Migrant Musicians. Transnationality and Hybrid Identities Expressed through Music[1]

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Migrant musicians contribute to the intercultural wealth of the societies they live in. They manifest their hybrid identities and convey transnational experiences through different forms of musical expression. On the one hand, they (re)discover their musical culture of origin and reinterpret it from a new, cosmopolitan perspective. On the other, their making music and experiencing music enable them to construct an "inner homeland" to identify with, while living abroad in constant balance (or contradiction) between cultures. Based on existing works originating from different national settings this essay aims to synthetically describe the relationship between migrants' musical expression and different manifestations of cultural belonging. Its main focus lies in how hybrid transnational identities may be expressed through music. It also addresses the redefinition and reinterpretation of migrants' musical traditions in the cosmopolitanized city of Lisbon, with a special regard to the Cape Verdean diaspora as a community shaped by music.

Keywords: migration, music, hybrid identities, transnationality

Music not only has aesthetic qualities, but also performs important social functions: communication, expression of collective feelings and emotional integration of different groups. As a form of communal cohesion, music performs a bonding function, "it is a kind of language in the space of communication and in the process of symbolization" (Flis 2019:14). Participation in common musical culture often enables immigrants in diasporas to better express the feeling of belonging to their

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own community. Music, as a component of migrants' expressive behaviors, awakens a sense of solidarity and strengthens an ethnic identity, in response to the challenges of living abroad. According to the concept of "travelling cultures" developed by James Clifford (1992), the national culture of a state with large migrant communities living abroad is defined in a multi-local process concerning both the country of origin and the migrants' destination countries. Considering that "identity is produced and reproduced in the course of social interaction" (Jenkins 1994: 209), it is the interdependence between two spaces – home country and diaspora – that influences the national identity of a population (Martiniello, Lafleur 2008:1200). This transnational interconnectivity also allows for the emergence of new hybrid identities among migrants and their descendants.

This essay aims to synthetically describe the relationship between migrants' musical expression and different manifestations of cultural belonging. Its main focus lies in how hybrid transnational identities may be expressed through music. It also concerns the redefinition and reinterpretation of the migrants' musical traditions in the cosmopolitanized city of Lisbon, with a special regard to the Cape Verdean diaspora as a community shaped by music.

The social functions of music in intercultural relations

Music fulfills a wide range of functions in peoples' lives[3]. In an intercultural context the most relevant seem to be communication and integration. Music has always been an important identity marker; it provided "a cultural glue, or core, during the processes of migration and displacement that world wars and colonial struggle had created" (Bolhman 2011:155). It has a strong bonding potential but it can also become a basis for differentiation. As Lundberg claims: "Music is an important part of our identity and its symbolic potential lies in the fact that it can be used to express and maintain both differences and similarities. In the multicultural context, music is used as a marker of group boundaries for the own group. But it is also used outwards, marking boundaries against other groups and individuals. Internally, the group can use its 'own' music to strengthen the feeling of belonging, and the same process can be used to mark a difference between 'others' and 'us'" (Lundberg 2010:41). Practicing and experiencing music in a community strengthens social cohesion because it addresses the basic need for participation in something that is close, familiar, and collectively shared. At the same time, it provides a sense of certainty and security associated with belonging to a group which has common values, lifestyles and ways of artistic expression. Music, therefore, enables the continuous confirmation and renewal of group solidarity and reduces social distances (Merriam 1983; Gammaitoni 2009:188).

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[3] Communicative, integrative, ludic, utilitarian therapeutic, educational, political, religious and others (See Jabłońska, 2018:126).

In the case of migrants' artistic expression music can be an antidote to the hostility of the receiving society, or even a kind of therapy (Baily, Collyer 2006: 177). Appealing to one's own musical world in an unfavorable environment, faced by immigrants, may be a way of dealing with rejection. Music-making may also be a struggle for recognition, for improving the image of one's own community (Castro Ribeiro 2010: 105; Bolhman 2011: 157). Creating and performing music together can become a substitute for freedom which is often lacking in other segments of immigrants' lives. Bolhman (2011), reflecting on the relation between musical creativity and mobility, noticed that music is authentic, objective and autonomous. That gives migrants opportunities to feel more secure and better adapt to their host society. In the context of migration the purpose of music may change; for example, it can become a means of "bringing people together" (Lundberg 2010:35).

In societies struggling with the colonial past and contemporarily facing the migration phenomenon, music "occupies a central position in the postcolonial process of identification and reconciliation" (Sardo 2010:55). As a natural medium of human communication, music facilitates the breaking down of cultural and social barriers (Jabłońska 2018: 125–126); it may be a tool of intercultural mediation and dialogue, as in the case of Roman multiethnic band Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio (Gammaitoni 2009). The mobility and intercultural flows of musical elements and patterns (both over time – from generation to generation and in space – between different countries, communities) allows the definition of music as a "universal language", a code that enables cross-cultural communication. Theodor Adorno pointed out that even distant civilizations may be able to communicate through music (Adorno 1971: 189). Considering music as a field of dialogue and opportunity for breaking down barriers, it would be rather difficult to agree with the thesis of Johan Huizinga, who stated that every culture has its own musical habits and the human ear usually withstands only the acoustic forms it is used to (Huizinga 1985: 265). The flexibility of music's elements, the sound fusions resulting from intercultural experiments, or the popularity of the so-called "world music" show that this "human ear" is also looking for original, previously unknown sound sensations, beyond the schemes originating from the culture of provenience.

Art as emancipation: Migrants' agency and identity manifestations

The complex nature of migrants' identities is an issue increasingly recognized in the literature about migration and transnational practices. Hybrid identities "incorporate multiple places, lived and remembered" (Hannafin, 20016:83). Cultural identity on a personal level is "a growing diversity, a mixture of different elements, integrated according to universalising patterns" (Paleczny 207: 219). The formation of cross-cultural,

or hybrid, identities by the new members of European societies is a complex and dialectical process in which some contradictions emerge. This often involves a redefinition or a reinvention of traditions in order to make them fit into the migrants' current life experiences and respond to challenges arising in the host society. It is a process of seeking a synthesis between different identity reference points and fitting into a new context of life, between individual inner cohesion and inclusion in the society, between maintaining bounds with the compatriots and gaining social recognition from the dominant majority. (See Ambrosini, 2010 : 216). Belonging to different cultures translates into a need for everyday cosmopolitanism, and the daily practice of difference. Unquestionably, identity dilemmas and blurred, indeterminate national identification of immigrants and their children may be a source of anxiety, frustration and confusion. However, an intercultural identity can also enable personal development, constructive confrontation with socio-cultural barriers and going beyond them. The condition of living between different cultural settings may help to overcome the traditional borders defined by national culture and allow a broader, innovative and more courageous perspective. Migrant hybrid identity – whether it is felt and experienced in a positive or negative way – may function as an incentive for artistic activity and may be shaped by migrants through artistic work, being "an evidence of their agency" (Devereux et al 2016: 228)[4]. Artists often remained on the margins of society, choosing alternative models of life in which freedom and independence went hand in hand with instability. The uncertainty of a migrant's fate may be somewhat similar to that of an artist. Living symbolically on a cultural border may facilitate the emergence of subjectivity, which in consequence makes the loss and the uncertainty about the future turn into an emancipating energy. The musical creativity of immigrants may be an example of this process. Artistic expression of migrants can be treated as a means of dialogue with the host society, reinterpretation of a difficult colonial past and searching for truth. Migrants' freedom to act in a cultural and artistic area may be a source for empowerment and civic rights. Their expressive behaviors not only contribute to the growth of cultural diversity, but also to the promotion of self-respect, giving them a possibility to have their voices heard (Côrte-Real 2010:91).

Migrants' art may also reflect the transformation of traditions brought from their countries of origin to a modern urban environment (Federici 2010:188). Some representatives of a younger generation of migrants discover musical heritage of their country of provenience through a Western(ized) perspective of the host society. Under the influence of globalized popular culture, they hybridise their musical traditions

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[4] Nevertheless, Maurizio Ambrosini recalls difficult realities in which the majority of migrant groups live and warns of the excessive aestheticization of eminent migrant individuals' activities: "Their artistic creation reflects their cross-cultural background and as such attracts and delights the 'sophisticated cosmopolitan elite of Western societies, seeking unusual impressions and suggestive atmosphere.' However, very often these talented individuals distract attention from a large number of excluded people, remaining beyond the margins of cultural life" (Ambrosini 2010: 211).

(Poupazis 2016:157–158). Thus, ethnic boundaries of music genres performed by migrant artists are fluid and "negotiable", as are their polyvalent identities.

The particularity of the field of the arts is manifested by the constant balance between the local and the global, the already established rules and trends under transformation. Immigrants enter this potentially open artistic space trying to fit there with their work and to be recognized as professional artists (Nico et al 2007: 53–54). Researchers studying contemporary public and political discourses on migration and various forms of migrants' agency in host societies pay attention to the "participatory possibilities afforded to migrants through cultural activities and practices" (Devereux et al 2016: 228). For second and third generation of immigrants music may be "a means of political expression, a means of forming and deliberate collective identities, a mode of protest, but also a tool in the formal electoral process" (Martiniello 2018:16).

The cosmopolitan face of Lisbon and musical hybridization

Lisbon is a city of cultural contrasts in which European traditions intertwine with influences from other continents. The presence of immigrants influences the definition of "Portugueseness" and the understanding of Portuguese identity. The concept of belonging is being transformed, life "in constant transit and translation" (Serkowska 2014: 86) is becoming a common experience of the multicultural Portuguese society. This cultural diversity is manifested, among other things, through the musical richness noticeable especially in Portugal's capital city. The musical map of Lisbon would not be so complex without immigrants from different parts of the world, particularly from some of the former colonies: Cape Verde, Brazil, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe[5]. The capital city is characterized not only by the melancholy and *saudade* flowing from fado, but also by many other musical styles: semba, massemba, rebita, kizomba, kuduro, funaná, coladera, morna, samba, and forró. These and other genres may be found in the repertoire of Lisbon based migrant artists. They maintain cultures of origin in diasporas by practicing music and nurturing traditional forms of musical expression, often in their new versions and surprising juxtapositions. There are information platforms, cultural associations and individual representatives of immigrant communities contributing to the promotion of the intercultural image of Lisbon. One of the initiators of this approach was *Lisboa Africana*, a forum providing news on African cultures, including music events referring to African heritage. For several years, Afro-Lusophone[6] sounds have also been promoted by the founders

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[5] According to Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) in 2019 there were 590.348 foreign citizens living in Portugal. Among the most numerous nationalities were: Brazil, UK, Italy, India, Nepal, France, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Spain. (SEF 2019:22), https://sefstat.sef.pt/Docs/Rifa2019.pdf

[6] Lusophone – "speaking Portuguese, usually as a first or main language", Cambridge Dictionary, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/lusophone Afro-Lusophone refers to former African colonies of Portugal where Portuguese is still an official language.

of the *Celeste Mariposa* project. By organizing concerts of African artists, and more recently releasing their records, they have helped to share the musical wealth of the PALOP[7] area among both Portuguese and foreigners coming to Portugal.

Through the promotion of cultural diversity the Portuguese capital city is trying to define and locate itself in the globalizing world. Already a decade ago Jorge de la Barre remarked on the special role of music in the process of urban identity building: "At the horizon of imagined cities as 'transcultural megacities', music tends to gain agency in the promotion of senses of place and belonging, in and to the city" (de la Barre 2010: 139). He noticed a "seemingly increased desire to connect (or re-connect) with the Lusophone world", positioning Lisbon amongst the inclusive and multicultural cities. He also paid attention to the growing visibility of new forms of ethnicity within a category of "luso-world music", that is world music originating from Portuguese-speaking countries (de la Barre 2010:139).

This redefining of Lisbon's identity can be evidenced by the popularity of the "Lusophone community", a concept behind various cultural initiatives (concerts, fairs, exhibitions, festivals and others) taking place in the city. According to Sara Tavares, the Cape Verdean musician living in Lisbon, *Lusofonia* (lusophony) may be understood as "interplay of similarities and a complicity (*cumplicidade*) between different shades of Portugueseness" (Rei 2006). By that line of thinking, the linguistic unity of Portugal and its former colonies would translate into a special, albeit difficult to precisely define, cultural proximity, apart from the political and economic-commercial relationships that bond these areas today[8]. In Lisbon, there are associations referring to the lusophony, such as *Conexão Lusófona[9] (Lusophone Connection) and Sons da Lusofonia*[10] (Sounds of Lusophony). For some, it is a sign of openness, respect, dialog, and evidence of cross-cultural flows in a postcolonial reality. For others, it is a manifestation of neocolonial tendencies to re-appropriate former colonies' cultural heritage, interpret and make use of it for their own benefits. In the lusophony world, according to critics of this concept, Portugal is still leading.

Considering that contemporary mass migration processes and the mobility of cultures are in part a consequence of colonization (Bal 2017:320), it seems important to focus on the function of music and its transformations in postcolonial relations. Music originating from conquered areas, like other elements of symbolic culture, has turned into a commodity for sale in western markets through the process of decolonization. The West was relatively late in realizing the value of that musical richness, but once the potential of "otherness" and "exoticism" was discovered, the western markets

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[7] PALOP – Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa/ Portuguese-speaking African countries:

[8] See CPLP (Comunidade dos Paises de Lingua Portuguesa/Community of Portuguese Language Countries), an international organization also known as Comunidade Lusófona/ Lusophone Commonwealth functioning as a fórum for cooperation between Lusophone nations, https://www.cplp.org/

[9] https://www.conexaolusofona.org/

[10] https://www.sonsdalusofonia.com/

began to benefit from it. Habitually, those musical discoveries had to undergo a transformation, be "polished", softened and embellished to satisfy the tastes of the European audience (Acosta 1989: 28–29). Nowadays, the boundaries between what is musically acknowledged and unknown, close and far, familiar and exotic, are increasingly blurring. The availability and ease of transmission of various musical patterns (also thanks to the achievements of new technologies) make music globalized. As M. Stokes claims: "Music once perceived as foreign and outlandish has become familiar. Isolated musical practices now interact with others, producing energetic new hybrids, global "soundscapes." Cultural hierarchies have been toppled as societies reckon with unexpected new sounds coming from without or below. Once we were locals; now we are cosmopolitans" (Stokes 2008: 3).

Analyzing the role of musical expression in postcolonial Portugal with regards to the relationship between the diaspora and the host country of immigrants, Susana Sardo describes the process of "relocation of music" (Sardo 2010: 59), in which original genres traditionally associated with a certain place, break away from their roots and begin to exist in a new space, in another musical universe, in harmony with the other genres of "migrant" and local music[11]. This leads to an encounter, a confrontation of musical traditions from different parts of the world: instruments, melodies, rhythms, principles of harmony and composition meet together, creating new patterns and providing inspiration for successive changes in culture (Nobis 2007: 166). Musical forms can also travel independently of migrant persons, "in response to other factors in the broader commercial and cultural environment" (Baily Collyer 2006: 168).

Portugal absorbs the musical traditions brought by immigrants, the crowning example of which being the inclusion of the festivity of Kola San Jon, originating from Cape Verde, in the list of Portuguese Intangible Cultural Heritage. The coexistence of different migrant communities on a common territory and their artistic activity lead to the emergence of new cultural forms and interdependence of musical genres. This situation provokes interesting questions about identities' boundaries, meanings and authenticity: "If hybridization and musical translation are the new creative principles, how are musical intelligibility and meaning to be maintained, by whom, and for whom? How are diversity and cultural "in-between-ness" to be celebrated without eroding core identities?" (Stokes 2008: 3–4)[12]. However, Susana Sardo points out that elasticity and contamination are general features of music: "Concepts such as hybridism, syncretism or world music, actually subscribe to this principle of the existence

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[11] Thanks to the presence of immigrants in Lisbon, different musical genres can be heard, in addition to the traditional fado: kizomba, fuananá, coladera, batuque, semba, zouk, bachata, salsa, cumbia, mazurka, bossa nova, samba, forró, kuduro, gumbé, coupé-decalé, afrohouse and others.

[12] Stokes elaborates on this issue mentioning the problems of domination and appropriation: "Who are to be the gatekeepers, the explainers, the interpreters, the gobetweens, the intellectuals? Who are to be the guardians of propriety and fairness as the recording industry and its superstars sink their teeth into vulnerable local communities?" (Stokes 2008: 3–4).

of uncontaminated musics when, in fact, contamination is (…) the condition inherent to its vitality. Music is contamination and generates contamination". The ability of music elements to blend, brings as a result different sound combinations (Sardo 2018: 14).

Between cultivating traditions and searching for a new path. The role of music in the diaspora – example of Cape Verdeans in Lisbon

Cape Verdeans are one of the most relevant and visible immigrant groups in Portugal. In the 1960s (at a time when Cape Verde had a status of an overseas province of Portugal), the first significant waves of migrants began to arrive. They settled primarily in the Lisbon area and in the region of Algarve, in the south of the country. Initially they were mostly men, then in consequence of the family reunification process, Cape Verdean women also started to come to Portugal (Góis 2008: 12–13). In the 1970s, after the regaining of the islands' independence, many white Cape Verdeans of Portuguese origin (the so-called *retornados*, previously living in overseas territory) returned to Portugal. These were primarily former officials of the colonial administration, but also representatives of other professions, for example doctors. The second group was composed by low-skilled immigrants who came to Portugal in search of work: in the construction sector, in the domestic services market, or as a wandering salesman (Góis 2008: 13–14; Batalha 2008: 26–32). In the 1980s the influx of Cape Verdean economic migrants increased. The Cape Verdean community actively participates in the artistic *milieu* of the multicultural Portuguese capital. Music has always been considered one of the most important transmission channels of the Cape Verdean identity and a way in which the feeling of belonging to Cape Verdean nation is expressed, both in the archipelago and in the diaspora. (Cidra 2008: 105–106; Góis 2015: 473–478; Martins 2009)[13]. Over the last few decades the history of the archipelago has been primarily affected by migration. Mass departures have led to an unusual situation in which there are more Cape Verdeans living abroad than in their homeland. The main forces driving the country's development come from the outside, from the diaspora (Cardoso 2008). Thus, the theme of migration often appears in Cape Verdean music. Almost everyone in *Cabo Verde* has a relative who emigrated and left his/her loved ones there. The sense of separation therefore characterizes the whole community, becoming a certain collective experience faced by successive generations (Góis 2015: 474). This sense of longing (in creole *sodade* or *sodadi*) is

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[13] In the case of Cape Verdeans in Portugal, music production is an integral part of migration processes and transnational practices. Savings sent by emigrants living in the diaspora are spent in Cape Verde for the organization of music events, concerts, dance performances, etc. At the same time, the Cape Verdeans living abroad invest a lot of money in the purchase of musical instruments or recording and sound equipment. Music production and distribution of records is also developing in the diaspora, especially in the Lisbon area (Cidra 2008: 105–107).

expressed through musical genres such as funana, batuque or morna[14], cultivated both in the archipelago and by the diaspora.The variety of musical forms practiced by Cape Verdeans may be an evidence of the creolization of the Cape Verdean culture developed between three continents: Africa, Europe and South America[15]. This *miscigenação musical*[16], a unique "musical melange" is manifested through the richness of styles and genres of music created by the inhabitants of the archipelago[17].

The transnational relationship between the archipelago and Cape Verdeans living abroad is strong, also because a relevant part of the most important composers or musicians of Cape Verde were either emigrants or, in more recent times, descendants of Cape Verdean emigrants (Góis 2015:478). Interdependence between the islands, the diaspora in Portugal and the processes of musical globalization (e.g. the influence of pop music styles), creates a space for new practices, new ways of interpreting traditions. It is an area where migrants may recreate and redefine their culture of origin, balancing between what they construct on the basis of subjective feelings and memories related to their homeland and the daily routine they face in the receiving country. Their musical activity reflects the complex dynamics between preserving (imagined) tradition, experiencing migratory reality and building identity through music within the diaspora, to some extent considered as an "imagined community" (Anderson 2006). Cape Verdeans cultivate their musical culture at a distance in the way they memorized it and imagine it today. Music may function both as a collective identity marker and as a "personal link to memories, other times and other spaces" (Castro Ribeiro 2010: 110–111)[18]. It is a type of "cultural vehicle" (DeNora 2009) because it allows for mediation, preservation, and revitalization of certain experiences; "by combining past, present and future into one whole, music enables the individuals to sustain their biographical narrative" (Wyrzykowska 2018: 447). That is why the role played by music and musicians in maintaining the sense of unity of Cape Verdean people is so important.: they transnationally reconstruct and strengthen social ties despite the lack of real, daily (physical) interaction with the community left in the country of origin. (Monteiro 2008:133). The Cape Verdean diaspora may be defined, therefore, as a "musically imagined community"[19] in which collective identity is constructed and/or maintained through music (Cfr. Wyrzykowska 2018: 445–446).

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[14] Morna may be considered the most poetic and universal face of Cabo Verde music (Boccitto 2012:71).

[15] The variety of musical influences that reached the archipelago makes it difficult to precisely determine the origin and ethnic provenience of each form (Monteiro 2008).

[16] *Miscigenação* – a term which originally denotes the mixing of populations coming from different ethnic areas, races, cultures. (Lundberg 2010:30).

[17] Funaná, morna, tabanka, mazurca, batuque, finaçon, valsa, coladeira, Cola San Jon, cantigas de roda, lengalengas (for children) and nowadays also cabo-zouk, zouk-love, rap, hip-hop (Góis 2015: 475).

[18] Migrants may preserve their identity by "clinging to the authenticity of music" that captures some sense of the past and "provides also a goal for recapturing the past for the future through revival". This is why music from the country of origin is valued and symbolically powerful (Bolhman 2011: 156).

[19] A term coined by Georgina Born (Born 2005).

As Jorge de la Barre claims: "Our reality is of a generalised circulation and multiple borrowings implying a permanent transplantation as well as processes of uprooting, re-rooting, dislocation, re-transcription, and reinvention" (de la Barre 2010:148). These processes are particularly visible in immigrant transnational communities where traditions are being transmitted and reinterpreted. According to Castro Ribeiro, diasporas "are seen as much as reserves of cultural memory as respected authorities of musical innovation" (Castro Ribeiro 2010: 104). Musical activities of artists living abroad oscillate between two ends of a continuum: it is, on the one hand, a "ritualized repetition" that secures musical practices and guarantees a "retention of musical models", and on the other, processes of innovation (Castro Ribeiro 2010: 105). Those closer to the first extremity often do not realize that their loyalty to tradition and a tendency to preserve it in a "frozen" form has less and less to do with participation in the living, contemporary culture of the islands (which, after all, is also ever-changing). Supporters of innovation contribute to the emergence of new hybrid genres and styles or fall with their work into the category of the so-called folklorism, under the influence of mass culture and pop music distributed by the media. Interestingly, it is only in the diaspora that some Cape Verdeans begin to practice musical traditions from their home country, e.g. batuque (Castro Ribeiro 2010: 108). Making and experiencing music allows to overcome "discontinuity in culture" (Sardo 2010: 67) and to alleviate the sense of absence from the country of origin; it also performs an educational function for the youngest generation in the diaspora, as it helps to make up for cultural deficiencies.

Music has an "ability to be both an actual part of culture itself and, at the same time, to serve as a transmitter and symbol of cultural community" (Lundberg 2010:35). The musical tradition is part of the cultural baggage of migrating people and "the musical cargo in such baggage can be unpacked and packed, fitted to the appropriate moment" (Bolhman, 2011: 157). But as in the case of other components of migrants' cultures, their music also integrates with musical forms already present on the territory of the host country, in a sense growing into a new socio-cultural environment. It is thanks to the presence of immigrants that Portugal, and Lisbon in particular, prides itself on its multi-ethnic musical richness.

Final remarks

Nowadays it seems impossible to separate music from the cultural ambiguity that constitutes the context of its occurrence (Flis 2019:21), especially when it comes to music created and performed by migrants. In a world where migration processes are intensifying and the boundaries of cultural affiliation are increasingly flexible and debatable, space is being created for new "transnational identity models" (Góis 2015:484). Migrants' identities are identities "in transition, drawing on different traditions while resisting wholesale assimilation" (Leurs, Ponzanesi 2018:12). The interconnectedness

 of the globe offers more stimulation and allows for increased availability of choice between fragmented music styles (Kotarba, 2018:14). Growing diversity of contemporary metropoles causes changes in cultural offer and the emergence of new hybrid musical forms. According to Jorge de la Barre: "the fetishism of authenticity is also changing. In art creation for example, 'pure art' is long gone, it is all about 'hybrid art' now" (de la Barre 2010:150). Migrants' connectivity within the diaspora (sometimes in the form of "encapsulation") as well as their "bridging, cosmopolitan capital" allowing for a dialogue with the host society (Leurs, Ponzanesi 2018:11) may both occur through music. Practicing music in diverse societies can facilitate cosmopolitan encounters, understood as a "crossroads at which individuals hold cosmopolitan possibilities in their hands, hearts and repertoires of interaction with others (…)" (Plage et al, 2017:5).

Migrant musicians contribute to the intercultural wealth of the societies they live in. They manifest their hybrid identities and convey transnational experiences through different forms of musical expression. On the one hand, they (re)discover their own musical culture (national, regional) and reinterpret it from a new, cosmopolitan perspective. On the other, practicing music within the diaspora enables a construction of an "inner homeland" with which to identify, while living in constant balance (or contradiction) between cultures. Each of these cultures, narrated through music, is getting richer with a new interpretation.

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