caldas, 2007) and iv) an alternative path able to contribute towards the desired mobility and changes in social trajectories. This is achieved through collective instrumental practice, carried out in a regular, intense and pedagogically structured way.

The desire to achieve these multiple goals, and the belief/*doxa*[46] (Bourdieu, 2001) in the benefits this project may provide to all the young persons involved, serves as a type of core assumption or the theoretical framework for the OG project. Above all, this incorporates and assumes in its actions that the teaching of music in general, and instrumental practice in particular, may act as the means for a fundamental transfer capable of bringing about transformations in the target school population and ensuring their access to the desired opportunities, both at the *personal* and *social* levels and as well as at the *artistic* level. Helena Lima, one of the OG board members, explained what this belief in the project means:

> *The word faith, to me, changed somewhat when I went to Venezuela [in 2014]. Because when we had people from Venezuela here saying: "You have to have faith that this is all going to work well!". [I] would listen and... It's a complicated model (...), but, in fact, they believe that things are possible, they can get done, they believe in that genuinely and do not question much. To us,*

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[45] In Portuguese 'Geração' means 'Generation', hence the use of the word in this context. See Chapter 2 for the origin of the name 'Geração'.

[46] According to Pierre Bourdieu, *doxa* represents a particular vision or position, the vision or position of those who dominate and present and impose it as if a symbolically accepted universal vision.

*to Europeans, this is confusing, we are used to displaying a more critical spirit. However, in fact, it is fundamental to believe that this can… I have convinced myself of this. We must believe, irrespective of things that are not going to go so well, that this can still be done.* (Helena Lima, sub-director, 25-03-2014)

From the OG perspective, as well as that of many researchers in this field[47], collective instrumental practice or music taken as a whole, is not distinct to society across its multiple lived experiences, but rather on the contrary is an integral part of it –an *object* and an *activity* that gets socially constructed (Roy, 2010). Therefore, it may supply the adequate means and the tools, through musical/instrumental educational actions, for improving the social lives of young people and, consequently, of their families. Thus, music, far from being a simple copy of social life, actually stands as social action and interaction among a diversity of actors with its meaning emerging out of the social usages (Frith, 2003; Martin, 2007).

The sociologist Tia DeNora (2003) maintains that music is not about or caused by the social but is instead part of a broader social creation as its *constitutive ingredient*. An ingredient applied through active and dynamic engagement with social life – in the sense that this helps invoke, stabilise and transform the parameters of collective and individual action (DeNora, 2000) – based on trajectories and styles of life that are operationally, systematically and creatively deployed in the social space in real time (Willis, 1978). The musical significance extends far beyond any mere emotional and cognitive function and encapsulates a form and a more powerful means of sociability and communication – a powerful means of social order (Frith, 2003)[48].

This intended reconfiguration of the *social* by means of interaction with the *musical* does not stem from the existing structural similarities between collective instrumental practice, on the one hand, and the personal and social extra-musical activities, on the other hand, but rather emerges out of attentive observation as to how musical practices share basic procedural characteristics with the extra-musical activities. Furthermore, these procedural characteristics hold consequences for the doing, the understanding and the achieving of these same activities. As Daniel

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[47] Cf. Tia DeNora (2000) and Peter Martin (1995), among many other authors.
[48] Cf. Chapter 1.

Barenboim states in his book *Everything Is Connected*, through musical experiences "(…) it is possible to imagine an alternative social model, where Utopia and practicality join forces, allowing us to express ourselves freely and hear each other's preoccupations" (2008: 68).This dialogic quality that orchestral musical experience provides – we have to express ourselves and we have to listen to each other – ensures that culture/music "becomes the primary voice of the oppressed and takes over from politics as a driving force for change" (2008: 62). The national OG coordinator, Juan Maggiorani, shares this same transformative view that the orchestra provides:

> *This is a complete transformation of a system that helps, through music, (…) the children to develop as great musicians and especially as great people.* (National coordinator, 07-05-2013)

In order to build and implement its social, pedagogical and artistic identity, the OG project makes use of, in the words of its senior management, the guiding principles of the *Venezuelan National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras* and, additionally, to the curricular structuring models of the national artistic, vocational and professional music teaching system. Helena Lima highlighted how:

> *The Sistema's concept is since the beginning, [in the] original idea. (...) The design was shaped, somewhat, according to the Sistema's principles as the whole joint work, and then adapted to our possibilities. Obviously, our project (...) had a greater emphasis on the individual component and on ear training and sight singing class (...). Our training programs demonstrate the influence of the Paris conservatory model: the musicians have individual classes, and only at the end of several years do they get permission to be in the orchestra.* (Helena Lima, sub-director, 21-05-2012)

The socio-musical teaching and learning space, or the educational *field*, adopted by the OG project is put into practice through instrument classes, section classes, orchestra and ear training and sight singing classes with a total weekly timetable of seven hours[49] (Costa, Cruz & Mota, 2014). At the heart of this curricular structure, collective instrumental practice – the place in the old orchestra stand – appears to form the central focus of the teaching and learning process and, thus, the

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[49] This guiding curricular structure is subject to adaptations according to the different School Groups: Instrument (1h - 2/4 students), Instrumental section (3h), Orchestra (2h) and Ear training and sight singing (1h).

catalysing dimension to all of the artistic activities which will be presented in various moments and in public venues across the country. An apparently contradictory situation to the normal practices encountered in specialised music teaching in which the instrument seems to gain this curricular profile – the centrality of the teaching -, despite the identity and the autonomy of the different subjects:

> *Our main objective is the collective practice. We are convinced that a child learns more rapidly in the collective than in the individual. (…) In this collective practice, we greatly strengthen the core values, self-esteem, security, companionship and create a big family that is a big community which is inherently the orchestra. I don't think there is any better discipline than that of the orchestra itself.* (National coordinator, 07-05-2013)

The complete attainment of this *field* of socio-musical education does not take place in any absolute or unvarying way in the different schools where the project is implemented. Without ever rejecting its underlying conceptions, this *field* above all undergoes implementation in accordance with its human and material resources[50] and the scope for action generated by the different schools at each moment. We would recall that the teaching activities of the OG project take place in the participating public schools and not in the orchestra's own venues or in specialised music schools.

**A possible *field* of socio-musical training**

The *field* of socio-musical training nurtured by the OG project, a *field* of instrumental (technical), cultural and social training, also represents a place for the teaching and learning of the different constituent subject fields – *Collective Instrumental Practice* (on variable dimensions), *Instrument* and *Ear Training and Sight Singing* – while getting involved in external relationships that provide distinction and affirmation over the course of these practices.

The notion of *field* applied here may be conceptualised as a *network* or *configuration* of objective relationships among a plurality of *actors*, individual or collective, that take up specific positions within the scope of a particular *field* – in our

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[50] The limited support from the Ministry of Education and the host municipalities for contracting music teachers represents one important restriction on the full implementation of the OG project.

case, a network of objective relationships between subjects/teachers that are located in different places within the *field* of socio-musical training. These objective relationships are historically socially competing relations built upon and between positions rooted in specific forms of *capital*, that exist and survive beyond any consciousness and individual will (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1996).

The *field* of socio-musical training, with its origins based upon a division in and articulation with the pedagogical work, emerges as a *relatively autonomous* space (Bourdieu, 1996) as it follows logics that are simultaneously *generic* and *specific* (Bourdieu, 2004). They are *generic* as the knowledge acquired in a particular *field* (political, religious, artistic, sporting, etc.) proves of relevance for the questioning and interpreting of other *fields* and *specific* because all *fields* are endowed with the needs and interests exclusive to them and irreducible to the multiple existing spaces (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1996).

The *field* of socio-musical training, thus alongside any other *field*, behaves on the one hand as a *field of strengths* among the dominant disciplinary fields (the leading ones) and the dominated (functional or supportive of the dominant) and, on the other hand, as a *field of battle,* therefore a space for conflict and competition where different disciplines express themselves through different *capitals* of *autonomy*, *identity* and *scale*, face each other off and engender strategies to maintain or transform their respective positions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1996; Bourdieu, 2001, 2005).

The construction of any disciplinary domain in this *field* implies the occupation of a space of meaningful representation (having *dimension*), with their own distinctive features (defining the *identity*) and striving for emancipation from the other domains of knowledge (seeking *autonomy*). The different *capitals* mentioned above are the components of the symbolic valuation that gives meaning and reason to the survival of the different actors – in this case, subjects/teachers – that participate in the *field* of socio-musical training. The proposed concept of *capital* means on the one hand, the set of properties that are held/accumulated by these disciplinary domains over the course of their existence and, on the other hand, the set of resources that endow meaning on the structure of distribution inherent to each *field,* thus justifying its

functioning.

## Perspectives and discourses on the origins of place in the *field*

The documental *corpus* applied to understand and empirically justify the *place* that the different subjects occupy in this *field* of socio-musical training by the OG project was exclusively constructed out of three methodological tools for gathering information: interviews[51], carried out with the teachers of the Instrument and Ear Training and Sight Singing subjects, the project coordinators (at the school and national levels) and members of the board; content analysis of the programs[52] for Ear Training and Sight Singing and Instrument classes alongside other pedagogical support materials for instrumental practices, both individual and collective; and, the observation of Instrument and Ear Training and Sight Singing classes and orchestra rehearsals[53].

Following a first brief exploratory phase along with content analysis of interviews and the records made during observations, we carried out a categorisation of the information gathered thereby making recourse to, firstly, analogies in the sense of the predominant units of meaning encountered in the respective contents and, secondly, the new possibilities for codification and classification, more tightly refined and heuristically richer, that emerged from the former. These categories or thematic classes, given the qualitative type of analysis undertaken here, were thus defined *a priori* and enriched *a posteriori* (with the construction of the subcategories that emerged in the meanwhile) using our previous knowledge and formal (sentences or words) and semantic (units of meaning or themes) criteria applied within an exclusive system (Bardin, 2003; Hodder, 2000; L'Ecuyer, 1990).

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[51] The interviews took place according to differentiated structures depending on the specific characteristics of each one of the subject domains involved – Ear Training and Sight Singing, Instrument and Orchestra.

[52] Within the scope of this project, there are no specifically Ear Training and Sight Singing programs in the strict sense of the term applied in education, but rather matrixes or orienting frameworks that highlight a series of content and activities, in a cross-referenced approach, distributed by years and organised according to three fundamental musical domains and three modes of pedagogical operational implementation – melody, rhythm and harmony | sensorial, reading and writing.

[53] As already detailed in Chapter 3, the present study opted to choose, given their respective specific characteristics, only four schools as case studies, that is, the nuclei in Vialonga, Miguel Torga, Apelação and Amarante.

The guiding documentation and the different discourses observed and produced by the various project participants on the *field* of OG socio-musical training, gave rise to a methodical and critical analysis. This enabled us to identify the properties and the resources of the main capitals held by each one of the subject domains participating in this *field.*

Over the course of the many observations, interviews and analyses, we attempted fundamentally to grasp, i) what is the importance that these subject domains hold within the scope of artistic, vocational and professional teaching in general and in the *field* of OG socio-musical training in particular; ii) what are the types of curricular organisation and program orientations or the program framework for the pedagogical activities inherent to each subject; iii) what pedagogical strategies get deployed within the scope of teaching practices and which may be identified as pedagogy specific to *El Sistema* (ES); iv) and what is the academic and professional profile of the teachers involved in the OG project.

The answers obtained provided the material for defining the different subject domains within this *field* of socio-musical training. We correspondingly began to grasp the level or the value of *autonomy* held by each domain over others (for example, valuing the importance of discipline in the curriculum); the extent to which each subject has its own *identity* and/or exclusive characteristics irrespective of the potential interlinkages (for example, recognising the presence of a particular teacher profile and the specific programs of each subject); and, finally, understanding the *dimension* or the type of presence that each subject domain has within the overall curricular plan (for example, attribution of time/duration or even its very existence).

In summary, within the framework of this chapter, we aim to convey and highlight what is the *place* that the different subject domains, specifically *Collective Instrumental Practice*, the *Instrument* and Ear Training and Sight Singing*, occupy within the scope of this *field* of socio-musical training as regards the symbolic recognition of its *capitals* in terms of *autonomy*, *identity* and *dimension*.

**Ear Training and Sight Singing in the socio-musical *field* of *Orquestra Geração***

Ear Training and Sight Singing is a subject area that, while having a constant curricular presence in the formal construction of music teaching programs, almost always registers an irregular and downplayed valuation of its input within the *field* of specialized music education. This indicates an unstable presence in view of the attributed varying symbolic recognition, formally or informally, and in terms of program autonomy, the training identity and curricular dimension.

There are several factors contributing to this subject subordination, including: the central role of learning the instrument (whether individual or collective instrument practice) in the specialist music teaching curricula, the curricular configuration of this subject as an appendix to some other key training or the lack of Ear Training and Sight Singing programs appropriately set out in terms of their structure and contents.

However, without seeking to contradict the subordination referred to above, we do need to recognise how the Ear Training and Sight Singing subject emerged from a path featuring notable transformations. Within this framework, we would recall the changes that took place following the implementation of the *Solfeggio* teaching reform, led by Viana da Mota, in 1934, the Pedagogical Experience of Veiga Simão, in 1971, in which the *Solfeggio* subject gave way to the new subject of Music Education or the change in its title from Music Education to Ear Training and Sight Singing, in 1985[54].

In the case of the OG project, the inclusion of the Ear Training and Sight Singing subject, within the framework of its *field* of socio-musical training, fundamentally reflects the symbolical and historical influence of music curricula[55] (having always been present on the curriculum with a varied level of importance) and out of recognition of the pedagogical gains the subject may bring to the effective implementation of the project:

> *We are talking about a vocation area of music for students learning an instrument. (...) Therefore, Ear Training and Sight Singing is really very, very important to ensure students are able to attain the necessary skills to be more at ease with the instrument, both in terms of reading and tuning abilities.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

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[54] Cf. Decree-law no. 23577, of 19 February 1934, Decree-law no. 310, of 1 July 1983 and Dispatch no. 78/SEAM, of 9 October 1985.

[55] On the current curricular organisation of basic music teaching, see Decree no. 225/2012, of 30 July.

Departing from assumptions about the historicity and pedagogical gains, and taking into consideration the aforementioned initial framework, we sought to critically analyse the responses obtained based upon the four fundamental questions raised by the various actors involved in the OG project (Ear Training and Sight Singing teachers, board and coordinators) in order to understand what is the true *place* that *Ear Training and Sight Singing* holds in the *field* of OG socio-musical training and in keeping with the symbolic recognition of its *capitals* – of *autonomy*, of *identity* and of *dimension* – that attribute its profile and status as a subject matter.

*On the importance of Ear Training and Sight Singing …*

Considering the discourses produced by the different actors, the question about the role or roles that Ear Training and Sight Singing performs within the scope of specialized music teaching in general, and in the *field* of OG socio-musical training in particular, enables us to understand three fundamental ideas. The first tells us how the roles assumed by the actors are the same for the two educational settings, even while adapted to each reality:

> *The idea is [that Ear Training and Sight Singing] plays exactly the same role [as this subject in specialized music teaching]. This does not mean that we are able to do the same type of work as these students have, in general, more difficulties in various musical domains.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

A second idea shows how the Ear Training and Sight Singing subject, in terms of the learning skills to be developed, is taught more demandingly and with a wider reaching range in specialist music teaching than in the OG socio-musical partner training:

> *I thought that the program of the Lisbon National Conservatory, was very complicated… for us to apply that here [at the OG] would be impossible. That of the Metropolitana is very difficult as well… and therefore we have to adapt.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

Finally, the third idea sets out how these roles emerge and cluster around three fundamental axes shared by the two *fields* of learning – that of specialist music teaching and that of the OG. The first axis attributes to Ear Training and Sight Singing the role of a training resource for the development of instrumental practice, whether at the collective or the individual levels. In this axis, reading music without singing constitutes the central teaching practice of Ear Training and Sight Singing, according to the pedagogical orientation of the project coordinator:

> *There is a great reluctance [on behalf of theory teachers] around doing pure and hard solfeggio and we, sometimes, for our orchestras, we need that. Therefore, this is a question that most definitely remains unsolved.* (Helena Lima, sub-director, 25-03-2014)

A second axis attributes to Ear Training and Sight Singing a role in the domain of musical culture. Questions such as musical appreciation and knowledge about different musical works, composers and interpreters as well as the interrelationships between the fields of music analysis and the history of music, all hold relevance within the scope of the teaching activities of this subject:

> *Should the teachers wish to, they may also show musical examples (...) students who do not have this culture, who do not know high art music, do not know… these works, (...) therefore, I think Ear Training and Sight Singing may also help in this aspect, providing a little bit of musical culture.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

Furthermore, the third axis endows Ear Training and Sight Singing with a fundamental role as an educational unit capable of leveraging the capacity to acquire other specific musical skills. Without ignoring the learning components already mentioned, the Ear Training and Sight Singing teaching practices should be structured around the diversity of aspects that are particular to this field of knowledge – reading, listening, musical repertoires – and other pedagogical resources such as theory and musical analysis:

> *And, after all, a musician has to be more than just an instrument player. At least that is what we… we… attempt, we try to educate musicians who are not exclusively players and who do not just focus on the mechanical part (...). Thus, Ear Training and Sight Singing goes a long way beyond knowing the notes and*

*the rhythms, reaches far beyond the solfeggio, (...) approaches the harmonic question, chords and theory.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

*The curricular structure and program orientations…*

Now concentrating on the responses obtained to a second group of questions – the Ear Training and Sight Singing curricular structure and pedagogical activities within the OG project framework – we may highlight at least three aspects that would seem relevant to understanding and perceiving the role of this subject in the *field* of socio-musical training. These interrelate with what the different actors think about the timetable/duration of the subject, the way of organising the respective classes and, finally, the structure and content of the subject's programs.[56]

As regards the timetable and temporal duration of the Ear Training and Sight Singing subject, in general terms, we find a certain dissatisfaction with the time allocated weekly to teaching this subject:

> *It's very little time, 45 minutes is not enough to do anything, the time it takes for them to come in and go out… immediately takes up 15 minutes, (…) almost ensuring that there isn't the time to get going it's… fast, putting together two pieces… and there's not enough time to do anything.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

Concerning the different ways of organising the OG project classes, two fundamental concerns were expressed by the teachers. Firstly, attention falls on aspects such as the number of students per class and irregularities in classroom attendance over the course of the academic year (both the lack of attendance and the arrival and departure of students at any time over the school year):

> *Another of the problems that is somewhat complicated to deal with, (…) is how halfway through the year, there are always people arriving, always getting new students. Even now, today, I'm going to be getting two new students. They are always arriving and leaving. This causes a lot of disturbance.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Miguel Torga, 04-02-2014)

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[56] The existing documents are not programs in the strict senses but rather matrixes/guiding frameworks with indications for content across different levels.

A second issue approaches the heterogeneity in musical knowledge experienced within the extent of any Ear Training and Sight Singing class. This disparity would seem to occur fundamentally because the organising of classes seems dependent on the availability of students:

> *The class times relate to the availability of students, with their school timetables. We try and combine the two [the availability and the level of development]. It's always… we always think about bringing the levels together, don't we? But obviously there is, or their might be one or two students (...) that due to the timetable cannot attend the class level that they are supposed to be in. But it's not due to the fact of not having the timetables that we do not fit them into another class. But we do have to know how to adapt to the situation, yes, we do.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Apelação, 05-02-2014)

This heterogeneity in knowledge faces the Ear Training and Sight Singing teachers with classroom situations that are somewhat problematic in terms of the different learning phases. These professionals refer to how the education obtained at the end of the primary teaching study cycle is, to a certain extent, deficient or unequal and that there are clear difficulties in students successfully passing the entrance texts to secondary school music teaching:

> *Some students are able to follow the path to the end, a route that I would say is sufficient, but not others who also reached the end of the 5th grade even while not having anywhere near the same competences.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

> *Last year, we had some cases of poor students who managed to get in by chance, very much thanks to the instrument. In Ear Training and Sight Singing, they were not so well prepared.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

As regards the contents of program orientations[57] provided for the Ear Training and Sight Singing subject in the OG project, we encountered different situations. The programs were drafted based upon those established for specialized musical training while differing in their level of adaptation (higher or lower) to the specific OG contexts

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[57] See the guiding matrixes and chronograms for activities and contents for coverage in Musical theory at the Vialonga and Miguel Torga schools.

and in the way they were built up, whether in an autonomous (isolated) fashion or through articulation among nuclei:

> *The program that we are following was designed by Mário and myself, we did the drafting but inspired on the National Conservatory program and eventually on the programs of other schools that we consider sufficiently complete.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

> *This year, I took the liberty of bringing together some colleagues [from Lisbon located nuclei] and attempted to work out a program, an Ear Training and Sight Singing program for the orchestra. (…) Because what happens is that there is a program for the orchestra, pretty much common to all of the nuclei. In Ear Training and Sight Singing, there was never anything like it, that means, each teacher does what he thinks is best for the students. And that ended up being all very unequal.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Miguel Torga, 04-02-2014)

*The pedagogical strategies…*

Regarding the different pedagogical strategies applied in Ear Training and Sight Singing, we highlight here those that seem to hold the greatest relevance within this framework, in particular:

i) the use of musical repertoires as a pedagogical tool for the development of teaching and learning practices:

> *When I bring musical examples, this is either the first thing that we do or the last. Very often, it's a sweetener: "Well, if everything goes well, if we all manage to work through everything, at the end, we can hear a musical excerpt, learn something a bit more".* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

ii) the transformation of the orchestra repertoires into pedagogical materials (pedagogical content knowledge[58]) to be used in Ear Training and Sight Singing  teaching and learning practices:

> *Instead of having the scales, a study, a piece, they use here the orchestra pieces with the objective of working everything at the same time. This has good aspects and some that are less good.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher,

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[58] Cf. Shulman (1993).

129

Apelação, 05-02-2014)

*The information then also goes to the Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher. The Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher knows the way it works… This week, we will be working around this section, this part. (...) Therefore, the Ear Training and Sight Singing classes are always focused on what the students are doing in the orchestra.* (Helena Lima, sub-director, 25-03-2014)

iii) the importance of developing reading without singing skills in the Ear Training and Sight Singing subject as this represents an unequalled tool enabling students to move on from a process of learning from imitation and repetition to a process of self-learning of the collective instrumental practices:

*This is an orchestra system, there has to be theory and solfeggio, that's it. That has to be. (…) Through the instrument, you can play, repeat, with the claves, you can attempt to play but to spend an entire year teaching about the sun, the moon and the little boat … it doesn't work. Therefore, they also sing, they can sing (…) they are developing listening skills.* (National Coordinator, 07-05-2013)

iv) the option to engage and develop, within the scope of the classroom, strategies and activities that prioritise musical orality and practical knowledge as opposed to whatever focuses on musical scores and the theoretical domain:

*I always attempt to do a practical part, especially because the practical part to them is fundamental because they are in the orchestra and they need to feel [the music). The music gets enacted through the body.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Miguel Torga, 04-02-2014)

v) the use of methodological strategies that imply that classes include the different dimensions of learning in a balanced fashion:

*In this phase, I don't go into theory much but I go over a bit of everything, structure the class to provide a reading, a melodic-rhythmic reading, (...), doing something around audition in terms of any of the listening skills, as, for example, dictations (...). In truth, I do a bit of everything.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher de Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

vi) the option for pedagogical strategies that promote motivation and involve students even when this requires moving away from the formal content of Ear Training and Sight Singing:

> *With them, you've got to get into the game a bit, (…) catch some of their waves at the beginning and then soon move onto the music. (…) I'm never able to go into the class and [get] all of the kids sat down. (…) You need to get into their spirit a bit.* (Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher, Apelação, 05-02-2014)

*The academic and professional profiles of teachers…*

As regards the academic and professional profiles of the Ear Training and Sight Singing teachers in the project[59], we may report: i) a wide variety in the educational backgrounds even while there is a greater incidence of those with Ear Training and Sight Singing education – the four teachers interviewed all hold academic qualifications in different music based programs, specifically, Music Theory and Ear Training and Sight Singing, Music Education, Instrument and Musical Sciences; ii) the almost complete absence of professional training in this field; iii) a very recent joining of the teaching profession both in terms of music teaching and in the OG; iv) the complementation of Ear Training and Sight Singing teaching with other subjects, especially Choir, Instrument or Orchestra; v) and, finally, that the number of weekly hours taught by these teachers, even when they teach in several nuclei, do not amount to a full time job.

From the perspective of the coordinators, the ideal profile for an Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher is somebody able to teach all of the subjects making up the *field* of socio-musical training in the project:

> *The ideal situation is that the teacher teaches Orchestra, teaches instrumental section, teaches Violin and is an Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher. If you get that in one teacher, you'll get a fantastic teacher. (…) The teacher who wants to be an Ear Training and Sight Singing teacher in the project has to be aligned with its core, that is, his or her training is the same as that of any Instrument teacher.* (National Coordinator, 07-05-2013)

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[59] Cf. Chapter 4.

*Notes for reflection*

Of the three previously referred axes[60] regarding the role of Ear Training and Sight Singing in the *field* of OG socio-musical training, the first – Ear Training and Sight Singing as a training resource for the development of instrumental practices – is the one that emerges with the greatest relevance and that elicits constant concern in the discourses of all the participant actors. Taking into consideration collective practice – socio-musical performance in the orchestra, the majority option for this axis is also discursively accompanied by almost obsessive references that point out the need to implement Ear Training and Sight Singing teaching practices above all oriented to the domain and the development of reading without singing of the repertoire.

Departing from the different organisational and pedagogical features observed – constructing timetables, organising classes and drafting programs – we may state that the Ear Training and Sight Singing subject seems to occupy a volatile position within the *field* of OG socio-musical training. This position, while subordinate to collective instrumental practices, varies in accordance with the recognition that each school environment attributes to the *autonomy*, *identity* and *dimension* of this subject domain.

Ear Training and Sight Singing represents a subject without any program autonomy, with a limited pedagogical identity and a reduced curricular scope. As observed in the case of the Apelação nucleus, its existence depends on the mere role of functional support to (and not articulation with) the collective instrumental practice. The opposite happens whenever its attributed importance falls within the scope of the third axis detailed above –an educational unit capable of leveraging the capacity to acquire other specific musical skills, as in the case of the Vialonga nucleus. In this school, the Ear Training and Sight Singing subject displays its own program, strives to convey specific training and presents an appropriate timetable.

**The place of the instrument in the socio-musical *field* of *Orquestra Geração***

*The curricular structure and the program orientations...*

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[60] See section '*ON THE IMPORTANCE OF EAR TRAINING AND SIGHT SINGING*' in this chapter.

Regarding instrumental teaching, two aspects require highlighting: the first relates to the organisation of the program while the second derives from the time attributed to instrument classes. Concerning the programs, we may state that they: i) are structured by levels; ii) define transition criteria for entering upper level orchestras (practice evaluation tests); ii) are organised by objectives, content and technical skills to be developed as well as the orchestra repertoires; iv) should be implemented flexibly taking into account individual student development:

> The organisation of the program into levels and not into years assumes that the transition from one level to another does not happen by years while not implying passing or failing (...) However, the transition to the more advanced level of the orchestra is determined by the accomplishment of a test that determines the instrumental level attained by the student.

> The objective of the program is to provide the basic tools for developing musical competences in the instrumental area ranging upwards from the level of initiation; equally, this seeks to convey the basic knowledge required to approach orchestral practice as a fundamental tool for individual instrumental development.

> The teachers, based upon the present flexible programs, have the liberty to include, beyond the repertoire defined below, studies and pieces from a similar level, while knowing how to adapt the program content to the needs of each student at any particular moment in their individual development. (String Instrument Program, *Orquestra Geração*, January 2011)

Learning an instrument at the OG is intrinsically bound up with the context of each nucleus and dependent on the respective orchestra program. While there is leeway in the programs for the various instruments to carry out their specific training, the orchestra defined repertoire seems to prevail over the time available for individual classes[61]. Hence, the Instrument effectively gives up its autonomy in favour of the collective instrumental practices:

> *This entirely relates to the orchestra: we have a new piece and this piece has to go through the individual class circuit, the instrumental section, the orchestra.*

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[61] This situation is not verified equally across all of the nuclei included in this study. In the case of the Vialonga nucleus, as the music teaching functions under an integrated regime, the Instrument class also focuses on the individual program.

*As soon as this work goes along this circuit, we then have time to prepare the individual program with them* (instrument teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014).

*The individual classes always contain a more technical component and the group class is to bring all the different parts together. The difference is that the individual classes (...) are for practicing the technique for our part of the orchestra work; we are not preparing the individual program.* (Instrument Teacher, Apelação, 07-06-2014)

The opinion of teachers regarding the time spent in Instrument classes denotes a lack of satisfaction as the hours dedicated to individual work do not enable student development as regards their instrumental technique:

*I believe that the time allocated to Instrument classes is small given that students need to develop the basic technique of their instrument, which sometimes is not possible due to certain difficulties that appear in the orchestra repertoire and that have to be overcome in the classes.* (Instrument Teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

*Unfortunately, individual practice does not get valued with so many joint activities ongoing.* (Instrument Teacher, Vialonga, 06-06-2014)

They further acknowledge that, in comparison with students from other specialized music institutions, the young OG musicians display a gap between the technical competences the teachers deem essential and those that are worked according to the needs of the orchestra repertoire:

*The programs and methodology applied to obtain results easily create problems in the future technical evolution of the instrument.* (Instrument Teacher, Apelação, 01-04-2014)

*Attention is not always paid to the technical aspects of the instrument that, in my opinion, may become a serious obstacle to the evolution of the student.* (Instrument Teacher, Amarante, 24-03-2014)

*The pedagogical strategies...*

From the observations made of the different OG nuclei, whether the individual, section or orchestra classes, we may understand how instrument teaching initially emerges out of a model of imitation, repetition and memorisation:

> *Well, there has to be a lot of work of repetition and almost always saying the same thing (…) insisting, repeating, and many months playing the same thing. (…) I, for example, with my little ones I have to always play with them for them to see the bow, to see how I hold it in my hand (…). They end up memorising this and they arrive doing it while looking at a score.* (Instrument Teacher, Apelação, 01-04-2014)

> *Because their general learning is very much based on imitation. And only in that way are they able to see relatively quickly how they are able to play together, even simple pieces (...). To the extent that they make progress and the pieces they approach become increasingly complex, that's when in fact you begin noting a difficulty in reading, that is, in the capacity to free themselves from the process of learning through imitation in favour of a process of self-learning, meaning that they read and learn on their own.* (Instrument Teachers, Vialonga, 31-03-2014)

From the outset, the teaching of instrumental technique remains dependent on the demands of the repertoire defined for each orchestra, and thus one learns to play the instrument while playing the orchestral pieces. While the autonomy of the teacher seems limited, as seen above, concerning the choice of the repertoire to work in the classroom, there would seem to be some freedom, regarding the implementation of the teaching methodologies:

> *In the individual classes, I always begin with working on technique, mastering the instrument technique. Afterwards, a second section is always interconnected with the orchestra repertoire. And even the technique work is always based upon the technical difficulties posed by the repertoire (…). Yes, the teaching principles are identical but afterwards, when playing parts of the repertoire, that's when the difference, of course, happens.* (Instrument Teacher, Apelação, 06-06-2014)

Another important aspect worth highlighting emerges from the collaborative learning as seen in various nuclei. Both inside and outside the class, students mutually help each other irrespective of their competences and ages:

*They also have the support of colleagues and the example in which… which may serve for inspiration and support. It always helps to have somebody by your side who is already playing that encourages you to go further and to understand just how this all functions.* (Instrument Teacher, Apelação, 06-06-2014)

*Therefore, these older ones already help the young. (…) Every student, even those who only began today, whoever learns fastest already functions as the teacher, already has the obligation to teach the other, whether in the pause or at home – because many of them come from the same neighbourhoods and therefore have that opportunity to help each other out. (…) [What] the older ones do with the younger is reading the notes with the instrument (…), clarifying any doubts: 'Hey, do you know what this note is as I don't?'* (Instrument Teacher, Apelação, 07-06-2014)

*The academic and professional profile of the instrument teachers*

OG instrument teachers[62] display an identical academic and professional profile to that required by specialized music teaching establishments: i) holding higher education qualifications as a soloist or Instrument teacher; ii) professionally active for only a short period both in terms of teaching music and teaching music in the OG; iii) complement their instrument teacher activities, in some cases, by also teaching instrumental section and orchestra classes; iv) and, finally, the majority do not have full timetables even when teaching at more than one nucleus.

*Notes for reflection*

OG instrument teaching is a disciplinary field with limited program autonomy as while there is the individual program for each instrument, the repertoire defined for the orchestra seems to dominate the time available for individual classes; with a well defined pedagogical identity in keeping with the specialist academic training in instrument teaching and the methodological flexibility displayed by teachers in exercising their functions; and with a recognised curricular dimension as the acquisition of the instrument technical competences proves essential to collective instrumental practice.

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[62] Cf. Chapter 4.

**Pedagogies in the orchestra – intentions, assumptions and practices**

Collective instrumental practice – the Orchestra – is, as already stated, at the heart of all the OG pedagogy and musical practice.

Playing in the orchestra happens from the moment when the young person joins the project: picking up the instrument and playing in a group simultaneously represents both the beginning and the objective in accordance with which students learn both instrumental techniques in the instrument classes alongside Ear Training and Sight Singing. These learning processes take place therefore in keeping with the orchestra and its respective repertoire.

Based upon the discourses of the board members and other influential actors in the project design and implementation, we have analysed some of the crucial aspects to the appropriation of the 'orchestra' format by the OG based upon the ES, which specifically reflects in the socio-pedagogic practices of orchestra rehearsals.

*Collective practices at the centre and encouraging collaborative learning*

Collective instrumental practice is perceived as the essence of the OG pedagogies and musical practices. That also extends to encouraging collaborative teaching and learning among the young participants themselves (Tunstall, 2012), as explained by the national coordinator and as empirically observed over the course of our study:

> *Our objective is collective practice. We are convinced that kids learn far more quickly in the collective than individually, at least the dimensions of motivation, that intrinsic motivation. How many times have I arrived in class, teaching the piece in the first session and then in the following class they already knew three or four pieces on their own. How? Because they look at their colleague and they ask – 'hey, teach me that'. And then they want to repeat and that's very nice. Really, we create… it has to be a very dynamic system, which means that the teacher has to deal with an enormous challenge. This is a room with ten*

*students that may all be in different levels, which means we must multiply ourselves in our action and find a strategy so that everybody may learn at the same time and everybody helps and nobody gets left out. Indeed, at the highest level, it is the oldest teaching the youngest.* (National Coordinator, 07-05-2013)

*Playing in the orchestra and sonic intensity as factors of motivation*

The interest and desire of the participants to belong to the OG is fundamental both to the project's success from the musical point of view and to achieve its goals of social inclusion of the young participants. Playing in the orchestra and giving concerts in prestigious venues – hardly accessible to the very OG teachers, as one of them once said – is, in its own right, stimulating:

> *And that which really motivates us is the orchestra, (…) it's the work of the orchestra (…) They themselves have the advantage of having already played in some of the best halls in the country (...) not even they properly understand that.* (Instrument Teacher, 21-03-2014)

In addition to the symbolic aura of the concert venues, *intensity* is presented as a core factor that endows the daily routines of the orchestra with motivating power:

> It was a really great struggle to render all this more intense. At the beginning [there was], and there still are, a lot of dropouts. We used to discuss this a lot, in the good sense, the whys to this and I kept insisting that there wasn't enough motivation because there wasn't the proper intensity to be able to stimulate the student. (...) El Sistema [philosophy] says that the [big] number, the orchestral mass is where the ambition begins, where the stimulus comes from. (former National Coordinator, 11-10-2013)

Motivation is seen as a fundamental ingredient in the whole project which would be also obtained through three dimensions of that intensity*:*

i) *Social intensity* – the assumption that the orchestra fosters the establishment of social relations and bonds, intensifying the feeling of belonging and encouraging participation and the ambition to want to play better;

ii) *Sonics intensity* – considering that a large sound volume inherently has motivating powers;

iii) *Work intensity* – on the grounds that a certain number of hours of rehearsals and classes constitutes an essential aspect to strengthening the desire to play in the orchestra.

The periodic holding of training internships was the response found to enable the achievement of the highest possible level of intensity. These are events in which the daily routine is exclusively dedicated to rehearsals and concerts, bringing together children and teachers from various nucleuses and around the same objective under the guidance of guest maestros. The musical development brought about by these camps is the feasible approximation to the guidelines handed down by the ES.

*The repertoire*

In the OG project, the objective of fostering the social inclusion of disadvantaged children and young persons takes place through collective musical practice in the format of the 'classic' western orchestra.

As happens at other peer youth orchestras that take their inspiration from the ES, the bulk of the repertoire is of high art music and correspondingly highlighting the works of European composers and a lower level of input from Latin American music, including the 'classical' composers and the traditional and children's songs of Venezuela.

One of the selection criteria for the repertoire is intended to fulfil pedagogical objectives to the extent that the level of difficulty in technically playing the pieces gets aligned with the level of musical development of the young learners. This level does not only directly relate with the age and the length of study in the OG but also with the level of musical development that the students are able to attain; that which results from their capacities and their working efforts. For beginners, the players in the Youth

Orchestra[63] represent a model to be followed as they encapsulate a visible demonstration of the results feasible with time, work, effort and persistence:

> *The fact is that, right from the beginning, from very little (...) they start seeing their older colleagues playing and after they all want to get into Orchestra A (...) And they know that they have a path to follow to get there.* (Instrument Teacher, Vialonga, 21-03-2014)

The current national coordinator affirms that the feeling and sensation of progressing to increasingly difficult pieces – and, it might be added, between the different levels of orchestras – proves a stimulus to the internal resilience of the children:

> *According to my view, this has been a fantastic experience with the results ever more visible. We are now going to make our concert already playing original symphonies, we are going to play the opening of the Light Cavalry, the 5th [Symphony] by Beethoven, the original. This year, we are including the Ouverture by Joly Braga Santos, the original, we are performing the Alleluia with the choir and the New World Symphony by Dvorak, an arrangement (...). The pieces are beginning to appear and they are a very big ambition for the kids and here we strengthen the technical part and the internal resilience that the children have to have (...) And, step by step, we have already begun to perfect the position, the hand, to play at their best in this concert.* (National Coordinator, 07-05-2013)

Another relevant criteria for the selection of the repertoire stems from the characteristics of the works chosen. Fast and lively movements, strong rhythms, attractive melodies and the majestic and driving character of music are the factors able to really motivate not only the students and the teachers but also the audiences that attend the concerts, mostly made up of family and friends of the young musicians.

The OG repertoire features the composers and excerpts generally drawn from the best known works to the wider public as is the case, for example, with the *Nutcracker* ballet by Tchaikovsky, the opera *Carmen* by Bizet, the *New World* symphony by Dvorak, the march *Pomp and Circumstance* by Elgar. The almost

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[63] Most advanced level (formerly referred to as Orchestra A). About the organisation of the orchestras into different levels, see Chapter 2.

notorious absence of the Portuguese high art music repertoire might be one consequence of adapting a project from another country.

The Latin American component of the OG repertoire takes on perhaps a more ludic character, which may also be motivating, representing a style closer to the general musical preferences of the young students and with their performance in concerts including a component of movement and a more intense communication with the public (a collective choreography) as described in field note observations of a concert:

> *The concert repertoire held on 25 April 2012, entitled 'Commemorations of 25 de Abril - City of Amadora Orquestra Geração', combined traditionally Venezuelan melodies, some of which are also sung (for example, 'Lindo barquito', 'El grillito', 'A mi mono'), which were performed by the youngest children, alongside high art music (for example, 'Trepak' by Tchaikovsky, 'Farandole' by Bizet, 'Pomp and Circumstance' by Elgar, and as well as works by South American composers), played by the older, more experienced children. The concert began with the national anthem, which the audience listened to standing up, followed by the repertoires of various orchestras. All the groups received great applause, with the enthusiasm of the audiences rising in the final pieces in which the young musicians made performances with dancing, leaving the stage and circulating through the space normally reserved for the public, a common practice among ES orchestras.*

## Concluding reflections

In order to close this interpretative and critical analysis of the places of the different disciplinary domains in the *field* of OG socio-musical training, we here provide a short epilogue that, while falling into the temptation of providing so-called conclusions, only seeks to propose some reflexive thinking on the overall content of this chapter.

The *field* of socio-musical training adopted by the OG project for the construction and implementation of its social, pedagogical and artistic identity does not prove particularly different, at least in the curricular structure and its respective designations, to that applied to the specialized and professional music teaching.

Within the framework of this curricular structure, collective instrumental practices emerge as the main aspect of the teaching and learning process and hence

the dynamic component of all artistic activities. This situation would apparently counter practices in specialist music teaching in which the instrument would seem to take on this curricular leading role despite the identity coherence and the program autonomy of the different existing subjects.

One facet for reflection emerges from the OG board and coordination team conception of how Ear Training and Sight Singing and Instrument teaching develop their actions as educational resources for the purposes of collective instrumental practices. Thus, these subjects do seem to lose their *autonomy*, *identity* and *dimension* because they transfer a proportion of their contents to orchestral practices.

As regards the specific characteristics of the OG/*Sistema Portugal*, we encounter, in the discourses and observations of practices, certain aspects that, despite not amounting to any exemplary methodological model, do highlight particular pedagogical differences.

We would correspondingly identify three structural features:

i) the collective instrumental practice (the Orchestra) as a catalysing factor and organiser of the different learning processes undertaken collaboratively – joining the orchestra occurs prior to any mastery of musical scores or instrument techniques;

ii) the transformation of the orchestra repertoire into pedagogical materials for use in every class, including Ear Training and Sight Singing and Instrument classes:

iii) the importance of the development of reading without singing skills in the Ear Training and Sight Singing subject as this represents an unparalleled tool for enabling students to move on from an imitation and repertoire based learning process to a process of self-learning both in the Instrument class and in collective instrumental practice sessions.

performance sócio musical

prática instrumental coletiva

leitura não entoada

reportórios
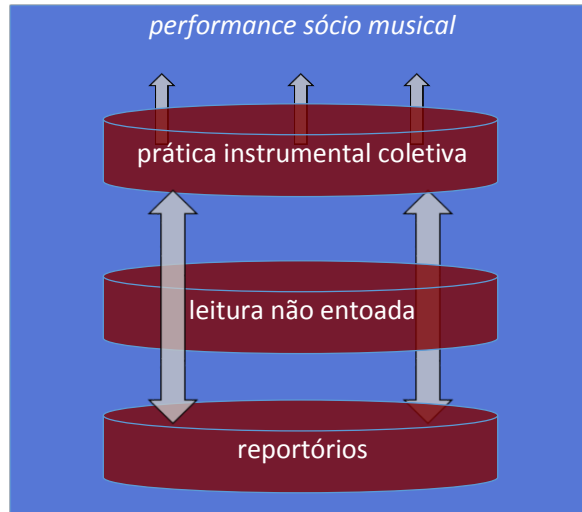
The OG projects builds its difference out of an articulated and hierarchical overlaying of three structural components – the repertoires, reading without singing and collective instrumental practices – bearing in mind a final effective result, the socio-musical performance as demonstrated by the public presentations made by the orchestra.

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# BIOGRAPHIES AND PATHS

PART III

# Chapter 7

**LIVING AND RESEARCHING THE *ORQUESTRA GERAÇÃO***

*MATILDE CALDAS*

> No *one* has *ever* devised a *method* for detaching the scholar from the *circumstances* of *life*, from the fact of his *involvement* (*conscious* or *unconscious*) with a *class*, a *set* of *beliefs*, a *social position*, or from the *mere activity* of being a *member* of a society. (Said, 1978: 18)

After I was presented with this challenge – to reflect on the dualism of my work in *Orquestra Geração* – I discuss here some of the points that emerge from my views as a researcher and my experiences as a coordinator of two project nuclei.

In 2007, I decided to focus my Anthropology undergraduate degree thesis on analysis of both Venezuela's System of Youth and Children's Orchestras and the equivalent Portuguese system, the *Orquestra Geração* (OG), at that time only recently launched.  At the time, the thesis project came in for some scepticism from some professors and colleagues who, among other issues, pointed to the fact that this was neither a "classic" Anthropology subject nor did it comply with the presuppositions of a dissertation. However, I was determined to explore this topic not only because it greatly interested me but also because other issues connected with the research project were beginning to raise my concerns. One of those issues stemmed from the distance I felt separating theoretical production in Anthropology from the specific cultural practices prevailing.

While, on the one hand, anthropological study seemed to supply fundamental tools to understanding the world, questioning dogmas and deconstructing crystallized worlds, on the other hand, the debates triggered seemed enclosed within the academic world, especially when compared with the other social sciences fields. Despite these reflections, I perceived anthropological work as political *per se* and this dimension should reflect in its relationship with specific social problems. This did not mean, however, that I wanted to take the path of applied anthropology. What I instead

wished was to approach this subject as a central area of cultural critique (Marcus & Fischer, 1999), and as such, fundamental to understanding of the world.

After completing my undergraduate studies, in 2008, on the request of the OG board, I wrote a report about their activities in Escola Miguel Torga (Amadora). That same year, I also wrote an article about this project for the Revista da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical (Caldas, 2008). In 2009, I eventually joined the OG project, coordinating two of the nucleuses that would begin their activities in that academic year.

From that moment onwards, the OG project has occupied a central place in my professional life, in some way shifting academic life into the background. It was also during this period that I joined the project research team for "Promoting social inclusion through engagement with music – the *Orquestra Geração* Project", financed by the FCT – the Foundation of Science and Technology and located at CIPEM – Research Centre in Psychology of Music and Music Education, at Porto Polytechnic.

Although exchanges and dialogues among the various different viewpoints summoned by the OG project and CIPEM research were expected, my attitude towards each field developed in a relatively distanced manner. If, on the one hand, it seems evident that both dimensions require different approaches, on the other hand, the frequent dialogue between them also seems inevitable considering how permeable their activity cycles are. It is precisely through this dialogue that some questions arise, questions that I reflect on here to provide my contribution to the debate on cultural programs related to art education and social intervention from both the academic and professional points of view.

This analysis incorporates a clearly biased and subjective perspective but nevertheless still remains reflective and always aware of that same subjectivity.


**The various *insiders* and *outsiders*[64] to researching and experiencing the *Orquestra Geração***

Perhaps because my professional pathway began in academic research, it was

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[64] Cf. Deutsh (1981) "We are all multiple insiders and outsiders".

particularly alarming to realize, as I joined the OG project, that some of the great pillars of critical anthropological analysis would develop new nuances when confronted with specific field work issues. Thus, if field work, as a primary tool of anthropological work, questions the researchers themselves, the demands, difficulties and challenges of working in social projects increase the convergent and divergent aspects between field practices and academic work.

My relationship with the OG developed in three directions: as an employee, as a researcher and as an informer for the research project that led to this book. Thus, in addition to my *insider/outsider* point of view, a third category appeared in which I am myself an object of observation while mediating the information circulating between the OG and the research team for this study.

When compared to my other points of observation and speech enunciation, this third position calls for a particularly intense effort because describing facts about the OG always gets mediated by an awareness of speech reception and analysis. While this analysis may be perceived as resulting from the excessive interference of subjectiveness in the research data, on the other hand, this might constitute the most productive and reflective point of view for both the OG project and the research. In fact, the position of an informer, implicated in the research and analysis process, calls for an immediate confrontation between the data and the viewpoints of the rest of the research team, which, in turn, consists of various academic, cultural, political and along with so many other dimensions. Being aware of this confrontation requires a more reflective and elaborated display of the data, based on its multidimensionality. The reflection and results of the immediate confrontation subjacent to this process, impacted both on research development and the field work, which became enriched by the multi-dimension debate.

In this context, the conflicts that my position's duality (or multiplicity) might eventually give rise to, seemed to make less sense, and, on the contrary, resulting in critical knowledge. It remains clear, however, that the theoretical baggage permanently questions the professional practice and vice versa and the management of these processes is anything but linear.

The dilemmas emerging out of this management process are accentuated by the fact that this is clearly a social inclusion project, adding a concrete dimension of responsibility towards the communities worked with. In addition, such management is based on the awareness that the social inclusion concept is itself profoundly complex and derives from the relationship between the various instances that constitute the political, social, economic and cultural systems in which individuals live.

There are many examples of agreement and disagreement between experience and research within the OG context and the uniting these dimensions is neither always immediate nor peaceful. However, this is not an exceptional situation as no individual has a defined and stable identity and frequently finds him/herself having to manage his/her multiple and uncertain relationships.

**Agreements and disagreements between research and cultural practice**

The perception of my position's many-sided nature occurs sporadically during my work and mostly appearing when certain constraints (language, human resources, materials) hinder the effective transmission of theory to field work, when trying to solve a certain problem. Often, the support framework for a student project performance or behaviour fails to take into consideration the complexity of contexts, journeys and identities surrounding the child and able to interfere with the desired approach. This simplification of the problems identified may result from limitations to teacher training[65] and the absence of tools for conducting this analysis, which for example happens with the frequent association of certain social and individual behaviours to ethno-cultural backgrounds, often losing sight of how socio-economic contexts constitute facets of identity construction. On these occasions the alarm sounds, warning as to the dangers of excessive cultural relativism and, as in many other circumstances, recalls the importance of going back to concepts such as social

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[65]I t is important to note that practically every *Orquestra Geração* professional is trained in music although the project has also recently been able to collaborate with a psychologist, and occasionally reaches out to school (or other entities) professionals that may be relevant to resolving or understanding a certain problem or situation.

class, a notion often disregarded by some contemporary fields of cultural analysis in favour of a wider concept of culture[66].

Furthermore, the timings of professional practices do not always prove favourable to a profound and systematic analysis of the deeply rooted problems found within a community. The circumstantial constraints usually call for quick and immediate responses to certain problems. The activity schedule, the fact that one deals with so many children simultaneously, the lack of human resources for solving problems across their different dimensions, and even the fact that responses to many situations depend on matters reaching far beyond the abilities and experiences of those involved, require approaches more closely focused on synchronicity between theory and practice than any solution that completely fulfils both demands.

The reverse also happens – when practice questions theory. One particularly clear example stems from the difficulties involved in setting out an appropriate project evaluation methodology. Quantitative analysis of the project's impact on the field is that usually required, mostly by funders who need factual instruments to justify investing in the OG program. This also happens frequently with entities managing public funds and so project success needs measuring and confirming. In this context, the field work (*insider*) interconnects with the research work (*outsider*)*.* On the one hand, I assume that an evaluation study of an imminently social project should incorporate a solid qualitative analysis component that fits in with the quantitative component. On the other hand, daily confrontation with the project's multiple effects on students, often coming from social backgrounds with seemingly impenetrable complexities, makes it difficult to guarantee any such tool is capable of measuring this level of intervention.

It is in the daily and intense contact with students and their families that the project's effects become more noticeable while nearly impossible to quantify them in any systematic way. This became clear to me at a concert by one of the nucleuses I work with, in a small, local parish venue. The day had sped by with all the haste of

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[66] Although analysis of the cultural rights and affiliations is fundamental to academic work and political intervention in contemporary democratic societies, indicating the sedimentation of what Tourraine (2005) has called a cultural paradigm, it is equally important not to excessively celebrate the power of culture in individual processes of social negotiation to the detriment of the dominant role played by economic and political asymmetries (Yúdice, 2003).

preparations. With efforts from parents, students and teachers, the room was decorated, tables filled with cakes for the children and more than 200 people attended and applauded the student performance enthusiastically. During the usual concert presentations, I found myself saying, faced by the participants' enthusiasm and the anthropologist's perplexity, that the biggest indicator of project success is perhaps a room like that one.

It is equally evident, however, that the dividing line between the emotions resulting from the work invested in the community and the way this might serve as an evaluation indicator for a certain program is not always clear.

The academic work certainly does not end, however, in the impact assessment questions, as shown by the CIPEM study that attempts to answer questions from a predominantly investigative point of view. These differences in perspective are not always clear to those involved in social projects. In fact, throughout this journey, it seemed to me that the professional eagerness to obtain answers to so many questions, created strong expectations concerning the applicability of the studies produced and their scope for serving as assessment tools for achieving the goals outlined.

In this regard, practice often questions the relevance of the knowledge accumulated, when I myself did not know what to do with my knowledge of the contexts I was working in. It seemed to me that this knowledge did not benefit the specific questions of students or their families, their behavioural problems, attitudes, issues I needed immediate tools for. The anguish of seeing the community intervention tools running out (as well as the means to come up with those tools) is a frequent feeling that spoils the willingness to transfer academic work to social action.

This search for definite solutions to the problems mentioned was largely present during the visit OG coordinators made to Venezuela in November 2013. Knowing beforehand that it would be difficult to directly transpose the Venezuelan field intervention methods to the Portuguese reality, due to the differences between the two contexts, it proved extremely interesting to enter into contact with the model inspiring the OG and tempting to think I might find answers to many of my questions, both as a coordinator and as a researcher. The experience, however, had an ambiguous impact. As much as there was a lot of emotion, enthusiasm and reinforced desire to

154

implement the Venezuelan model in Portugal, there was also some scepticism regarding the limitations of this methodology as it was presented to us. However, it is interesting to note that the hypercritical academic mind coexisted side by side with an emotional surrender to what I saw and lived in those ten days we spent visiting the Venezuelan nucleuses. In fact, the countless notes I took during that time reflect more of my excited search for ideas and solutions to take back to Portugal rather than a journal of impartial analysis. The critical viewpoints and scepticism emerging in the notes were random and confused and only became more consistent over time and as the debates and discussions went on.

This more sensible analysis that eventually took place ended up closing a cycle when it comes to some of the main questions about how to act in the field and how to connect musical practice to the project's social quality, in a dialogue between research and practice. By realizing how important the social and political contexts are to the implementation of *El Sistema* (ES) in Venezuela, it seemed clear that there was a long way to go in adapting this methodology to the Portuguese reality. Key logistical issues such as working hours, human resources and material conditions, relationships between the ES and the Venezuelan Conservatory, as well as the unconditional and continuous financial and symbolic support of the government are some of the core issues that simply cannot be directly transposed to the OG and require a differing methodological and ideological stance to the ES.

Perhaps it was during debates about possible adaptations to the Portuguese context that my training in social sciences proved most present, requiring impartial analysis of the ES, especially its uncritical subordination to the government, the extremely dominant and hierarchical organizational structure and the ES relevance in the children's schooling schedules.

The reflection on how important the particularities of communities and territories are whenever implementing social and educational projects surpasses any question specifically regarding just the ES and is also relevant to approaches to the various territories in which the OG operates. This represents one aspect where the social sciences may make important contributions, providing localized and extensive analysis of the particularities each context so as to develop appropriate strategies for

field intervention.

Although the baselines the OG is structured around extend into its various nuclei, the fact that it is a social inclusion project calls for a certain flexibility when it comes to incorporating specific approaches to specifically different realities.

**Concluding Thoughts**

The reflexive and multi-perspective analysis that prompted this chapter proved an exercise full of difficulties and interrogations that will, for the most part, go unwritten and unanswered. The questions raised so far are perhaps those that stood out most greatly throughout these seven years of working in the *Orquestra Geração* with many others still underlying.

Through this experience, it once again became clear to me how important it is to include a subjective perspective in the research and analysis process and how necessary this is to methodologically confronting professional practices with the critical eye of research in order to recreate field intervention strategies.

In addition to the fundamental multidimensionality of the OG researcher or participant, it is also important to understand that the usage of cultural tools can never be homogeneous. They entail different applications that depend on the countless subjects and contexts involved. This is particularly noticeable in the identities of the various researchers that have been already involved with the OG, and who inevitably carry the weight of their academic training, often preventing the OG from gaining its own voice and identity. However, and unlike what one might deduce from those who belittle the ES[67], the communities themselves are made of individuals who actively absorb cultural objects and, depending on the multidimensionality of their identities, make them their own.

It is by understanding the OG's complexities, through the methods applied to the different socioeconomic realities encountered, including the limitations of its field of activity due to financial constraints, that the foundations for a consistent analysis of its identity and, eventually, a closer assessment of its effects, emerges. Therefore, I

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[67] See Baker's 2014 and 2015 works.

believe that the discrepancy between the data gathered through the assessment system methodologies and empirical confrontation with the countless victories of the day to day work, as well as the probability of only being able to successfully measure the effects over the long run, may only be properly mitigated by long term, in-depth ethnography, involving active field work. In turn, the disagreement between the goals of other OG focused studies and the expectations created by the participants in this project, should make academia question the lack of dialogue it establishes with the broader society causing an impenetrable and ambiguous relationship.

Finally, the key word of this reflection should be multidimensionality as this not only highlights the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to analysing the OG but also the synergies among the institutions intervening in the field, mobilizing academic and professional resources for a successful social inclusion.

Working to produce critical knowledge on the various dimensions implied or concealed by access to culture would represent one of the main contributions of research on cultural projects, especially those that, like the OG, deploy an artistic means of expression for particularly social purposes. I believe that it is in this joint work that this methodology may reveal itself as fully anti-structural and nurturing the liminal spaces (Turner, 1998) in which social transformations can occur.

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# Chapter 8

## Sociological portraits: orchestral socialization, paths and experiences

*João Teixeira Lopes, Pedro Santos Boia, Ana Luísa Veloso, Matilde Caldas*


### 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).
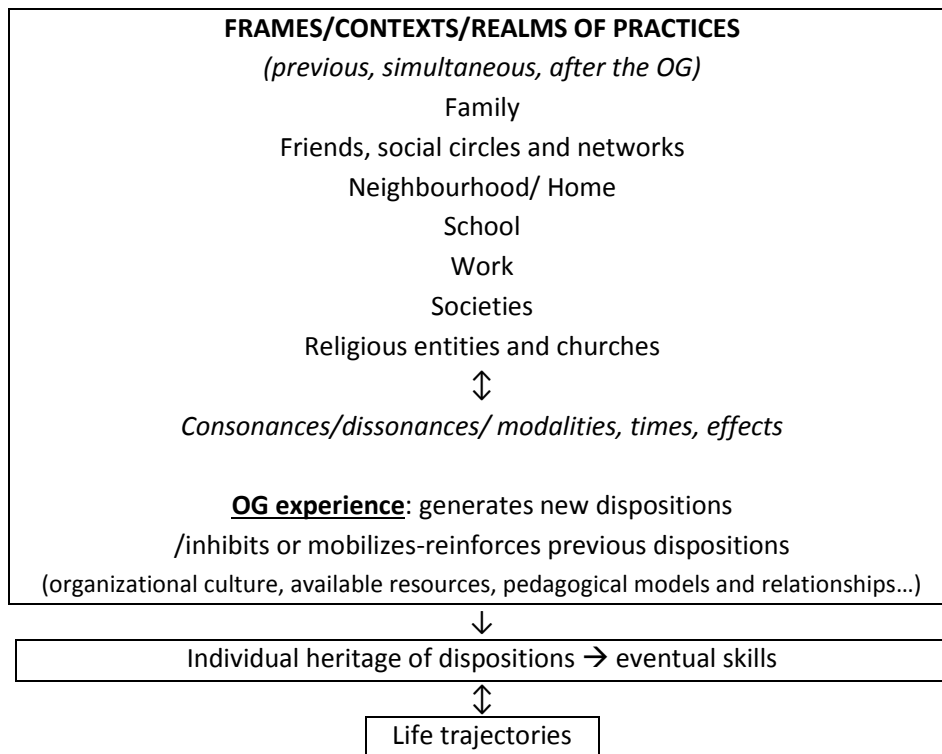
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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│           FRAMES/CONTEXTS/REALMS OF PRACTICES               │
│             (previous, simultaneous, after the OG)           │
│                          Family                              │
│              Friends, social circles and networks            │
│                     Neighbourhood/ Home                      │
│                          School                              │
│                           Work                               │
│                         Societies                            │
│                Religious entities and churches               │
│                            ↕                                 │
│        Consonances/dissonances/ modalities, times, effects   │
│                                                              │
│        OG experience: generates new dispositions            │
│        /inhibits or mobilizes-reinforces previous dispositions│
│  (organizational culture, available resources, pedagogical models and relationships…) │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                            ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│      Individual heritage of dispositions → eventual skills   │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                            ↕
              ┌──────────────────────────┐
              │      Life trajectories    │
              └──────────────────────────┘
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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).[68]

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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[68] 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[69], THE VIOLIN SECTION LEADER WITH A PASSION FOR THE DOUBLE BASS*

**Daphne plays the violin in OG. She is in the 6th 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.[70] Daphne's three sisters are older, and Tanishia also participates in the OG.[71] 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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[69] All names are fictitious.
[70] According to data collected by Apelação school.
[71] 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.[72] 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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[72] 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*[73] 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 'Imaginarius' 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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[73] 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.[74] 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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[74] Daphne tells us that one of her sisters, who is currently finishing her 9th school grade, has already got "the papers" to register for a professional chef program.

**Tanishia is thirteen years old, is in the 7th 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.[75]

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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[75] 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.[76] 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 (9th grade).

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[76] 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 8th 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**

174

**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[77]. 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 9th grade and has just done the test to get into the music Conservatory.[78] 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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[77] Information obtained in an interview with an OG board members and another orchestra participant.
[78] 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[79]. 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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[79] Artistic Music Teaching status.

Jorge is in the 8th grade. He failed the 6th and 7th 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 (12th 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 6th 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.**

186

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 5th grade for not liking the teachers and the school, which took away his will to study. It was after attending the 5th 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 10th 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 6th 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 11th 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 10th 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". [80] 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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[80] *'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 10th 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

197

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 9th 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 9th 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 3rd grade of primary teaching[81]). Both are originally from Sao Tome and Principe and, although her father has been in Portugal

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[81] 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 9th 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 10th 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 9th 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 11th 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.*

209

"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 9th 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 abysm 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 2nd clarinet, I've always played 1st and now I'm going to be 2nd'. 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 2nd 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 clarinettist, 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[82] 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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[82] 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[83]; 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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[83] 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 | +- [84] | 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

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[84] 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 |
|---|---|---|
| - **Skills favourable to school success** (discipline; organisation of space and time; coordination; mutual help; collective learning ethos): *22 interviewees*[85] <br><br> - **Affective musical dispositions** (love/passion for music and/or the instrument): *14 interviewees*[86] <br><br> - **Reflexive musical dispositions**: *5 interviewees*[87] <br><br> - **Relational dispositions, opening up to others / group integration and feeling of belonging**: *15 interviewees*[88] | - **Direct family and/or implicit incentives for learning dispositions**: *16 interviewees*[89] <br><br> - **Previous musical dispositions**: *7 interviewees*[90] <br><br> - **Propensity to social mobility**: *11 interviewees*[91] <br><br> - **Professional orientation towards the world of music**: *11 interviewees*[92] | - **Dispositions for flight, abandoning and anomia**[93]: *4 interviewees*[94] <br><br> - **Pre-existing networks of socialisation**: *4 interviewees*[95] |

Table 3. Development and transference of dispositions and skills

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[85] Including, among the 13 portraits presented in this chapter, the cases of Dafne, Tanishia, Lucinda, Pedro, Yami, Vanessa, Leiza, Marta, Ricardo, Manuela.
[86] Including Dafne, Tiago, Jorge, Vanessa, Leiza, Marta, Ricardo.
[87] Incl. Tiago, Vanessa, Marta.
[88] Incl. Dafne, Yami, Vanessa, Leiza, Marta, Manuela.
[89] Incl. Dafne, Tanishia, Lucinda, Vanessa.
[90] Incl. Dafne, Leiza, Vanessa.
[91] Incl. Tiago, Jorge, Pedro, Isabel, Ricardo.
[92] Incl. Jorge, Pedro, Yami, Vanessa, Marta.
[93] Anomia here understood as the absence or weakening of internalised social norms.
[94] Incl. Jorge, Pedro.
[95] 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/"neighbour hood" |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *5 interviewees* (Yami, Rodrigo, Jorge, Raquel, Leiza) | **Relative Dissonance:** *2 interviewees* (Yami, Raquel) | **Total Dissonance:** *5 interviewees* (Rodrigo, Jorge, Camila, Pedro, Yami)  **Relative Dissonance:** *1 interviewee* (Daniel) | **Total Dissonance:** *16 interviewees*[96] **Relative Dissonance:** *12 interviewees*[97]  **Consonance:** *3 interviewees*[98] **Relative Consonance:** *4 interviewees*[99] | *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

[96] Incl. Tanishia, Lucinda, Jorge, Pedro, Manuela.
[97] Incl. Yami, Tiago.
[98] Incl. Vanessa, Marta.
[99] 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)[100]. 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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[100] 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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# CODA

PART IV

# Chapter 9

## NEW POINTS OF DEPARTURE: THE PAST, THE PRESENT AND POSSIBLE FUTURE(S) OF THE *ORQUESTRA GERAÇÃO*

*JOÃO TEIXEIRA LOPES, GRAÇA MOTA*

This study, with its conclusions sketched in this chapter, does not represent, in the strict sense, an evaluation of the implementation of the *Orquestra Geração* (OG) in Portugal. In fact, it strives to understand just how the orchestra might act as an agent of socialisation and a mechanism for social inclusion and mobility, a territorially rooted community of practice. If this were a technical monitoring report, it would have to rigorously compare the results obtained in view of the proclaimed objectives without overlooking the conditions prevailing and the resources available, while also constructing instruments of measurement in the form of indicators.

This underlying intellectual effort focuses rather on the *comprehension*, embracing the concern to redeem the entirety of the OG functioning but also its intrinsic *multidimensionality* as well as the *relationship* that is established between the various components of the program. In summary, we believe that the OG may best be approached as a configuration in the broad sense that Norbert Elias endows: a whole made up of interdependent parts undergoing permanent and tense interactions.

However, we also acknowledge that many readers are seeking an evaluative overview. Although this may be seen as somewhat emerging from the multi-scale analysis that we have carried out, our ambitions are better grasped as shuttling between the history of the project, the concerns of the founders, the organisational matrix of the structure, and the overlapping representations of the participants, with a particular emphasis on the "voices" of the young members.

## The adopt/adapt tension

From the outset, this is a project with its own particular historicity. The OG traces its origins to the Venezuelan *El Sistema* (ES), which was itself founded and grew

in highly specific sociocultural conditions. Hence, this origin imposes a set of limitations and opportunities: a "founder phantom" as an inspirational matrix that compares, demarcates, locates and demands. Furthermore, the ES is frequently present in the discourses of the founders as an inspiration, as a pedagogical benchmark and as a model to be attained.

Therefore, it is worth perceiving the translation mechanisms into the Portuguese context, especially as regards its national dissemination, financial sustainability and the stability of its human resources. The decentralisation, in particular, as well as the multiplicity of associated school groups drives constant re-contextualizations, especially as the territories and their peoples, while in many cases sharing peripheral conditions and socio-spatial disadvantages, are diverse and poorly permeable to overly centralised prescriptions. There are a number of logistical questions that may not be directly adopted by the OG and that imply a simultaneously methodological and ideological positioning as regards the ES: class timetables, material conditions and human resources, the relationship with the teaching of music in Venezuela as well as the unconditional and successive support of the Portuguese state from both the symbolic and financial points of view. For those who perceive the ES as the archetype, the distance gets measured by, among other dimensions, the lower intensity and coordination of the pedagogical work and the orchestral dimensions in the respective nuclei; by the financial limitations; by shorter weekly classroom learning loads; by the dispersion/lack of interaction between the different nuclei; by the lower number of students at each nucleus; by teachers with various training backgrounds and with different teaching timetables; by the high number of students quitting, especially in the first year even while also varying from year to year.

## A (nuanced) improvement in the levels of family and school integration

The different research techniques applied throughout this study enable us to acknowledge, with a reasonable degree of certainty, improvements in the family integration of participants as a consequence of their families' involvement, particularly their participation at auditions and concerts. These moments are assumed as

privileged occasions for overcoming stigmas and affirming some symbolic capital. Belonging to the OG brings prestige and endows visibility.

Furthermore, it seems that we encounter in the OG a strengthening of dispositions already established in the domestic universe, especially the direct and/or implicit incentives to learning. This particularly holds for families that even while not in possession of high levels of academic capital nevertheless still foster supportive routines around school learning efforts.

Additionally, even while it is impossible to demonstrate that there were improvements in academic results, there is strong evidence of significant changes in the attitudes and behaviours of the young persons that get systematically referred to throughout all the discourses that we analyse here. The OG experience produces some type of dispositional effect in nurturing skills favourable to academic achievement (self-discipline and space-time organization, coordination, mutual help and an *ethos* of collective learning).

These incorporated dispositions may be transferred to contexts of action that lie beyond the school environment, and potentially enabling more qualified and more qualifying integration in adult lives, particularly in working spheres.


**Potential for social mobility**

These forms of family and school mobilisation contribute both towards avoiding objective and subjective situations of exclusion and social declassification and towards paths marked out by the tendency for distinction within the stigmatised contexts of belonging (neighbourhood, peer group), favouring the emergence and/or consolidation of social mobility projects. Belonging to the OG selects the networks of socialisation in spheres of life beyond the orchestra (school, neighbourhood, family). In expanding the scope and range of future trajectories of the young participants, facilitating access to certain positions in the social and socio-professional environments, these dispositions/skills become resources that boost individual capacities for action fostering their opportunities for social mobility.

Equally, for some students, the OG disseminates aspirations to become future professionals in the field of music although, taken as a whole, there are no significant changes concerning the cultural and musical practices: tastes generally continue to be shaped by the universe *of the initial cultures*, with great attention paid to the icons of the moment, with an over-investment in computer mediated communication, and widespread usage of social networks that, cumulatively, induces a focus around domestic-receptive practices.

Meanwhile, there is a not negligible intensification of musical practice in a musical genre that emerges as highly distant from both their own consumer habits and cultural context. In a reduced number of cases, OG socialisation proves consequential for the tastes of participants, expanding the scope of the musical repertoire that they listen to and developing reflective dispositions about musical art and techniques, potentially enabling them, whether as future concert audiences or as professional musicians. Hence, the OG creates and/or strengthens some professional career projects in the world of music not uncommonly associated with, to a greater or lesser extent, explicit intentions of social mobility. Furthermore, in terms of the parents and guardians, there were common references to how they had begun consuming, with some regularity and even pleasure, a type of music (high art) hitherto completely unknown to them.

While the orchestra management does not systematically foster the regular practice of other musical genres, the young players, due to the fact of having learned how to play a specific instrument, organise themselves into groups, whether to play in the street or in other non-formal contexts.

**The construction of musical meaning**

One of the axes underpinning this research was the objective of understanding the way in which musical meaning gets systematically constructed and conveyed within the scope of the OG. The analysis undertaken over the course of this book, with a particular emphasis on chapter 6, allows for the identification of some concluding lines as regards the characteristics of the musical learning that coherently and

systematically takes place in the different nuclei and, ultimately, emerges out of the various moments of performance by the *Orquestra Geração*.

Firstly, the orchestra effectively represents the major catalyst for all of the teaching. Everything learned is designed to converge around direct application in the orchestral working practices. This is clearly reflected within the scope of two subjects of the OG curriculum besides Orchestra: the teaching of *Ear training and sight singing* and the teaching of the *Instrument. Ear training and sight singing*, as a training resource for the development of instrumental practice, tends to be fundamentally oriented towards the development of reading music without singing competences, taking exclusively into account collective musical practices, thus, orchestra performances. As regards *Instrument* classes, the learning is intrinsically associated with the context of each nucleus and dependent on the Orchestra repertoire. While the program sets out the techniques and works for each of the various instruments, the repertoire defined for the orchestra seems to dominate the time available for individual classes. Some teachers did take the opportunity to express regret over the reductive nature of this reality which, based initially upon a model of imitation, repetition and memorisation, ends up advancing only in accordance with the demands made by works in the repertoire of each nucleus orchestra. In other words: learning to play the instrument is intimately bound up with and is dependent upon the performance of the orchestra's works.

This finding leads us to conclude that these two curricular subjects, found within the context of any specialized music institution, end up losing, in the OG context, their autonomy and identity, even though they are essential components of the overall preparation of a musician. This would also seem to explain the reason some young orchestra members, in the transition to secondary and professional music teaching, experience major difficulties to meet the curricular demands that are centred on learning instrumental performance and mastering *Ear training and sight singing*. Within this framework, it would seem desirable for the OG, rather than modifying the current teaching and learning system, to plan for the setting up of one or more tutoring figures able to accompany and support young students making this transition.

However, we also need to emphasise the collective musical practice skills that young OG musicians acquire, and that are valuable for the training of any musician, whether wanting to engage with a professional career or merely to maintain an amateur musical practice throughout life.

**Attachment capital**

Participants highlight their strong sense of belonging and the team spirit at the OG, which undoubtedly constitutes an indicator of social integration. This generally encapsulates a deep bond with a project that gains recognition and respect– "it's the music gang"; as well as the representation that participating in the orchestra will produce certain 'things', potentially leading to raised self-confidence levels and instilling the capacity to act and transform one's own conditions of existence.

This dimension is the most relevant as generating inclusion requires "playing at various tables", creating contamination and pull effects in different spheres of life, nurturing affiliation and social integration, being and feeling "part of" and "an inside member". In other words, without this having to be granted or conceded by someone else. This is why we also may infer that the three crucial characteristics of communities of practice as defined by Wenger-Trayner[101] - the domain (sharing of a common interest), the community (a set of activities, discussions and relations that enable shared learning) and the practice (gathering the participants in search of a repertoire of resources that constitutes a shared practice) – are present and interconnected within the OG, gaining some coherence within the scope of a musical practice that, despite being very hierarchically pre-determined, anticipates the active intervention of its participants.

**Final note**

The OG would gain another dimension were it to create an authentic *territorial effect*. To achieve this, the involvement would have to overcome the excessive centralisation of decisions and procedures as well as go beyond the engagement of

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[101] Cf. Chapter 1

teachers, students and their families. The extremely ambiguous idea of "community" should lead us towards thinking about "communities" interwoven and articulated by their territory, in a decentralised and non-hierarchical structure working through multi-institutional partnership networks. Territories are not socially and culturally homogenous nor do they consist only of school based actions. Thus, the objective has to be to maximise the *OG effect*, building alliances with local associations, creative informal groups of creativity, the decentralised state organisms, the churches and the social movements (established or emerging), and (whenever relevant) the private sector.

Currently, the *Orquestra Geração* management is engaged in developing various actions designed to ensure the continuity and sustainability of the project. This is being done, above all, through public events in which many Portuguese artists loan their image to provide support in recognising the project's meaning and importance within the Portuguese musical panorama. We do believe that this also takes into due consideration the perspective that all young persons, irrespective of the socioeconomic context, class, ethnicity, religion, gender or linguistic and cultural heritage, should have access to musical education of high quality.

Finally, and as we questioned in chapter 1, based upon a reflection by Jonathan Govias, we also believe that the future of *El Sistema* may develop outside of Venezuela to the extent that the various programs taking place inspired upon it, alongside the researchers studying their implementation in the field, are able to establish a connection between collective musical practices and clear social benefits. We believe that the *Orquestra Geração* represents an important part of this movement and we hope that this study has contributed towards clarifying some of the most relevant features of the relationship between music and social inclusion.

**APPENDIX**

# Survey questionnaire – Music Teachers

## Part I

**1.1 Sex**

Male

Female

**1.2 Age: ___years**

**1.3 Level of Education**

|  | You | Partner | Father | Mother |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Know how to read and write without formal education |  |  |  |  |
| 1st Cycle of Primary Education |  |  |  |  |
| 2nd Cycle of Primary Education |  |  |  |  |
| 3rd Cycle of Primary Education |  |  |  |  |
| Secondary Education – Program: |  |  |  |  |
| Scientific-Humanistic |  |  |  |  |
| Technology |  |  |  |  |
| Artistic Specialisation |  |  |  |  |
| Professional |  |  |  |  |
| Baccalaureate |  |  |  |  |
| Undergraduate Degree |  |  |  |  |
| Post-graduate Degree |  |  |  |  |
| Master's Degree |  |  |  |  |
| Doctoral Degree |  |  |  |  |
| DK/NR |  |  |  |  |

**1.4 Musical background (level, course, institution, year concluded):**

**1.5 Other types of training/education in the musical field:**

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**1.6 Do you hold a professional degree?**

     Yes

     No

**1.7 Teaching experience (including part-time):_____**
**1.7.1. Teaching experience in Orquestra Geração:_____**
**1.7.2. Nº hours/week in Orquestra Geração:_____**

**1.8 Type of teaching present/past**

  Specialist

  Generic

**1.9 Do you belong or have you belonged to any musical group?**

     Yes

     No

**1.9.1 If yes,** which and for how long?

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**1.10 What genres of music do you normally listen to?**

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```

# Part II

**2.1 How did you learn about the *Orquestra Geração* project?**

  From the media

  In your workplace

  From a colleague

  Other (please specify)    _____

**2.2 What function/functions do you perform in *Orquestra Geração*?** (You may give more than one response)

| | |
|---|---|
| Instrument teacher | Which?_____ |
| Choir / ear training and sightseeing teacher | |
| Section teacher | Which?_____ |

Orchestra teacher

Coordinator

**2.3 Have you attended any type of training in the context of the *Orquestra Geração* project?**

Yes

No

**2.3.1** If **yes,** please state in which year, the duration, the name/theme of the training and the trainer/teacher.

```



```

**2.4 Did the training sessions attended correspond to your needs?**

Yes

No

**2.4.1** What are the reasons for your response?

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**2.5 Did you attend any complementary training outside of the scope of the *Orquestra Geração* project?**

Yes

No

**2.5.1** If **yes,** please state in which year, the duration, the name/theme of the training and trainer/teacher.

```



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**2.6 How do you prepare your classes?**

Based upon the *Orquestra Geração* support materials

Based on personally produced materials

Others

**2.6.1 If you answered 'others', please state which.**

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**2.7. What is your opinion about the *Orquestra Geração* support materials?**

**2.7.1** As regards their **interest:**

| | No opinion | No interest | Low level of interest | Interesting | Very interesting |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Instrument teaching books and methods | | | | | |

| | No opinion | Inappropriate | Poorly appropriate | Appropriate | Very appropriate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Orchestra repertoire | | | | | |

**2.7.2** As regards their **appropriateness:**

| | No opinion | Inappropriate | Poorly appropriate | Appropriate | Very appropriate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Instrument teaching books and methods | | | | | |
| Orchestra repertoire | | | | | |

**2.8 Did you encounter any difficulties in adapting to the *Orquestra Geração* project methodology?**

Yes

No

**2.8.1** If **yes**, what?

| |
|---|
| |

**2.9 What are, in your opinion, the positive aspects of the *Orquestra Geração* project?**

| |
|---|
| |

**2.10 What are, in your opinion, the negative aspects of the *Orquestra Geração* project?**

| |
|---|
| |

**Should you be available for a future in-person interview, please leave your contact details here.**

| |
|---|
| |

*Once again, we thank you for your cooperation and availability.*
**For any clarification, we are entirely available at the following address: <u>cipem@ese.ipp.pt</u>**