LUSOFONIA IN MUSIDANÇAS.

GOVERNANCE, DISCOURSE AND PERFORMANCE

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Eight years ago, I moved to Lisbon to pursue my ethnomusicological studies at the invitation of Salwa Castelo-Branco. In this stretch of time, many things happened that profoundly influenced me. In the process of becoming fluent in Portuguese and understanding what being Portuguese and lusophone means, I witnessed various integration aspects that different groups of people – migrants, tourists, locals and others – encounter in Lisbon. This adaptation process instigated my research in various ways.

I am grateful to my supervisor, Maria de São José Côrte-Real, who always stimulated me to explore Musidanças at its fullest, and taught me a lot about theoretical consolidation and writing. In addition, co-supervisors, Fernanda Menendéz (FCSH/NOVA) (†) and Cornelia Ilie, (Zayed University, UAE) gave me precious insights into discourse analysis and intercultural communication.

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ABSTRACT

**LUSOFONIA IN MUSIDANÇAS:**
GOVERNANCE, DISCOURSE AND PERFORMANCE

Bart Paul VANSPAUWEN

KEYWORDS: lusofonia, mixture, postcolonialism, migration, cultural politics, cross-cultural processes, Urban Ethnomusicology, cosmopolitanism, globalization.

This dissertation explores lusophone soundscapes in Lisbon in synchronic and diachronic perspectives. It focuses on the governance of a music festival in the capital of Portugal: Musidanças, organized by the Portuguese-Angolan musician Firmino Pascoal since 2001. It relates cultural agents that have evoked the ambivalent notion of lusofonia. Drawing from *in loco* and virtual fieldwork, I analyze musical webs of interest into play in contexts of lusophone fluidity, and seek to understand how local music producers and their products represent lusofonia in festive events, other venues and recordings. I point out ways in which Firmino Pascoal has voiced national provenances of musicians and music categories performed. Although existing studies mention historical references of intercultural mixture, only recently related taboos are approached. This Ethnomusicology study case of Musidanças, implying strategies of Discourse Analysis unveils relations between music and social change, thinks beyond narratives of origins and focuses on representations of intercultural awareness and intervention.
RESUMO

LUSOFONIA IN MUSIDANÇAS:
GOVERNANCE, DISCOURSE AND PERFORMANCE

Bart Paul VANSPAUWEN

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: lusofonia, mistura, pós-colonialismo, migração, política cultural, processos interculturais, Etnomusicologia urbana, cosmopolitismo, globalização.

Esta dissertação explora paisagens sonoras lusófonas em Lisboa em perspetivas sincrónica e diacrónica. Centra-se na governância de um festival de música na capital de Portugal: Musidanças, organizado pelo músico Português-angolano Firmino Pascoal desde 2001. Relaciona agentes culturais que têm evocado a noção ambivalente da lusofonia. Baseando-me em trabalho de campo in loco e virtual, analiso teias musicais de interesses em jogo em contextos de fluidez lusófona, e procura perceber como é que produtores de música locais e seus produtos têm representado lusofonia em eventos festivos, outros locais e gravações. Aponto modos pelos quais Firmino Pascoal verbaliza proveniências nacionais dos músicos e categorias musicais performadas. Apesar de estudos existentes mencionarem referências históricas de mistura intercultural, só recentemente se abordam tabus. Este estudo etnomusicológico do caso Musidanças, implicando estratégias de Análise de Discurso, revela relações entre música e mudança social, pensa além das narrativas de origens e foca representações de sensibilização e intervenção intercultural.
In the time between the delivery of this manuscript (September 2016) and its defense (April 2017), a number of issues arose that ended up being discussed in my defense presentation. In concordance with my supervisor and my jury, I take the liberty of including them in this preface. To my understanding, the three following perspectives suffice: a reflection on the notion of empire in (post-)dictatorial politics, an observation on the intrinsic identity aspects of the parent/child relationship, and finally, a more refined reference to festivalization studies

1) A reflection on the notion of empire in (post-)dictatorial politics

The notion of empire arose related to the theme of lusofonia. I was contained in my use of the term empire in the text of the thesis after the submission of the manuscript, however, a new reference was found to it. A subchapter ‘O Império Colonial’ in the book Portugal. Breviário da Patr"ia para os Portugueses Ausentes was brought to my attention by my supervisor. This edition from Edições SNI (1946) dedicated to Portuguese abroad was very clear in reminding them that Portugal under the national dictatorship of António Salazar was considered a colonial empire. Though the discussion of the authority of such a notion goes beyond the scope of the present context, this written proof came to clarify the ambivalent references to the empire in different supports from verbal expressions to tangible ones, not only in built heritage expressions such as the Praça do Império in Belém (shortly mentioned on pp. 81 and 91 in the thesis), but also in current social debate. The Breviário reminds the existence of a legal document of 1933 called “Carta Orgânica do Império Colonial Português”, and a council within the central administration of the empire called Conselho do Império Colonial. Among the remnants of such notion in current social debate, I mention four institutional moments caught my attention in the preparatory stage of my defense: the visit of Portuguese president to Gorée in Senegal on April 19 2017; the colloquium ‘Os Africanos em Portugal’, organized by the Lisbon Municipality in Telheiras on March 10 and 11 2017; a cancelled debate with the historian Jaime Nogueira Pinto related with Nova Portugalidade at FCSH/NOVA, also in March; and the debate ‘Categorias raciais:
sim ou não’ at ISCTE, in the same month. In the open letter “Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa. Um regresso ao passado em Gorée. Não em nosso nome”¹, signed by more than fifty lusophone researchers and journalists, more attention was asked for the complex political, ethic and performative value of institutional events, especially regarding the omission of colonial paternalist memories in favor of atemporal humanist representations. According to these critics, the bad conscience that the Portuguese have long rejected in relation to their history should be urgently overtaken to enable the sharing of historical responsibilities, also regarding the tragic chapter in the history of slavery and colonialism.

In this sense, the “Carta Orgânica do Império Colonial Português” mentioned, published in the year of the Constitution of the National Dictatorship, is a fundamental prescriptive record of the regency of the Administrative Code of Portugal. In its various articles it mentions ‘solidariedade na sua atividade espiritual’, ‘responsabilidade coletiva’, ‘promoção da justiça social e do desenvolvimento moral, intelectual e económico’ as well as ‘comunidade de solidariedade entre metrópole e colónias, a desenvolver’. Although indigenous status applied only to African colonies, with the exception of Cape Verde, colonial law guaranteed indigenous peoples not only their humanity and the promotion of interpersonal respect, but also the ownership and possession of their lands and culture. The authorities and settlers had the “obrigação de amparar e favorecer as iniciativas que se destinem a civilizar o indígena e a aumentar o seu amor pela Pátria portuguesa”, as well as “fomentar ativamente a difusão da língua portuguesa entre os indígenas”. These recollected data from the Carta Orgânica put into perspective the origin of a cultural policy based on a common language, nowadays visible in various areas of Portuguese social life. This is exemplified by the heightened debates at recent social encounters mentioned.

First, the colloquium ‘Os Africanos em Portugal’² in Telheiras brought together slavery historians and contemporary associative leaders to discuss representational problems in contemporary Portuguese society for two days. Isabel Castro Henriques argued that in Portugal, integration and exclusion appear as two antagonist realities, when in fact they are a binomial, where there is the exclusion of integration, which leads to the creation of stereotypes that feed prejudices. Thus, she argued, integration

and exclusion have become two strands of the same block. This was confirmed by the testimonies of two participants of diverse national experiences. One of them, Adolfo Maria, the son of white Portuguese parents in Angola, a former MPLA leader, exiled in Lisbon since 1979, indicated that when he came to Portugal, he found Portuguese society “profundamente hostil a negros e mestiços.” Maria argued that the imperial imaginary that still exists in the head of many Portuguese, causes them to devalue the Africans. The other one, José Luís Hopffer Almada, vice-president of the Associação Cabo-Verdiana, also spoke about “a desnecessidade de categorias de luso-africanos e afro-portugueses”, opting for the inclusivise designation ‘portugueses’.

Second, the polemics regarding the speech of Nogueira Pinto at the university, proposed by a student, and ultimately canceled by FCSH, a process which nurtured journalistic interest for a week. The connections between the speaker, mentioned as volunteer of the empire, and the movement ‘Nova Portugalidade’ were at the base of the polemics. Journalist Alexandra Lucas Coelho, in an opinion article appropriately called ‘O império contra-ataca’

Third, the debate ‘Categorias raciais: sim ou não’, organized by Miguel Vale de Almeida and Djazz associação de afrodescendentes in ISCTE, wanted to obtain statistical data to clarify and help design public policies to combat institutional and structural racism “que tanta gente teima em negar e florear”.

According to journalist Joana Gorjão Henriques, author of the prize-winning journal series and book *Racismo em Português*, discussed in this thesis (see pp. 284-286 and ff.), it is important to quantify ethnic and migrant minorities to better picture inequalities in Portugal.

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3 https://www.publico.pt/2017/03/13/mundo/noticia/o-imperio-contraataca-1764968
4 https://www.facebook.com/events/125705477718874/
origens e isso é importante sublinhar? As raças não existem biologicamente mas são uma construção social tão forte quanto a ‘biologia’, por isso não adianta usar o argumento de que não se deve falar em raças. O racismo existe por causa dessa construção social.” (ibid.)

This discussion of the link between biology and culture in the notion of racism is important in the light of this thesis, which focusses on the emic idea of *mestiçagem* as used by Musidanças organizer Firmino Pascoal (but has also been used by other musicians such as Luiz Caracol, Paulo Flores and Luis Represas in linking *lusofonia* to music).

In light of this, two colleagues with whom I partook a symposium in London (*City to City: urban crossroads in the music of Africa, Brazil and Portugal*, June 2016) gave me valuable insights in this respect. Ananya Kabir - main researcher of the King’s College project ‘Modern Moves’, which involved field research in various lusophone countries -, stressed that lusotropical tropes are generally renewed in *lusofonia* without solving the real problem; this made me realize that the festival Musidanças and its related cultural agents act as mediators which reflect both the pros and cons of a political notion and therefore struggle to modernize the past. In addition, Amanda Guerreiro from ICS in Lisbon with an MA and Phd fieldwork trajectory on Brazilian musicians in Lisbon, reminded that the former colonial metropole became a battlefield for competing nationalisms:


2) An observation on the intrinsic identity aspects of the parent/child relationship

As Peter Wade’s intimate link between people and ideas in his notion of *mestizaje* progressed in my reflection, the preparation of my defense enlarged my attention from Firmino’s role in his festival Musidanças to his role as a father. Which world do we want for our children? As a father of a two-year old girl with a diverse background, I
have also come to carry this universal question close to my heart. The reinforcement of personal identity traits on the most intimate connection of the propagation of the species – that of parent and child – invites reflection on the role of music in global intercultural education.

In my thesis, I make an ethnomusicological interpretation of the role of music in the set of human processes that the festival I studied represents. I refer to John Blacking in this association between music and man, ‘intimately/intensely’ transmitted, between father and son, in the song Mussulo (see pp. 214-216 and ff.). This composition by Firmino and his son João represents the intimate, strong and dramatic connection between father and son, metaphorically referencing the island Mussulo in the bay of Luanda, in front of the National Museum of Slavery. The content of the text claims multiple origins (African, European, and Afro-European) and expresses diverse musical categories (semba, kizomba, afro-house). I audibly interpret an emotionally charged vocal polyphony, in which racial, social and emotional tribulations are vented between family generations.

The composition of Firmino and his son João is paradigmatic for the results obtained in the investigation of the Musidanças festival and the context in which it operates: on the one hand, it reveals that the old colonial mentalities are consciously subverted and eventually subconsciously used in new cultural productions, while on the other hand, it suggests that the re-appropriation of previously excluded musical and cultural fields can attenuate historical power in a discursive context dominated by the rhetoric of diversity.

3) **Finally, a more refined reference to festivalization studies**

Here I express the perspective that festivals such as Musidanças function as intervention actions – cultural interfaces – in postcolonial environments in which aesthetics in experience and construction develop facing, amongst other, oblivion by lapse, taboo or other forms of intellectual evasion. On the one hand, there have been pioneering studies of festivalization in the lusophone world, such as Maria João Mota on interdisciplinary

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5 I see strong connections to my supervisor’s text “Music, Social Cohesion and Citizenship: Omnis Civitas Contra se Divisa non Stabit” (Côrte-Real 2013), in which she details the birth of her three children in three different continents.
arts (2007) and César Monteiro on migrant musics (2011), both in Lisbon. On the other hand, music festivals of rural and urban nature, of religious motivation or celebration of other national and international contexts, have been studied by Elisa Rodrigues, on the festival Andanças (2014), Jorge de Freitas Branco, on the Festival Interceltique de Lorient et Bretagne (2015), and my INET-colleague Ana Maria Alarcón, on the Festival Internacional do Mundo Celto de Ortigueira (PhD thesis to be defended in July 2017), a.o.
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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACIDI  Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural
ACIME  Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas
ACLUS  Associação de Cultura Lusófona
ACM    Alto Comissariado para as Migrações
AILPcsh Associação Internacional de Ciências Sociais e Humanas em Língua Portuguesa
ALCC   Associação Lusofonia, Cultura e Cidadania
Asculp  Associação Cultura e Cidadania de Língua Portuguesa
AULP   Associação de Universidades de Língua Portuguesa
CCB    Centro Cultural de Belém
CECLU  Centro de Estudos de Culturas Lusófonas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa
CECS   Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade da Universidade do Minho
CEMRI  Centro de Estudos das Migrações e das Relações Interculturais da Universidade Aberta
CESNOVA Centro de Estudos de Sociologia da Universidade Nova de Lisboa
CESEM  Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical da Universidade Nova de Lisboa
CLEPUL Centro de Literatura e Culturas Lusófonas e Europeias da Universidade de Lisboa
CNCDP  Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses
CPLP   Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa
EGEAC  Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural
Expo’98 1998 Lisbon World Exposition
FCG    Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian
FCT    Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
FCSH/UNL Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa
FITAP  Festival Internacional de Teatro e Artes Performativas da Lusofonia
FMINT  Fórum Municipal de Interculturalidade
GLEM   Gabinete Lisboa Encruzilhada de Mundos e da Academia de Produtores Culturais
ICL    Instituto Cultural Lusófono
ICS    Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa
ICTM   International Council for Traditional Music
IES    Social Entrepreneurship Institute
IILP   Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa
IOF    Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie
ILusófona Institute of Línguas da Universidade Lusófona
INEP Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa
INET-md Instituto de Etnomusicologia – Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança da Universidade Nova de Lisboa
ISCTE Instituto Superior de Ciência do Trabalho e Empresa
IUNA Implementar Uma Nova Atitude
LSA Lusophone Studies Association
LUSOCOM Federação das Associações Lusófonas de Ciências da Comunicação
MIL Movimento Internacional Lusófono
OSISA Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa
PALOP Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa
PASC Plataforma de Associações da Sociedade Civil
RBMA Red Bull Music Academy
RDP Radiodifusão Portuguesa
RTP Radio e Televisão de Portugal
TAP Transportes Aéreos Portugueses
UCCLA União das Cidades Capitais de Língua Portuguesa
UCP Universidade Católica Portuguesa
UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
WOMEX World Music Expo
0. INTRODUCTION. CAN MUSIC DECOLONIZE SOCIETY?

Language unites as much as it divides people across borders of space and time. Music, seen as an especially dynamic form of language associated with migration, has increasingly gained visibility in the political and cultural agenda of western nations. The use of spoken, written and sung words and sounds in music festivals of multicultural profile represents a privileged terrain of socialization that allows us to interpret how elements of transnational cohesion interplay, negotiate and eventually settle. For this dissertation, I have studied details of governance, discourse and performance of a particular music festival in Lisbon, Portugal: Musidanças, organized by the Portuguese-Angolan musician Firmino Pascoal since 2001. Governance works here as a conceptual category by which I mean the materialization Pascoal makes of a metaphor of life for himself: *lusofonia* means mixture, he says. I analyze the intellectual framework expressed in this metaphor by Pascoal through two behavioral processes categorized here as discourse and performance. Inspired by Thomas Turino’s music association of metaphors and social life (2008), I interpret how Musidanças’ promotor and the event in itself represent the proclaimed idea of *lusofonia*, illustrating the centrality of what Peter Wade (2005) has called the *mestiço* figure: somebody who fights against homogenizing forces in society. On a broader level, governance here includes thoughts, actions and products employed by cultural agents - thinkers, musicians or listeners - involved in the *lusofonia* context in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, in which Musidanças emerged. The actions, priorities and decisions of its promotor are central to it.

This investigation aims to unravel complex associations used in transnational language alliances and their corresponding social processes. It is an ethnomusicological study that questions how and why an intercultural music festival socializes through multiple strategies of transnational relations. Starting from the presupposition that

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1 In 2006, Martinho da Vila was made into Embaixador da Boa Vontade by CPLP. Information retrieved from [http://www.cplp.org/id-2783.aspx](http://www.cplp.org/id-2783.aspx)
different legacies of colonialism may have shaped post-independence approaches to music making\(^2\), I seek to follow roles of music in postcolonial contexts in Lisbon. In particular, I wonder whether music may mediate colonial wounds and taboos\(^3\), and what does the idea of an “audible empire” (Radano and Olaniyan 2016) mean in these times of change - a claim that is already patent in the now 10 year old documentary *Lusofonia, a (R)evolução* (discussed in chapter 2).

The notions of discourse and performance emerge as behavioral categories that materialize governance, and in which sounds, movements and visual elements surpass word expression in public spheres. I use the categories of discourse and performance as analytical interfaces in which the voices of the festival’s participants are represented in spoken, written and musical forms. These analytical interfaces are not always separable: there are common situations in which the promotor expresses governmental ideas through words during music performance, such as in the song “Mussulo” (discussed in chapter 3).

First, the governance dimension, particularly attached to Firmino Pascoal, the central subject of this dissertation, entails aspects of administration of image throughout the 15 years of the festival. They include knowing this promotor: his life story, his old and recent ideas about the festival, and portraits of his way of being by collaborators; festival structure, involving branding, jargon and categorizations alike; the promotion of events in social networks; and different strategies of contact among different participants: organizers, musicians and audience. Second, the discourse dimension addresses rhetorical utterances of the festival’s main intervenients including programmatic texts, blog posts, interviews and song lyrics. Third, the performance dimension entails the actions of the promotor as musician (composer, singer and guitar player), as well as those of other participants (musicians, dancers, audience members), his guests.

I developed the main fieldwork research techniques in collaborative ambients since very early in this work: participant observation, both through concert attendance and reflexive interviewing *in loco*, on the one hand, and virtual observation through Facebook interaction, blog posts, and YouTube fruition on the other. The resulting ethnographic experience combines insights from three main approaches: discourse

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\(^2\) Expressed by Frederick J. Moehn in his seminar on lusophone expressive cultures at NOVA in 2010-11.

\(^3\) These ideas emerged from discussions at various INET events over the last three years, such as the II Fórum, the Doctoral Forum and Maria de São José Côrte-Real’s MA-PhD student seminar.

This thesis includes five chapters in which the narratives flow from etic to emic voices and field notes sometimes gain argumentative weight, thus representing ethnographic writing.

The introduction discusses the state of the art vis-à-vis postcolonial soundscapes in Lisbon and lusofonia, and formulates main questions, research hypotheses, methodological strategies and fieldwork techniques. I also shortly elaborate on my personal motivations and ethnographic writing.

Chapter 1 contextualizes the emic idea of lusofonia, discussing its influential meaning as a metaphor through ideas of origin and linguistic, political, economic and sonic viewpoints. Unraveling lusofonia’s polysemy, I exemplify this metaphor’s impact through a universe of individual, ideas, institutions and places. I then situate lusofonia debates amidst postcolonial critiques and cultural policy, and try to link the idea to theoretical interpretations of lusofonia as a lived community (Maciel 2010) as well as the validity of music to this metaphorical construction (Lança 2010).

Chapter 2 discusses lusophone soundscapes in Lisbon from both historical and contemporary points of view. Regarding the former, I touch upon lusofonia’s ideological foundations, with special attention for important moments such as the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition and the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução (2006). I then discuss performance practices in which I recognize lusophone resonances of some sort.

Finally, I characterize the festival Musidanças during its first fifteen years of activity (2001-2015).

Chapter 3 investigates the ways Musidanças has administrated, debated and performed lusofonia, using the threefold analytical frame of governance, discourse and performance, conceived for this purpose. For the governance dimension, I analyze the biography and musical career of the director of the festival, as well as the organization

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4 As Lança points out, “a música poderia ser a excepção, onde o discurso do ‘espaço lusófono’ faria algum sentido uma vez que, desde o séc. XV, tem sido um elemento de fortes trocas culturais percebendo-se a saudável contaminação dos ritmos e conhecimento das origens da música nos vários países de língua portuguesa” (2010: np, retrieved from http://www.buala.org/pt/a-ler/a-lusofonia-e-uma-bolha).

5 These resonances may refer to music festivals and venues, as well as to discourses, collaborations and recordings.
of music events that he has produced, the record label, the cultural association, blogs and other interactive social networks. I highlight Musidanças’ evolution in terms of programming, locations, musicians, labels and reception. Regarding the discourse dimension, I compare the festival’s programmatic texts, blog posts and publicity in social networks with data emerging from personal interviews. I also carry out a lyrical analysis of selected song texts of lusophone interest both within and without Musidanças. Finally, I investigate into the musical performance of Musidanças and its spin offs through an analysis of the festival’s tendencies and evolution, appreciated by its organizers, musicians and audience.

Chapter 4 contains argumentation whether the analyzed governance may democratize lusofonia, whether discourse may recuperate lusophone memories; and finally, whether musical performance may sustain what, following Marta Lança (2010), I will call the lusofonia bubble. Regarding the governance dimension, I contend that Musidanças strives to change biased mentalities; to critique cultural policies; and to educate publics interculturally. With respect to the discursive dimension, I defend that the festival aims to rewrite colonial memories; to unmask dichotomies; and to acknowledge hybridization. Finally, with reference to the performance dimension, I argue that Musidanças claims to discover post-colonial Portugal musically, to combat artistic marginalization; and to promote inclusive participation.

Chapter 5, finally, concludes that Lisbon-based lusophone musicians have increasingly addressed matters of cultural sustainability and citizenship in a postcolonial environment of reconciliation as well as of intercultural and most of all civic reeducation. Dwelling on Musidanças’ emic equation that relates lusofonia with mixture (being referred to as mestiçagem, criolidade, fusão, interculturalidade, used by emic and etic interlocutors of different sorts and different contexts), I conclude that the festival also draws attention to integration issues of culturally and racially mixed lusophone populations in postcolonial Portugal. The case of Musidanças suggests that music studies may unveil social change, by thinking beyond narratives of origins and by focusing on representation strategies of awareness and even protest. In sum, Musidanças affirms lusofonia’s potential at the intersection of diaspora and globalization, not in the commercial, but in the affinity sense of postcolonial intercultural traffic. Ultimately, the festival’s emic equation proclaims that Musidanças works as a showcase in which lusofonia means mixture. Complementary to Moisés de Lemos Martins’ vision in Lusofonia e interculturalidade (2015), in which interculturalidade frames contact as
struggle and reinvention of community, this study recognizes – with Firmino Pascoal – that this reinvention has to incorporate mixture in itself. Although Sheila Khan (2008) among others stresses the existence of intercultural niches throughout centuries of contact (colonialism and postcolonialism involved), only recently taboos have started to be broken, showing how in fact the difference is in the incorporation of the mixture itself⁶. This thesis shows how Musidanças does it.

I have complemented the text with figures, tables, maps and one graph. I have made complementary visual references to my dissertation available on a pen drive, planning to disclose this information to the general public online soon. I last checked all links mentioned on September 9, 2016. Finally, I chose not to translate English excerpts or quotations into Portuguese given the inherently emic/etic relationship expressed in this dissertation. For the same reason, I made two different versions of this dissertation: one in English and another in Portuguese.

0.1. Postcolonial soundscapes and lusofonia: the state of the art

My analysis looks for power relations of thoughts and sounds that inform social practices, performances and cultural identities, in particular through transnational alliances of language and music in a Portuguese postcolonial context. My approach benefits from the work of social scientists that, in a global context of diaspora and transnationalism, study the articulation of cultural systems in terms of linguistic rather than geographic proximity. I use methods of Ethnomusicology, Cultural Anthropology and Discourse Analysis to interpret the roles of a recent festival in promoting migrant musics and lusophone cultures in Portugal, separating the emic concept of lusofonia and the concept of music artificially to analyze them.

Multicultural festivals represent privileged spots of socialization in which representations of cohesion and conflict between daily experiences and transnational symbolic realms are negotiated, interact and may eventually get solved (or not). The 1998 Lisbon World Exposition (Expo’98), celebrating oceans and traveling, conspicuously promoted the connection between the political idea of lusofonia and music in a transnational perspective, thus inspiring many events dedicated to lusophone

⁶ This idea was expressed by participants of two roundtables under my moderation at the conferences ICMHM16 and ICPSong 16, both at NOVA in June 2016.
musical cultures since then. Their representations have come to occupy an important position in diplomatic initiatives of embassies, ministries and CPLP – the Community of Portuguese Language Countries. However, scientific investigation has not followed so promptly; social implications of old and recent transnational perspectives in this domain have not yet sufficiently explored. Music festivals have been relatively understudied as “spaces and times of concentrated debate and social effervescence,” addressing issues of representativity and creativity (European Commission 2011: 7). Research undertakings such as the Euro Festival Project (Delanty et al. 2011) have pioneeringly approached festivals as sites of transnational identification and democratic debate, trying to fill a gap in academic research about festivals in Europe. Even so, in the case of Portugal this domain of study is still relatively incipient, though Santos et al. (1999) and Cidra (2010) have mentioned Expo’98’s cultural impact.

The festive musical dimension in Portugal was effectively targeted by scarce ethnomusicological studies from the 1980s onwards (Vanspauwen and Côrte-Real: in press). Among them, I highlight the representation of the nation’s cultural policy in rural areas at the height of the dictatorship period of the 20th century, and its popular backlash at the beginning of the democratic time stretch (Carvalho and Oliveira 1985 and 1987); music presentation and participation in religious festivals (Lameiro 1997, Minelli 2014); the technological mediation of music and television (Cesar et al. 2010, Minelli 2012, Lopes 2013), and finally the relevance of the festival through the development of intercultural education (Côrte-Real 2009 and 2011). Together with diverse social service programs, music festivals have come to represent a privileged terrain to promote civic participation and literal hearing of the voices of the Other (Côrte-Real 2010b: 16).

As a European country that maintains strong, noticeable cultural relations with its former colonies both externally and internally, Portugal nurtures increased responsibilities in the scientific field of transnational studies. Though heterogeneous musical traditions of different regions have coexisted and interacted in Portugal since the 15th century, both the revolution of Portugal in 1974 and the respective independencies of its African colonies, then provinces, in 1974 (Guinea-Bissau) and 1975 (Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe) drastically

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7 As the EU report European Arts Festivals, Strengthening Cultural Diversity shows, festivals are normally not analyzed “as autonomous fields” and, “agents of cultural policy” (European Commission 2011: 7). Cultural studies approaches consider festivals “mainly as manifestations of urban regeneration”, while political sociology “often neglects the role of arts for the democratic public sphere” (ibid.).
increased hybridization processes within continental Portugal. The reception of considerable immigration flows forced Portugal into an intermediary position between Europe and its language-related ultramarine links after it entered the European Union in 1986 and, more importantly, the CPLP in 1996. Gradually, Portugal turned itself into a modified lusophone space with an increasing interest in its Portuguese-speaking migrant populations. However, despite the country’s official diversity discourse and its praised institutional migrant reception framework, racial attitudes and social preconceptions were not banned from Portuguese society. In this respect, I highlight scientific investigations about multiple national identities (Corkill 1996); ethnization of minorities (Vala et al. 1999); Portugal’s postcolonial hybridity (Sanches 2004); cultural and racial discrimination (Santos et al. 2005, Cabecinhas 2007); the construction of alterity (Beja-Horta 2008) and lusophone micro-communities (Maciel 2010). My study questions how the concepts and the expressive culture they label as *lusofonia*, as used by the central subject of this study a.o., work in social life in Portugal, affecting migrant policies and practices, nurturing and/or deconstructing colonial and postcolonial taboos, ultimately mediating intercultural and/or civic education.

The concept of *lusofonia*, used by Firmino Pascoal, relates to one as proposed by Arenas, namely as a contested signifier in which “nostalgic neo-colonial discourses in the political arena or in the media compete with uncompromisingly anti-colonial views or pragmatic postcolonial positions” (2011: 40). From my perspective, it is worthwhile to explore *lusofonia* as a postmodern fluid concept that transcends postcolonial contexts as well as that challenges the authority of the frontiers of nation-states. I stress Grenier and Guilbault’s notion of “discourses of inscription” to refer to the “procedures for the production and circulation of statements” through which these notions have been created “as objects of discourse, and hence what they have come to stand for, for whom and from which position of authority” (1997: 220-1). In this context, *lusofonia* is a term that represents a union between people that share a language and cultural characteristics despite large geographical distances. The concept is grounded in a linguistic definition, and also designates a political, economic and cultural space. Since the turn of the century, *lusofonia* has increasingly informed international relations in the Portuguese-speaking world: governments as well as economic, academic, juridical, sportive, cultural and social institutions or associations within this frame regularly use the concept.
Theoretically, I approach *lusofonia* as an example of how power relations inform both social practices and representations of cultural identities. My perspective is based on the work of ethnomusicologists and other social scientists that, in a global context of diaspora and transnationalism, foresee that cultural systems may be articulated through expressive behavior: linguistically, musically and other, relating in different ways to local and global geographies. This ethnomusicological approach aims to address popular music as a privileged field for the exploration of (trans)national identity and culture (Arenas 2011: 46). A musical ethnography can reveal strategies of inclusion, integration, adaptation and socially justified acceptance of population movements in contexts of development of intercultural education (Côrte-Real 2011: 11). And in many instances, it may also reveal strategies of exclusion. Musical ethnographies may thus help to better understand affective notions of cultural capital that are constantly being put into practice through complex webs of meanings pro or contra different perspectives depending on the point of view.

Music entrepreneurs and their networking have increasingly profited from the openness that the internet has brought in the last couple of decades. Ethnographic research on transnational issues has benefited enormously from this indispensable tool (Wood 2008, Cooley *et al.* 2008, and Kozinets 2009 on doing ethnographic fieldwork online; Rettberg 2008, Rosenberg 2009 and Cross 2011 on interpreting blogs; Macedo 2010 and Maciel 2010 mapping efforts of lusophone cyberspace; and Reily 2003 on internet’s contribution to ethnomusicology). In a similar sense, Lysloff argues that interactions that take place in the virtual realm of cyberspace are worth ethnographing, since they have “consequences for lived social worlds”; as such, the internet “holds the promise of new cultural narratives and social formations” (2003: 234-7). I will verify whether this applies to my case study.

*Lusofonia* is a currently common term in contemporary contexts of postcolonial identity revindications in Portuguese society. Following Thomas Turino’s suggestion of a Peircian semiotic theory for music studies, in which he links signs of identity, imagination, and experience to global cultural formations (Turino 1999: 226), I connect *lusofonia* to similar semantic notions such as CPLP, *língua portuguesa*, *mundo lusófono*, *culturas lusófonas*, *portugalidade*, *diaspora portuguesa* or *lusodescendentes* related culture.\(^8\) The very term of *lusofonia* has, however, been objection of some

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\(^8\) Interesting in this respect is the celebration of Portugal’s national day, *O Dia de Portugal, de Camões e das Comunidades Portuguesas*, celebrated yearly on June 10th in a different Portuguese city to
contestation since it was first used in Portuguese government surroundings during the mid-1990s. Although the historical roots of the notion of *lusofonia* can be traced to old pre-national times, referring to the inhabitants of Lusitania, the contemporary meaning of the idea was also influenced by Portuguese sea travels, colonial times, and the negotiations over the Orthographic Agreement of 2009. The actions of new institutions such as RDP África created in 1994 and the CPLP founded in 1996, as well as those of international cultural events such as Expo’98 and the European Year for Intercultural Dialogue in 2008, among others of national and international initiative, were to some extent related to lusophone migration flows. Helped by the workings of the transnational music industry and internet that meanwhile developed, these main institutions and means pushed the perception of *lusofonia* beyond its strict significance, enlarging the scope of its linguistic focus. Today, according to Sanches, the concept designates a community of language and shared colonial history, but it also invokes Portugal as a modern and historic nation, which imaginary involves global relations (2004: 121). As pointed out by Martins, *lusofonia* has become a classifying name or category subordinated to diverse functions, to produce desired social effects both in Portugal and in the Portuguese-speaking world (2006: 90). The notion has been used in a plurality of situations, some of which eventually symbolically dangerous, as a producer of a multicultural imperialistic common national feeling, as expressed by both Dias (2009: 7) and Almeida (2004: 238).

Scientific productions in recent years have shown an increasing research interest in the field of lusophone postcolonial studies, leading to a vast amount of publications that have focused on cultural relations between *lusofonia*’s science and politics (Fontenla 1993), interidentity and postcolonialism (Santos 2002), interculturalism and citizenship (Rocha-Trindade 1998, Martins 2015), lusotropicalism negotiation (Madeira 2003, Baptista 2006, Martins *et al.* 2006, Freixo 2009, Lança 2010) and post-national identity (Cunha 2008, Barros 2008 and Baltrusch 2009). *Lusofonia* has also been defined as an imagined geocultural community by Ferreira (1996), Maciel (2010) and Macedo (2013), while Lopes *et al.* (2012) and Pereira (2011) have stressed the notion’s

commemorate the death of Luís Vaz de Camões, the author of *Os Lusíadas* – an epic tale about the Portuguese discoveries, published in 1580. Curiously, from the institution of the Second Portuguese Republic in 1933 till the Revolution of 1974, this day was also celebrated as *Dia da Raça*, ambiguously dedicated to the Portuguese race or people, as expressed on the site of the Portuguese presidency, http://www.presidencia.pt/?idc=193 (no author mentioned)
global strategic dimension by connecting its cultural value to potential economic revenue.

Most authors agree that *lusofonia* is rooted in the efforts of the Portuguese imperialistic tendencies during early modernity and in the African struggles that led to its collapse and independencies of lusophone African countries in late modernity (Arenas 2011: 2; Santos 2002: 19; Brookshaw 2007: 170). They argue that to conceptually fortify *lusofonia* one has to let go of old triangular views that were present in colonial and independent positions, and instead promote hybridization (Madureira 2006: 141; Klimt and Lubkeman 2002). In this respect, Moehn indicates the possibility of “a more mutually constitutive and relational paradigm” that can stimulate an “open dialogue that builds on historical connections yet also establishes new resonances in musical evocations of [south] Atlantic affinities and flows” (2011: 2). As Martins has repeatedly stressed, Portuguese postcolonial research has started to reread the process of (de-)colonization as part of an essentially transnational and -cultural process by investigating into the discursive and performative practices, offering decentered, diasporic or global accounts of past narratives anchored in the nation-state environment (Martins 2006: 90, Almeida 2004: 232; Santos 2002: 5).

Although it has generally been used to express social, political and economic concerns, *lusofonia* may also apply to music as a cultural practice. Cultural practices, as proposed by Marta Lança as soft bubbles (2010), can incorporate ideas, emotions, beliefs, attitudes, experiences and identities. Music – examined as social process, discursive construction, and expressive behavior – is a particularly appropriate domain for the study of processes engendered by transnational encounters (Castelo-Branco 1997: 32). As Gray points out, “through polyindexical modes of signification, [music] has a way of collapsing history as chronology, history as telos, condensing affect; in moments of listening to music, history might be experienced as a feeling” (2016: 62). Besides this emotional component, music can be better understood when viewed from the networks of sharing, exchange and cooperation established between the various actors entwined in its production, diffusion and dissemination (Maciel 2010: 303). Thus, it offers a privileged lens to analyze identity construction in multicultural contexts (Castelo-Branco 1997).

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9 This refers to the triangular trade routes between Europe, Africa, and the Americas, as described by historians such as Paiva (2015), Fioravanti (2015), Menz (2012) and Guran (2000). Interestingly, these authors point at social, cultural and racial hybridization that transcend self-contained views, and focus on the historical protagonism of the *mestiço* figure.
The concept of *lusofonia* appears in my study as an unstable construction. Emically introduced in it, the etic perception of *lusofonia* developed fluidly and I found useful the notion of a bubble-like entity, with soft and permeable margins and different modes of sustentions to characterize it. Fluidity and hybridization emerge thus as central condition within my interpretations of the governance strategies, the discourse practices and the performance details under study. The fragility and crystal-like preciousness of the so-called *lusofonia* bubble can be thought of as a lens for Portugal’s “liquid modernity” (Bauman 2000) or in its somehow ideological invention as a “failed state” (Chomsky 2006). Researchers such as Oliver Nay have encouraged perspectives such as the one I follow in this study, revealing an “interest in government institutions with a multidimensional, context-based and historically grounded approach to society-wide vulnerabilities” (2013: 1).

Cultural entrepreneurs such as the organizer of the festival of Musidanças have started to use the concept of *lusofonia* as a social and cultural tool. Drawing on Guilbault’s landmark study *Governing Sound* (2007), I want to reveal how the discourse and actions of these cultural collectives “promote” the idea of *lusofonia* by means of music. My focus is on their administrating agencies as well as their effects on expressive cultures in a transnational lusophone space. Cultural entrepreneurs, such as the festival Musidanças, have been instrumental in organizing lusophone music events and performances and emically employing the *lusofonia* notion. Through thick description (Geertz 1973) and a multisited ethnography (Marcus 1995) of Musidanças, considering production and reception, this study takes thus time and space vectors to interpret metaphorical constructions of *lusofonia*.

The chosen theoretical framework benefits from previous constructions of different authors expressed though ideas eventually arranged in models, such as the one named as *subject-centered musical ethnography*, in which time, place and metaphor play main roles, as proposed by Timothy Rice (2003), in congruence with Appadurai’s (1997) cultural dimensions of globalization; Stokes’ (1997) musical construction of place; and Erlman’s (1999) understanding of the global imagination. The theoretical framework chosen encompasses Garafolo’s (1993) understandings of cultural imperialism and the music industry; Averill’s explorations (1997) of music and power; Hall’s thinking (1997) on globalization and ethnicity; and Guilbault’s writings (1997) on sound governance and creoleness dynamics. This framework aims to articulate the ways through which the discursive construction of musical and cultural domains is used.

Last but not least, my theoretical framework takes into account how concepts inform social practices, cultural performances and identities. Profiting of the writing of Grenier and Guilbault, my object of analysis translates as: to explore how “distinctive musics, when viewed as integral parts of complex cultural and political configurations, can be instrumental [for] new social relations, networks and alliances, thereby creating alternative yet limited fields of possibilities and prescriptions” (1997: 208). Building upon previous works on both online music communities and lusophone communities, I want to analyze how a body of lusophone music initiatives is used to bind disparate geographic and language groups together into larger organizational structures. How are these social spheres creating new cultural identities? And how is music mediating this social networking?

To critically understand these processes in the context of postcolonial cultural economy, I particularly draw from La Barre & Vanspauwen’s junction of Appadurai’s notion of ‘imagination’ and Bauman’s notion of ‘ambivalence’: while Appadurai’s division of scapes into the realms of ethnicity, media, technology, finance, and ideology considers “imagination as a central feature to all forms of contemporary agency”, Bauman’s interpretation of modernity is “both ambivalent and liquid” (2013: 22). Unifying Bauman’s and Appadurai’s thoughts, this conceptual construction represents “the fluidity and liquidity of imagination on one side, and the disjunction and difference of ambivalence on the other” (ibid.). To assemble and interpret the cross-cultural processes that characterize what I will call “musical lusofonia”, I frame my project through the notions of music community and time-place-metaphor in a governing sound perspective. I specifically propose Schafer’s notion of soundscape (1994) as a musical lens to investigate the mediatic, ideological, migratory, technological and financial scapes (to paraphrase Appadurai’s 1997 distinction between mediascape, ideoscape, ethnoscape, technoscape and finanscape, respectively), which I argue, all come together

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\(^{10}\) The Oxford Dictionary defines mestizaje as “interbreeding and cultural intermixing of Spanish and American Indian people (originally in Mexico, and subsequently also in other parts of Latin America); miscegenation, racial and cultural intermixing.” I will use intermixture, hybridization and fusion as alternative wordings for mestiçagem, a fundamental term in this dissertation. Information retrieved from http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/pt/defini%C3%A7%C3%A3o/ingl%C3%AAs/mestizaje
under the reality that is fluidly envisioned through the notion of *lusofonia* or semantically related terms.

The theoretical innovation of this project lies in its focus on processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural difference, as these ‘spaces-in-between’ provide the ground for the development of representational strategies. The dynamics of intangible cultural heritage of diasporas, transnational communities and immigrant groups constitute an important field of research (International Social Science Council 2012: 17). This may lead to a practical, open understanding of *lusofonia* as an intercultural process of communication within a tension-ridden context generated by inequalities, in which former colonial and postcolonial notions of cultural and racial difference are translated into written and listened sounds.

### 0.2. Personal trajectory, motivations and fluidity

Being a Belgian researcher, living in Lisbon for several years, I have actively observed and investigated cultural events in this city up to today. My Master of Art studies in Ethnomusicology at FCSH/NOVA in 2010 (focusing on lusophone migrant musics in Lisbon), my Postgraduate Degree in Cultural Studies, in 2003 (investigating into musical hybridity in postcolonial contexts) and my Bachelor in Comparative Literary Science in 2001 (studying discourse analysis and literary studies), both at Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, built my knowledge in the field. My experience as a grant holder of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (2009) and a collaborator with Maria de São José Côrte-Real for the special issue ‘Music and Migration’ of Revista Migrações (2009-2011), published by ACIDI, provided me the opportunity to carry out preliminary research for this project. The MA class ‘Problemas de representação da música’ (Maria de São José Côrte-Real, 2009), in which I first analyzed the documentary *Lusofonia, a (R)evolução*; the PhD class ‘Cultura expressiva no espaço transnacional lusófono’ (Frederick J. Moehn, 2010); the NOVA Summer School course ‘Oportunidades e desafios no domínio das produções culturais em língua portuguesa’ (Cármen Ferreira Maciel, 2012); the preparatory research for the article “A Musical Lusofonia: Music Scenes and the Imagination of Lisbon” (with Jorge de La Barre, 2013); the intellectual exchanges in INET’s doctoral forum and MA-PhD seminar (both organized by Maria de São José Côrte-Real); as well (inter)national conference participations further expanded
my horizon. Since 2013, my PhD was advised by Maria de São José Côrte-Real, which stimulated my research across disciplines by inviting co-advisors from the field of Discourse Analysis, Fernanda Menendéz (FCSH/NOVA) (†) and Cornelia Ilie, (Zayed University, UAE) respectively. This dissertation wants to build upon and contribute to the aforementioned research.

Having grown up in Belgium, a country divided by language and migration issues, I have always been interested in musicians’ takes on transnational cultural politics. On the research excursions that I undertook to Brazil as part of my Cultural Studies training, Portugal was always a welcome stop, both culturally and linguistically. This country’s mixture of world and European history as well as its potential of expressive cultures in a transnational lusophone perspective soon caught my attention. The idea for the actual project initially sprang to mind while (in Belgium) assisting the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução (Red Bull Music Academy, 2006) online, and (in Lisbon) attending Associação Sons da Lusofonia’s festival Lisboa Mistura 2008. Both instances made me question the validity of lusofonia in a context of music and migration. The idea to investigate into the breadth of local festive events that stage Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians arose rather naturally as I discovered a wealth of institutional, associative and individual initiatives that either embodied this musical lusofonia or referred to it.

Musidanças, which foundation in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area in 2001 precedes the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução by five years, was to my knowledge the first non-institutional initiative powered by musicians with migrant origins from Portuguese-speaking countries in Portugal. From the onset, Musidanças appropriated the political concept of lusofonia to promote alternative social, racial and musical realities. Surprisingly, at a time in which institutions increasingly promoted intercultural encounters, the festival saw recurrent backdrops of recognition and support. Why is this happened is an unanswered question. The ways in which the notion of lusofonia was used in the festival Musidanças makes the core of my interest. In particular, I want to assess how this particular festival has (re)valued, questioned or altered the notion during fifteen years of its existence. The theoretical framework of ethnomusicology satisfies the aims of my research.

The trajectory of this research project has changed my life in a number of ways. Since I came to Lisbon at the invitation of Salwa Castelo-Branco, to whom I owe my gratitude for having stimulated me to pursue Ethnomusicology studies in the first place,
I have experienced many different aspects of Lisbon’s local and global life. Without a doubt, the fact that my field research and academic training took place in the same place lead to some unique insights that would otherwise have been unavailable to me. In addition, I also experienced being a migrant in times of economic hardship, an insider-outsider in a city where tourists have familiar faces. I also served as interim president of local Associação Lusofonia, Cultura e Cidadania (ALCC)\(^{11}\) for about one year, which gave me valuable insights in the possibilities and limitations of migrants (the majority of them from CPLP-countries) in Portugal. Furthermore, personal connections, and my wife Vanessa in particular, offered me a variety of legal, political, cultural and human insights vis-à-vis Portugal’s relations with the lusophone world.

0.3. **Musidanças as representation: main question and hypotheses**

This dissertation focuses on representational practices in the complex and in some cases powerful transnational arena of intercultural music festivals in the metropolitan area of postcolonial Lisbon. Claimed identities are under scrutiny to see how the plea is formulated along daily reality, offering adjustments, alternative readings or eventually organization clues for social realities. Profiting from the increasing attention in music studies to the relationships between musical cultures, race and colonialism (see Castelo-Branco (1997) on music in the Portuguese-speaking world; Born and Hesmondhalgh (2000) on difference and appropriation; Guss (2000) and Wade (2005) on ethnicity and nationalism; Radano and Bohlman (2002) on the racial imagination), my study aims to get a better understanding “of the ways in which counterforces - the politics and cultures of local communities and movements - are derivative of the very discourses they seek to interrogate” (Erlman 1998). In particular, how does music mediate the nexus between language and politics, within the given case study on Musidanças?

Recent researches in the fields of Ethnomusicology, Anthropology and Sociology have framed *lusofonia* more as a return movement of the expressive cultures and memories of some coming from Portugal’s former colonial territories than as a linguistic field of the spoken sphere. This perspective a.o. emanates from Pegg’s (2002) review of the record collection *A Viagem Dos Sons*, in which she calls for the study of

\(^{11}\) See [http://www.lusoculturas.org](http://www.lusoculturas.org)
postcolonial music influences in Portugal; Sieber’s (2002) discussion of Expo‘98’s cultural impact, in which he calls Portugal’s music landscape a ‘one way street’; Sanches’ (2004) analysis of in-betweenness in the lusophone space, that markets the other as exotic and thus external; Dias’s (2006) critique of cultural perceptions towards Africa, promoting migrants as cultural intermediaries; and Lança’s (2010) lusofonia bubble (see above).

Ethnomusicology has increasingly studied relationships between music and memory, understanding musical expression as a dynamic means of articulating the past and the present, mobilized by social actors (Reily 2014: 2). The study of social representations and collective memory discourses in cultural interfaces such as music festivals can provide means for ethnographic delineations of systemic relationships that, though highlighting existing categorical distinctions, may obscure others by mapping the social struggles over the definition of collective reality (Markin 2007: np). For the analysis of these narrative processes, Cidra (2015) stresses the need to examine and situate memory politics in order to understand how nation states’ cultural politicies select what should be remembered and forgotten (Connerton’s (1989) social memory; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett’s (1998) heritage display; and Cabecinhas et al. (2006), Cunha’s (2008) and Martins’ (2011) discussion of hegemonic representations of history).

Given that the commodification of ethnicized difference within music is a matter of symbolic creativity and political economy (Born & Hesmondhalgh 2000; Radano & Bohlman 2000; Slobin 2003; Kiwan & Meinhof 2011), the governability of multicultural communities living together in a given nation-state seems to be predominantly a question of cultural politics and policy (Guilbault 2011, cited in Pereira (2012: 4)). Following Guilbault (2007:4), I contend that various powers (state agencies, record industry, intellectuals, musicians) and practices (local or international concerts, reviews, recording sessions, radio broadcasts and online dissemination) may all inform the orientation of music categories such ‘lusophone musics’, as well as the genres they supposedly entail. These factors are “at times conflicting, at times reinforcing each other,” thus dynamizing the convention, valorization and circulation of cultural expressions (ibid.).

In Portugal, some forms of racism have consolidated institutionally, thus legitimating both sociological and cultural racism perspectives such as ethnic
stereotyping and xenophobia (Bá 2014: np). These subaltern mechanisms of othering make a decolonial approach politically and epistemologically necessary. As Quijano & Wallerstein argue, in many cases, decolonization did not eliminate coloniality, “it merely transformed its outer form” (1992: 550). In this line of thought, I stress with Wade (1993: 17) that categories such as race and ethnicity are entirely social or cultural constructions, creating ambivalent relations between the social (a set of constitutive relations) and the cultural (a set of regulated, taught and learned behaviors) (ibid.: 19).

I contend that lusofonia does not effectively considers the totality of discursive processes at stake in the lusophone postcolonial world, excluding the analysis, for example, of the movements of independence and return, as well as the opposition to (post)colonial ideologies. Thus, one should be critically aware that lusofonia may obscure as much as it reveals. My analysis of transnational cultural flows in the lusophone world may offer new perspectives on how musical performance works to articulate representations that depart from built narratives of Portuguese national culture. As such, foreseeing the strategies that musicians with limited outreach develop in order to engage with local cultural policies may feed into new analytic perspectives, encompassing postcolonial and decolonial worries and revelations.

Roughly since the turn of the millennium, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area - as well as, to a minor extent, other cities in Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking world - has seen an increasing number of events dedicated to lusophone musical cultures, which have reinvigorated postcolonial understandings of the lusophone entity and raised issues of social visibility and cultural action vis-à-vis the communities involved. The documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução (2006) posits that lusophone sounds have changed and still belong together, and suggests to increase musicians’ professional articulation on Portuguese soil. A similar idea lies at the basis of the festival Musidanças that since its creation has strived to “estimular [a] criação de arte lusófona, desenvolver a consciência lusófona e proporcionar atrações de qualidade que possam manter vivas as origens do público estrangeiro-lusófono residente em Portugal”13.

Among musicians who play in Portugal, a noticeable number of those coming from Portuguese-speaking countries have shown representation concerns related to issues of transnational cultural bonds. This study focusses on a particular intercultural music festival - Musidanças - that has worked with Portuguese-speaking migrant as well

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13 See https://www.facebook.com/festivalmusidancas and http://aniversariomusidancas.blogspot.com
as alternative musicians, taking into consideration also some other related events. It interprets how different elements of governance, details of discourse and characteristics of performance within Musidanças have promoted the emic idea of *lusofonia*. In particular, it questions how and why has this festival used the term *lusofonia* to promote its actions?

Ethnomusicology allows for social and political interpretations, and aims to provide answers on theoretical and methodological grounds. Through Musidanças, I want to lay bare the importance of language in cultural constructions, on the one hand, the diversity of Portuguese musical culture, on the other.

To answer my main research question - how did Musidanças construct and use the concept of *lusofonia* in its governance, through the proposed lens of discourse and performance, to actively engage in the social, cultural and racial debate in postcolonial Portugal?, this investigation aims at a better understanding of the effectiveness of this festival’s administration by studying its rhetoric and musical output. I thus use Musidanças as a case study to interpret individual and group meanings of cultural flows for diasporic musicians and strategies they develop to engage with institutional policies. As a general hypothesis to test, I propose that Musidanças prescribes *lusofonia* as interventionist through the emic notion of *mestiçagem*, and that it uses this correlation to promote an alternative social, musical and racial reality. Following Peter Wade, I define *mestiçagem* as racial and cultural intermixture in a nationalist ideological perspective (2005: 39). Though the festival has no massive audiences, I risk to hypothesize that Musidanças has effectively succeeded in breaking out margins and in promoting alternative socio-cultural expressions.

The idea of “lusophone musics”, directly linked to the Portuguese-speaking countries, has increasingly been used by cultural entrepreneurs in Portugal to designate musics from Portuguese-speaking countries, not necessarily spoken in Portuguese or from Portugal. In fact, Portuguese history is characterized by the confluence of distant cultures (both in the former colonies and in the metropolis). In particular, geographically disperse musical traditions have interacted and mixed themselves with increasingly intensity since the 15th century, contributing to the gradual formation of musical fusions and understandings (Castelo-Branco 1997). Given Portugal’s declared interest in the creation of the CPLP (1996), Expo’98 and the European Year of
Intercultural Dialogue (2008)\textsuperscript{14}, I assume that the country’s institutions, associations and entrepreneurs may be interested in promoting cultural diversity in a transnational lusophone perspective\textsuperscript{15}. I thus posit that lusophone musics within a diaspora context may be a useful means for the analysis of processes of ethnicity and their relationships with nationalism, on the one hand, and for the positioning of these processes as ideological and social strategies in their respective contexts, on the other (Carvalho 1996: np, Hall et al. 1996).

Framing festivals as influential sites of socialization and negotiation that transcend national boundaries (Delanty et al. 2011, Melo 2013, O’Grady and Kill 2013), I aim to explore how they may effectively contribute to the construction of a transnational lusophone community that is based on intercultural contact. In particular, I want to lay bare the symbolic ways in which Musidanças’ participants deal with labels and dichotomies such as local/global, tradition/modernity, and inclusion/exclusion, by understanding the importance of subject-centered cultural metaphors on a decentered, fluid scale (Spivak’s (1989) and Baumann’s (2005) ideas on alterity; Bhabha’s (2003) and Hall’s (2003) conceptualization of cultural articulation; Appadurai’s (1991) proposal of scapes; Gilroy’s (1994); and Almeida’s (2002) description of Atlantic mixtures). I particularly apply Rice’s idea of time-place-metaphor (2003), Guilbault’s notion (2007) of governmentality, and Shelemay’s (2011) understanding of musical communities to theoretically framed lusophone musics in a time and place-specific, transnational perspective: that of my project.

The relevance of this project presents itself thus in scientific and in social terms. Despite over five centuries of cultural exchange, critics argue that Portugal maintains a lusotropic veil, which keeps it from being a racially and culturally tolerant country, merely defending “fictions of a creole nation” (Peralta 2011). Nevertheless, postcolonial migrant communities, traditionally overlooked by institutions, have recently gained more visibility in political, national and municipal agendas, implying a revision of their social development and cultural participation in the host societies (Beja Horta (2008) on difference construction; Pereira (2012) on multicultural musical narratives). In the case of Lisbon, which gathers a variety of migrant populations from Portuguese-speaking

\textsuperscript{14} For the explanation of the aims of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, see http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/culture/l29017_en.htm

\textsuperscript{15} As exemplified by the RTP program Rumos, 16 October 2013, which focused on the creation of favorable conditions for cultural entrepreneurs so as to “reinvent” Portugal in socio-cultural terms as well as touristically and economically. Information retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/RumosRTP and http://www.rtp.pt/play/p1100/e131578/rumos
countries (Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, East Timor) and regions (Galicia, Goa, Macau), it seems fruitful to investigate into participatory cultural processes. My study mainly deals with the festival Musidanças as clearly associated with the lusophone interface (Nakata 2002) which it has constructed. Understanding lusofonia as a construct-under-construction, the challenge consists in acknowledging hybridization processes that are translated in cultural practices, identities and politics today. The relevance of my study thus lies in the use of original contributions of marginalized communities for an alleged mainstream representation of lusofonia. The hypothesis to test implies breaking boundaries: Musidanças has succeeded in transcending margins.

Aiming to disentangle semiotic ambiguities of the notion of lusofonia, I hope to contribute insights into the contemporary scientific debate of social realities in Portugal through music and cultural policy studies. I hope to raise critical questions about the ways in which the political and economic project of lusofonia has inspired particular cultural projects, social identities and national representations. In other words, I want to trace how community-based experiences of music and culture (and the discourses that surround them) encourage people to feel that they are in touch with an essential part of themselves, their emotions and their community (Stokes 2007: 13).

Given that Portuguese is the fourth most spoken language on the planet, the third most spoken language in the western hemisphere and the most spoken of all languages in the southern hemisphere, the interest of studying music in the context of urban festivals exceeds Lisbon and Portugal due to its transnational proportions. In particular, this project aims to develop research in the field of cultural management and the implications / impact of management models of non-governmental organizations in the development of lusofonia. I hope that the resulting knowledge of this work may impact other cultural activities or help to better understand similar collectives under study.

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16 In 2014, Equatorial Guinea was elected as a new member amidst controversy on that country’s regime and language bonds. See http://www.dn.pt/inicio/globo/interior.aspx?content_id=3698649&seccao=CPLP
17 The idea of interface in relation to the notion of lusofonia has been utilized in the conference Interfaces da Lusofonia, 4-6 July 2013 at Universidade do Minho (Braga), in which I participated. See http://www.lasics.uminho.pt/lusofonia2013
0.4. Fieldwork and writings: ethnographic methods and techniques

As a situated ethnographer, I am aware of being an ambiguous participant in the events I discuss. For instance, I am a western European that migrated to Portugal, while many Portuguese of my age group recently carried out inverse migrations. I thus interchanged Belgium, a relatively young country with a history of French language domination, a largely hidden colonial legacy and a foundational role within the European Union, for Portugal, an old monolingual country with affective links to its former transatlantic colonies and peripherally located within Europe. I also switched from being a privileged native that grew up amidst Italian, Spanish, Turkish and Moroccan migrants, to being a migrant. Finally, I evolved from being a trained and amateur musician (saxophone, bass guitar, and Brazilian percussion instruments) to a trained researcher of musicians. These alternations between insider and outsider perspectives definitely influenced the present narrative. The supervision of scholars of transnational academic and personal experience (initially Salwa Castelo-Branco and Frederick Moehn and then Maria de São José Côrte-Real in particular) much helped the perspective followed.

I have chosen to take Timothy Rice’s time-place-metaphor model - “a ‘sociogeographical’ dimension as a way to think about and plot out the multiple social settings in which people produce, experience, and understand music” (2003: 160-1) - as a starting point for my analysis. Rice’s three-dimensional model allows for a combined analysis of individual, local, national and global experiences against a canvas of music as commodity, social behavior, symbol and art. I find Rice’s subject-centered music ethnography analytically promising “for framing inductive generalizations and hypotheses as to which routes through the three-dimensional space tend to be more traveled than others, and why” (Killick 2003: 174 and 180-1). Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that, even by using Rice’s model, ethnographic writing remains inherently partial and incomplete (Clifford and Marcus 1986: 6-7). In fact, certain determinations continue to govern the inscription of coherent ethnographic fictions. These ethnographic factors may be contextual, rhetorical, institutional,

\[18\] Although one should also mention Portugal’s second language, mirandês; the linguistic bonds with Galician (Spain); non-continental Portuguese (Azores and Madeira); as well as various divergences regarding lexicon and pronunciation of Portuguese as spoken in Brazil, the lusophone African countries or Timor: this points to the diversity of the Portuguese language in a transnational context.
generical, political and/or historical\textsuperscript{19}. In addition, Clifford and Marcus (1986: 6-7, citing Crapanzano in the same volume) point out that ethnographers are “tricksters, promising, like Hermes, not to lie, but never undertaking to tell the whole truth either.” Contending that the ethnographer’s “rhetoric empowers and subverts their message,” the authors contend that “cultural fictions are based on systematic, and contestable, exclusions” which may “involve silencing incongruent voices or deploying a consistent manner [of] translating the reality of others (ibid.). Despite the “inherently partial - committed and incomplete” nature of ethnographic truths, “a rigorous sense of partiality can be a source of representational tact,” validating ethnographic work (ibid.).

Together with Marcus (1995: 79), I contend that the heart of ethnographic analysis must reside “not in the reclamation of some previous cultural state or its subtle preservation despite changes, but rather in the new cultural forms to which changes in colonial subaltern situations have given rise.” This “premise of discontinuity” allows for theorizing contact, conflict, and contradiction between cultures and societies (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 6-7). ‘Spaces-in-between’ include people that identify themselves with more than one culture, and envision performances of diaspora to be original and socially innovative, exactly because of their creative difference to preexisting western categories (Costa Dias 2006: 29). Terms such as “subaltern” (Spivak 1990), “halfies” (Abu-Lughod 1991), “double consciousness” (Gilroy 1993), “hybridity” (Bhabha 1994), “creolité” (Grenier and Guilbault 1997), “in-between” (Santos 2002, Sanches 2004) and “mestiçagem” (Wade 2005, André 2012), “unmasking boundaries” and “renewing references” (Côrte-Real 2010b), all point in this direction.

As the terms of negotiation between imagined lives and deterritorialized worlds are complex, localizing strategies of traditional ethnography alone are not sufficient (Appadurai 1997: 52). Reyes (1979, 2007), Chambers (1994) and others therefore attribute postcolonial agency to metropolitan migrants. The ethnographic analysis of their personal biographies, powers and practices constitutes an important tool to map out larger socio-cultural vectors as well as individual, associative and institutional discourses (Castelo-Branco 2008, Corte-Real 2010).

My research strategies consist in participatory observation, formal interviews and informal conversations, through field, archival and internet research, in which the

\textsuperscript{19} “Contextual” draws from and creates meaningful social milieux; “rhetorical” refers to expressive conventions; “institutional” entails specific traditions, disciplines, audiences; “generical” has to do with the genre of texts; “political” points at authority issues; and “historical” refers to the processes that change conventions and constraints (ibid.).
analysis of auditory and visual material coexisted throughout. Specifically with regard to Musidanças, I have recollected extensive ethnographic material through several interviews with founder-director Firmino Pascoal, an in loco ethnography of Musidanças in 2013 and 2015, a virtual reconstruction of all other editions, and discourse analysis of personal interviews with musicians and audience, programmatic texts and selected lyrical content. I have also observed and analyzed interaction on the internet.

Analyzing Musidanças’ consecutive editions, I list in which locations the festival was organized and why and which musicians performed at the festival. My ethnographic work particularly builds upon interviews (conducted by means of an interview guide) to find out if and how the festival in some way changed understandings. In addition, these data allow for discussing the performances of the festival’s participants; analyzing and questioning different categories and dichotomies of discourse; and discussing the role of music governance in a multicultural, postcolonial and linguistic space.

To this end, I combine three methodological tools: the construction of biographic annotations, the analysis of discourse, and the ethnography of performance.

First, my choice to (re-)construct the personal and artistic life story of Pascoal came about quite naturally during the curricular part of my PhD. I was intrigued by not having come across Musidanças earlier on, despite the fact that the festival’s objectives were very much congruent with the results of my MA thesis. To my surprise, I discovered that a number of musicians that either featured in the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução or in my MA ethnography had previously performed at Musidanças. A preliminary encounter with Pascoal in late 2011 revealed that the festival had ethnographic potential because of its pioneering use of the lusofonia notion to represent the musics of lusophone migrants as well as other, so-called “alternative” musicians. I also learnt about Pascoal’s personal, artistic and social motivations. Born in Angola in colonial times out of a mixed Portuguese-Angolan marriage, and moving to the north of Portugal at the age of six because of the incipient colonial war in Angola (1961), Pascoal has strong links with the lusophone migrant populations in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Being a musician himself (in Lindu Mona, Imbondeiro, and Tardes Lusófonas), he has also created an independent music label (Zoomúsica) and a cultural

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20 I have referenced all personal interviews in a numbered list, which can be found in annex 9.
association (BAZA, later called Jungleplanet), and organized recurrent festive events (Musidanças, Noites Mestiças and Feira do Fado). All these elements made Pascoal into a privileged focus for analyzing music governance in a Portuguese and lusophone perspective\(^{21}\).

Second, I compare Pascoal’s discourse with the rhetoric of institutions, politicians, associations, journalists, as well as other cultural entrepreneurs and musicians in order to gain an understanding of how the concept of *lusofonia* has been articulated vis-à-vis semiotically related notions. In this respect, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerged as a methodology to discover cultural inequality, dominance and ideologies conveyed through public speeches (Van Dijk 2003: 353, Menéndez 2006 on discursive conquests of power, Ilie 2010 on strategic forms of address). Contending that the discursive aspects of cultural representations draw attention not only to the interpretation of cultural texts but also to their productive interrelations (Clifford and Marcus 1986: 13), I critically examine the discursive output of Musidanças as well as the rhetoric and argumentation of organizers of related events in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Given that normative biases that shape our relation to the world are constructed through discursive practices (Hiramoto 2012), these narratives (expressed through written, spoken or sung content) should be analyzed as the result of situated interactions and social practices anchored in socio-historical, political and cultural relations.

Third, the ethnography of performance of Musidanças and its founder-director took place both virtually and in real life. I researched into the festival’s past editions and side projects through Pascoal’s websites and blogs, which displayed a wealth of audiovisual and discursive material\(^{22}\). Beyond our interviews, Pascoal collaborated with me to recollect relevant material such as live photos, billboard images and lyrics. I was kindly offered the records *Musidanças* (2006), Lindu Mona’s *Bantu* (2010) and Baobab’s *Imbondeiro* (2013), and I purchased Pascoal son João Tristany’s recording *Mente Real* (2015), co-featuring Pascoal on one song which is discussed here. I attended a showcase by Pascoal’s band Lindu Mona in Lisbon’s FNAC Vasco da Gama.

\(^{21}\) My writing builds upon the actions of one person that is responsible for - but partly invisible in - Musidanças. In a way, the festival can be seen as a subject that metaphorically plays the role of Firmino Pascoal.

\(^{22}\) More specifically, data collection included field research, based on photographic records, record footage with audio, and the study of documents available on the internet.
on 9 February 2013\textsuperscript{23} and carried out a two-day ethnography of Musidanças 2013 in Viseu\textsuperscript{24}. I also attended Musidanças’ 2015 edition, partly held in Lisbon’s B.Leza\textsuperscript{25}. During the 2013 edition, I interviewed organizers, musicians, and public, and made analyses of evolution and tendencies. Overall, I actively monitored the festival’s activities through social networks as Facebook between 2011 and 2015, whereas my music ethnography of Lisbon as a whole extended from 2009 to 2015. In addition, some of Pascoal’s websites and blogs from which I have extracted information are not available anymore. For this dissertation, I have therefore worked with a personal backup document that I have constructed throughout my ethnography.

Given that Musidanças’ billboards commonly feature a listing of musicians with an indication of claimed origin, I extended this indication principle to the rest of listed musicians and bands throughout this dissertation, in order to better visualize alleged musical mixtures. I have designed a specific technique to do so. Each CPLP-country is abbreviated (Angola: A, Brazil: B, Cape Verde: CV, Guinea-Bissau: GB, Mozambique: M; Portugal: P, São Tomé and Príncipe: STP, Timor Leste: T). If there is more than one claimed origin for the same musician, e.g. through parental affiliation, or other, a hyphen is used. For example, Musidanças founder-director Firmino Pascoal was born from a Portuguese father and an Angolan mother (P-A). If two or more claimed provenances are found, for example in the case of various band members, I use commas. I only indicate the country of residence when it is not Portugal, given that the majority of the featured musicians are Portuguese residents. Though slightly repetitive, this taxonomy offers additional insights as to the mixed nature of Portugal’s music potential, and such was applied to the whole text corpus. I verified my information as much as I could, through interviews, social media information, media journalism, academic edited and non-edited information, as well as by personal communication with fellow researchers. In some cases, I was not able to retrieve the musician’s claimed provenance, thus indicated as a [(?)]. I stress that my view is partial and indicative, as it may have a small error margin. Similarly, lived experiences are not exhaustively represented here.

\textsuperscript{24} See http://vimeo.com/74484037
\textsuperscript{25} See https://www.facebook.com/festivalmusidancas/photos/pceb.10153499876381928/10153499875811928/?type=3&theater
By the detailed analysis of the governance, through the discourse and performance dimensions in a festive context, my ethnomusicological perspective thus built may offer new insights on the relation between metaphors and social life, on the one hand, and can design or adjust cultural policies by showing how cultural politics work through music (Born & Hesmondhalgh 2000: 3), on the other. Thus, following Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, I hope to contribute to the development of a disciplinary field that may both fundament and stimulate creative industries in both local and global perspectives (2005).
1. CONTEXTUALIZING THE LUSOFONIA “BUBBLE”

This chapter explores the boundaries of lusofonia, proposed by the organizer of the festival Musidanças - Firmino Pascoal -, by approaching this notion as a fluid but fragile construction – a “bubble”\(^{26}\). I borrow this wording from the Portuguese journalist and culture critic Marta Lança (2010 [2008]): she has used this metaphor to characterize the current lusophone space as “uma coisa pequenina que protege, sem arestas, inflamada e pronta a rebentar a qualquer momento. Fechada para o seu umbigo, não querendo ver nada mais, assim é a lusofonia”\(^{27}\). Starting from this image, I want to shed more light on both positive and negative aspects of the notion of lusofonia, both in historical, contemporary and future-oriented dimensions. To this effect, I first contextualize the emic concept of lusofonia, discussing its influential meaning as a metaphor through ideas of origin and linguistic, political, economic and sonic associated viewpoints. Unraveling lusofonia’s polysemy, I then exemplify this metaphor’s impact through a universe of individual, ideas, institutions and places. I then situate lusofonia debates amidst postcolonial critiques and cultural policy, and try to link the idea to theoretical interpretations of lusofonia as a lived community (Maciel 2010) as well as the validity of music to it (Lança 2010)\(^{28}\). Finally, I discuss lusofonia’s breadth in the cultural participation and representation of music communities.

1.1. Contextualizing the current idea of lusofonia

É certo e fantástico: viaja-se numa floresta tropical, no [rio] Amazonas, nas montanhas de Díli, numa estrada da Huíla e podemos conversar em português, vamos a um café em Bissau ou uma esplanada em Cabo Verde e gozamos o momento de ler o jornal na nossa língua (ainda que nem sempre em português nos entendemos,

\(^{26}\) The interpretation I make in this thesis of the notion of bubble by Livia Apa, used by Marta Lança, illustrates the fragility, fluidity and potentially ephemeral condition of the notion of lusofonia. In fact, quite opposite to the meaning brought up by Manuela Ribeira Sanches and confirmed by Moisés de Lemos Martins during my thesis defense, which associates this same bubble to a closed context reminding a casa portuguesa, proudly standing alone, during the creation of the Portuguese Estado Novo. In this thesis, the same image is used to refer to the fluid connotation of the notion of the bubble.

\(^{27}\) See http://www.buala.org/pt/jogos-sem-fronteiras/a-lusofonia-e-uma-bolha

\(^{28}\) “A música poderia ser a excepção, onde o discurso do “espaço lusófono” faria algum sentido uma vez que, desde o séc. XV, tem sido um elemento de fortes trocas culturais percebendo-se a saudável contaminação dos ritmos e conhecimento das origens da música nos vários países de língua portuguesa” (Lança 2010: np).
This section aims at contextualizing the emic idea of *lusofonia*. After dealing with the historical genesis and definition of the term, and delimitating its linguistic, political and economic realm, I deconstruct the notion semantically and discuss cultural uses in some societal domains of contemporary Portugal.

1.1.1. Origin and definitions

*Lusofonia* has had a relatively recent expression or rebirth that increasingly developed since the 1990s.29 Grounded in a linguistic definition30, it also designates a political, economic and cultural space. Although its historical roots can be found in Portuguese colonial times (stretching from the so-called age of discoveries until the revolution of 1974), the concept’s contemporary meaning(s) re-vitalized in the Orthographic Agreement of 2009, gaining a new significance with the increased migration from the former African colonies to Lisbon from 1974 onwards. International cultural events such as 1994 Lisbon European Capital of Culture, the creation of RDP África and the CPLP in 1996, and the 1998 Lisbon World Expo were followed by a large number of institutional, associative and individual initiatives that incorporated local migrant and/or lusophone cultural expressions. The rise of the transnational music industry (*world music*) and the advent of the internet’s information dissemination and social networks further pushed the perception of *lusofonia* beyond a strictly linguistic scope. In fact, since the turn of the millennium, *lusofonia* has increasingly been used by Portuguese institutions, politicians, scholars, journalists, voluntary associations, cultural entrepreneurs, musicians and their public to refer to what they perceive as cultural identities associated with Portuguese-speaking countries, or regions, as well as

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29 According to Maciel, *lusofonia* was first mentioned in 1972 and defined in 1986 (2010: 88). She lists the occurrence of wordings such as *luso-*, *lusofonia*, *lusófono* and *lustropicalismo* in great detail in diverse Portuguese dictionaries between 1900 and 2009 (ibid.: 364-81).

30 *Lusofonia* combines two constitutive linguistic elements: *luso/fonia*. While ‘luso’ derives from ‘Lusitano’, the inhabitant of ‘Lusitânia’, the Roman province that included approximately all of Portugal south of the Douro river and part of Spain (Extremadura and a part of the Salamanca province); ‘fonia’ denotes a population that speaks a specific language. The *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (2001) defines *lusofonia* as follows: “qualidade de ser português, de falar português, o que é próprio da língua portuguesa”, “comunidade formada pelos países e povos que têm o português como língua materna ou oficial”, and “difusão da língua portuguesa no mundo” (Sousa 2014: 517-8, and Maciel 2010: 84).
Portuguese-speaking diasporas across the world. Furthermore, CPLP, a crucial actor in *lusofonia*’s institutionalization, is based in Lisbon.

**1.1.1.1. Linguistic dimension**

The Portuguese language is the foundational element on which the concept of *lusofonia* rests. Recent figures indicate the growing importance of Portuguese as a world language. According to estimates presented at the *II Conferência Internacional sobre o Futuro da Língua Portuguesa no Sistema Mundial*[^31^], Portuguese is the official language of eight countries on five continents: Angola (19,8 million inhabitants), Brazil (194,9 m), Cape Verde (496.000), Guinea-Bissau (1,5 m), Mozambique (23,3 m), Portugal (10,6 m), São Tomé and Príncipe (165.000) and East Timor (1,1 m)[^32^].

According to data presented by Instituto Camões in 2016[^33^], Portuguese is the fourth most spoken language in the world after Chinese, Spanish and English. Currently, 261 million people speak Portuguese in 5 continents, representing 3,8% of the global population and 4 % of global wealth[^34^]. In addition, Portuguese has one of the highest rates of growth in social networking and learning as a foreign language; it is the fifth most used language on the Internet and the third on the social networks Facebook and Twitter. Indicators suggest that by 2050, Portuguese will be have 380 million speakers, making it the third most spoken language in the world, after English and Spanish. At the same time, its use is expanding in African CPLP-countries through national and international radio and television via satellite, through the printed media and the school system. According to the Centre of the Portuguese language[^35^], Portuguese already is the main language spoken in the southern hemisphere, with 217 million speakers in Angola, Brazil, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, and East Timor.[^85^]

[^31^]: Convened at the University of Lisbon in October 2013 by the Portuguese Government and the joint organization of Camões, IP, CPLP, IIILP, Universidade de Lisboa, Universidade do Porto, Universidade de Coimbra and Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Information retrieved from [http://www.conferencialp.org](http://www.conferencialp.org)
[^32^]: This means that 85% of the world’s Portuguese speakers reside in Brazil (Martins 2015: 11).
[^34^]: However, Martins (2015: 8) argues that only a minority conceives their belonging to this common language. He therefore suggests Mia Couto’s term ‘Luso-afonias’ instead of *lusofonia*.
[^35^]: See [http://www.conferencialp.org](http://www.conferencialp.org)
Timor, and with co-official language status in Macau (China), Equatorial Guinea and East Timor.\(^\text{36}\)

The Portuguese-speaking diaspora, which together amount to almost 10 million people, must also be taken into account. This number is made up of 4.8 million Portuguese emigrants that are mainly located in France, Luxembourg, Switzerland, England, the United States, Canada and Venezuela, while Brazilian and Cape Verdean expatriates account for another 3 million and half a million, respectively. Accurate official numbers for the Portuguese-speaking African countries are difficult to obtain because a significant portion are either naturalized citizens born outside of lusophone territories, or migrant descendants with limited command of the language\(^\text{37}\). Additionally, small Portuguese-speaking communities can still be found in Macau (China), Goa, Daman and Diu (India) and Malacca (Malaysia). Some sources account for 32 languages of Portuguese origin around the world\(^\text{38}\).

The linguistic designator ‘lusophone’ must thus be relativized in view of the fact that Portuguese, even though it may be the official language, exists in national and regional spaces that are either bilingual or multilingual (Arenas 2005: np). Only the Portuguese and Brazilian population can be wholly accounted for as Portuguese natives; elsewhere, Portuguese is either (one of) the official or administrative language(s); a cultural or secondary language; a minority language; or a creole language. In East Timor, for example, only 20% of the population speak Portuguese, compared with 57% in Guinea-Bissau, 60% in Mozambique, 70% in Angola, 87% in Cape Verde and 91% in Sao Tome and Principe, as is revealed by data from the IILP - Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa\(^\text{39}\). In most of lusophone Africa, Portuguese is spoken less than creole of African-based languages. For example, in Mozambique – which is part of the Commonwealth – there are over 30 languages while Portuguese is the mother tongue of only 5% of the population - the others learn it as a second language (Freixo 2005: 1-3). Senegalese (francophone) influence is present in São Tomé and Príncipe\(^\text{40}\) as well as in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Sanches points to diasporic links across different colonial languages, for example between Guinea-Bissau and Guinea-Conakry or

\(^{36}\) In Equatorial Guinea, which polemically was elected CPLP member in 2014, Portuguese was made into an official language in 2010, coming after Spanish and French. Information retrieved from http://www.tsf.pt/PaginalNcial/Internacional/Interior.aspx?content_id=1622709

\(^{37}\) See http://www.acpmigration-obs.org/sites/default/files/Background_Note_3_2011_ACP_Obs_Remittances_Lusophone_countries.pdf

\(^{38}\) See http://ncultura.pt/lingua-portuguesa-os-32-idiomas-de-origem-portuguesa-espalhados-pelo-mundo

\(^{39}\) See http://www.iilp.org.cv

\(^{40}\) In São Tomé and Príncipe, a member of the Francophonie community, French is also taught in schools.
Senegal, “which make of *francophonie* an important presence in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and English an important medium in Mozambique, or Creole and French, English, Dutch, or Portuguese among Cape Verdians in the diaspora” (Sanches 2004: 126-7). Mutual influences between Brazil and the PALOP, and the reception of African American and Carribbean influences in Mozambique and Angola, also relativize language primacies in some bi- or trilingual areas. Similarly, populations in large part of lusophone Africa do not consider one language as fundamental to the construction of their national identities. While the idea of the Portuguese language as an element of national identity and unity does have a certain repercussion among some sectors of the African Portuguese-speaking elite, on the one hand, economic rapprochements with countries of other linguistic spheres may cause Portuguese to lose ground (Freixo 2005: 1-3).

The *Acordo Ortográfico* – the agreement that sets the official rules governing the orthography of the Portuguese language, last settled in the 1990s – should be mentioned in this context. In the early 20th century, Portugal and Brazil intended to establish an orthographic model that could be used as a reference in official publications and teaching in both countries, starting a long process of attempted convergence of spellings used in each country. In 1943, there was a first meeting between the two countries in Lisbon, resulting in the *Acordo Ortográfico* of 1945, which however only came into force in Portugal. In 1986, Brazil made another attempt towards a standardized spelling, but without consensus. In 1990, official representatives of Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe finally signed the *Acordo Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa* of 1990, the result of years of work of the Academia Brasileira de Letras and the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. East Timor followed in 2004. The *Acordo Ortográfico* of 1990 came into force in 2009 in Brazil and in Portugal (with a transition period until 2015), and in 2009 in Cape Verde (transitioning until 2019). The remaining CPLP countries are expected to implement it soon. The *Acordo Ortográfico* is meant to guarantee “a expansão da língua nos seus factores extra linguísticos, consolidando o discurso científico que produz, as expressões cultural e artística que cria, as relações económicas

41 See http://www.portaldalinguaportuguesa.org/?action=acordo
que veicula”\(^{42}\). Nevertheless, it has been fiercely criticized from various societal angles\(^{43}\).

1.1.1.2. Political dimension

The creation of the CPLP - Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa\(^{44}\) in 1996 was another important step in the consolidation and promotion of the *lusofonia* concept. After earlier encounters that tried to establish some sort of culture community – such as the *I Congresso das Comunidades de Cultura Portuguesa*, held in December 1964 under the auspices of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (Barros 2011: np\(^{45}\)) – the first step towards founding CPLP was taken at the first meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the Portuguese-speaking countries in São Luís do Maranhão in November 1989, at the invitation of Brazilian president Sarney. In this meeting, it was decided to create the *Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa* (IILP)\(^{46}\), while various participants also suggested to create an active lusophone community. This lead to the Summit of Heads of State and Government on the adoption of instruments of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries, during the meeting of seven ministers of Foreign Affairs in Brasilia in 1994. The latter also agreed to start a Permanent Coordination Group, based in Lisbon and integrated by a senior representative of the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the lusophone Ambassadors accredited in Lisbon\(^{47}\).

CPLP was officially founded in Lisbon’s Centro Cultural de Belém in 1996, integrating Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe. In 2002, independent East Timor joined CPLP, while in 2014, Equatorial Guinea was formally approved as the ninth member. The overall objectives

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\(^{43}\) In the respect, see Barroso and Casteleiro (2015), “Acordo ortográfico: sim ou não”. Online protest platforms include http://emdefesadalinguaportuguesa.blogspot.pt and https://www.facebook.com/cidadaoscontraAO90

\(^{44}\) See http://www.cplp.org


\(^{46}\) IILP is based in Praia (Cape Verde). It has legal character and is endowed with scientific, administrative and patrimonial autonomy. In 2002, actual guidelines were set out for management activities. Information retrieved from http://www.iilp-cplp.cv

\(^{47}\) Lisbon is the only capital where embassies of all Portuguese-speaking countries can be found.
of CPLP are political consensus and social, cultural and economic cooperation\textsuperscript{48}. Its specific objectives are

\begin{quote}
\textit{a contribuição para o reforço dos laços humanos, a solidariedade e a fraternidade entre todos os povos de língua portuguesa, o incentivo e enriquecimento da língua portuguesa, o incremento do intercâmbio intelectual e artístico, desenvolvimento da cooperação econômica e empresarial, entre muitos outros (Sousa 2000: 8).}
\end{quote}

In order to achieve these objectives, CPLP has promoted the systematic coordination of activities of public institutions and private entities that are engaged in enhancing cooperation among its Member States. In this sense, the \textit{Plano de Ação de Brasília para a Promoção, a Difusão e a Projeção da Língua Portuguesa} identifies opportunities for convergence between government policies on national diasporas in places where there are large immigrant populations of two or more nationalities of the member states, while it also supports media that broadcast Portuguese-spoken content among migrant communities\textsuperscript{49}. In addition, CPLP globally commemorates the \textit{Dia da Cultura Lusófona} on May 5\textsuperscript{49} and since 2008 has yearly held its \textit{Semana Cultural da CPLP}\textsuperscript{50} in Lisbon\textsuperscript{51}. It has also organized the \textit{Jogos da Lusofonia} in Macau (2006), Lisbon (2009) and Goa (2014)\textsuperscript{52}. Thus, CPLP provides a crucial framework in the process of mutual construction of its member nations, using the idea of \textit{lusofonia} as a vehicle\textsuperscript{53}.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[49] The creation of the Biblioteca e Centro de Documentação (BCD) of CPLP, in Lisbon in 2013, is significant in this respect. See https://www.facebook.com/Centro.DocumentacaoCplp/info and the online search robot: http://cdoc.cplp.org/PACWEB
\item[50] See http://www.cplp.org/id-2215.aspx
\item[52] See http://www.acolop.org/jogos.php
\item[53] In this sense, \textit{lusofonia} can be compared with \textit{francophonie}. The Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (IOF), created in 1970, incorporates 70 member states and governments, which account for a population of over 870 million people, including 200 million native French speakers. Cultural aspects are celebrated yearly on March 20\textsuperscript{th} during the \textit{Journée internationale de la Francophonie} (since 1998). The IOF has also established permanent dialogue between the major international linguistic zones (the English, Portuguese, Spanish, and Arab-speaking zones). In my opinion, other language zones such as the Commonwealth and the Spanish-speaking world are further away from institutionally created transnational community based on a common language.
\end{footnotes}
1.1.1.3. Economic dimension

The economic value of the Portuguese language is on the rise: a Bloomberg survey recently considered it the sixth most used language in global business\(^5^4\). Portuguese is also the official or working language of 32 official organizations, such as the European Union, the Mercado Comum do Sul (Mercosur), the Organization of Ibero-American States, the Union of South American Nations, the Organization of American States and the African Union. Moreover, Brazil - along with India and China - has recently shown its capacities in a new multipolar world order, thus intensifying policies for the internationalization of Portuguese (Martins 2011: np). Some examples are the inauguration of the Museu da Língua Portuguesa\(^5^5\) in São Paulo\(^5^6\), Brazil (2006); the adoption of Portuguese as an official language by Equatorial Guinea (2007); the release of Portal CPLP on the Internet (2008); the entry into force of the Orthographic Agreement (2009); the creation of TV Brazil Internacional (2010); and the efforts for Portuguese to become an official language of the United Nations (Martins 2011).

According to preliminary data from the study ‘O Valor Económico da Língua’, commissioned by the Instituto Camões in September 2007\(^5^7\), industries and services in which the Portuguese language is a key element – such as the media, telecommunications and education – represent 17% of Portugal’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP). As a consequence, cultural and language activities – such as music, theater, literature, television - are important tools in strengthening existing trade relations\(^5^8\).

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\(^5^4\) See http://www.conferencialp.org  
\(^5^5\) See http://www.museudalinguaportuguesa.org.br  
The museum was destroyed by a major fire on 22 December 2015. It is telling the then Portuguese minister of culture, João Soares, immediately promised help; soon afterwards, the Portuguese parliament would formalize this support, calling the museum a “referência fundamental da lusofonia no Brasil”. Information retrieved from http://www.rtp.pt/noticias/cultura/parlamento-portugues-disponibiliza-ajudapara-reconstruir-museu-da-lingua-portuguesa_886069  
\(^5^6\) São Paulo has 11.3 million inhabitants, making it into the biggest Portuguese-speaking city in the world.  
\(^5^8\) Yearly data updates can be found on the website of Banco de Portugal. Information retrieved from https://www.bportugal.pt/en-US/PublicacoesIntervencoes/Banco/Cooperacao/Documents/Lusofonia%20-%202015.pdf
1.1.2. Polysemy and disambiguation

I define *lusofonia* as proposed by Arenas, namely as a contested signifier in which “nostalgic neo-colonial discourses in the political arena or in the media compete with uncompromisingly anti-colonial views or pragmatic postcolonial positions” (2005: np). To approach this concept analytically, I start from Lança’s (2010) image of the “bubble”. Lança envisions the lusophone space as a conjunction of liquid connections bonded by the Portuguese language as a common denominator that is comfortable for those inside of the bubble, shielding them from outside influences and other discourses. With Lança, I assume that expressive culture in general and music in particular can contest and undo this rather essentialist and excluding image. Spoken, written and/or sung content has historically been fertile ground of crosscultural encounter and these encounters continue to exist despite encapsulating categorization efforts like *lusofonia*. Much in this sense, *lusofonia* might also be understood as a notion that represents the encounter of (lusophone) cultures in contemporary Portugal and in Portuguese-speaking countries. In the words of Fernando dos Santos Neves, founder and former rector of Lisbon’s Universidade Lusófona:

não só a Hora da Lusofonia não é impedida pelas (ou impeditiva das) Horas da Globalização, da União Européia, da Ibero-América, do Mercosul e outras legítimas Horas, mas, ao contrário, é por elas tornada possível e pertinente, e é também ‘conditio sine qua non’ para que as mesmas não se tornem uma ilusão ou uma alienação.

What thus moves these institutions to sustain this bubble? And how can we clarify ambiguities that seems inherent to the notion of *lusofonia*?

In Portuguese society, *lusofonia* is a widely used term that is continuously accepted, negotiated and contested. Critics argue that the concept designates a community of language and shared colonial history, but it also invokes Portugal as a nation and the imaginary that involves its global relations (Sanches 2004: 121). Thus, *lusofonia* seems to have substituted imperial perceptions of Portugal by emphasizing diasporic links and affiliations from a traditional understanding of Portuguese identity, and implicitly leaving Portugal’s immigrant communities unaccounted for (ibid.).

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60 In this respect, Sousa argues that categories of “PALOP” and “lusophone” are new categories resulting from the democratic regime that function as euphemisms, blurring the colonial political-economic logic.
other words, *lusofonia* seems to function as a line of defense of Portuguese civil society, linking its diverse economic activities and interests to culture (Dias 2009: 7). Curiously, the steady interaction with non-lusophone countries resulting from Portugal’s European Union membership has also raised a set of complex questions, namely the country’s hybrid nature, “hesitating between Europeanness and an Atlantic vocation, her new strategic role and her imperial past” (Sanches 2004: 121, Almeida 2004). The popular resistance to European financial intervention, rescuing the governmental action through close surveillance in times of economic hardship (from 2008 to 2015), intensified reflections on lusophone fluxes of people, goods and cultures, as a large number of young unemployed people left Portugal for Brazil and Angola as well as for existing Portuguese diaspora centres such as London or Paris, a.o.

Turino’s (1999) semiotic distinction between identity as index and symbol is useful to understand the polysemy of the concept of *lusofonia*. Turino defines an index as something that everybody understands in a different meaning through association, while he understands a symbol as something with regulated definitions on the other (ibid.: 52). To my understanding, *lusofonia* is an index, implying various unfixed associations, which makes the term contested and polemic. Associations such as *lusofonia* and CPLP; the Portuguese language, portugalidade and/or *lusofonia*; interculturalidade, cosmopolitanism and/or *lusofonia* in Lisbon or Portugal; lusophone countries and/or *lusofonia*; historical heritage resulting from Portugal’s maritime expansion, diaspora and/or *lusofonia*; Expo ‘98, internationalization and/or *lusofonia* are widespread (see annex 18 for a semantic diagram). These combinations seem to exemplify the manner in which a given discourse naturalizes a set of ideas, as Turino points out: “Indexicality within the discourse is key to making the substitution seem actual and natural; that is, we have heard the terms together so frequently in our actual experience that we often do not even notice when one starts to replace the other” (2003: 54)\(^{61}\).

Amidst the “confusion of concepts” (Maciel 2010: 307), Maciel advocates a disambiguation of *lusofonia* in order to make this notion practically workable and without radically critiquing property claims, ancestry, or linguistic legitimacy (2015: 423, citing Almeida 2006: 365).

\(^{61}\) In this respect, the term *discursive operators* from Grenier and Guilbault’s (1997: 214) discussion on creolité and francophonie is very appropriate. The authors cite Berthelot (1992: 11-17) in stating that these operators function as “manifestations and effects of discourses”, being “equally informative and normative” or, in other words, reminding images of Charles Seeger’s (1958) characterizing of music notation as both descriptive and prescriptive.
scientifically sound. To this effect, she mentions *lusofonia, comunidade lusófona, lusófonos, língua portuguesa* and *CPLP* (ibid.: 44-5).62 First, Maciel proposes definitions of *lusofonia* as the dissemination of the Portuguese language throughout the world, structured by centuries of interaction with a diverse set of linguistic and cultural matrices and the resulting permanent transformations. She then refers to *comunidade lusófona* as a set of macro and micro-communities of different origin that emerge from cultural, social, political, geographic, religious and/or economic domains.63 Maciel argues that these communities happen as “a reunião, física ou simbólica, não só dos falantes, difusores e estudiosos da língua portuguesa [mas] também como a convergência de interesses comuns, de vontades coordenadas, cooperações variadas e/ou de projectos partilhados” (ibid.). Third, Maciel frames *lusófonos* as “indivíduos, espaços (físicos ou simbólicos), circunstâncias ou actividades que giram em torno da língua portuguesa [e] convivem num ambiente de pluricontinentalidade, globalidade e interculturalidade” (ibid.). Fourth, she defends *língua portuguesa* as both a bond and a problematic connection, since the majority of its speakers uses diverse norms, accents and expressions and is situated outside of the old colonial center, hinting at continuing (post-)colonial hegemony issues (ibid.). Finally, Maciel conceives the *CPLP* as a voluntary intergovernmental and -continental macro-community that gives institutional body to the lusophone community and thus feeds the notion of *lusofonia*. However, based on historical and quantitative research, she contends that both the idea of lusophone community and of *lusofonia* predate the existence of the CPLP and other macro-communities in the Portuguese-speaking world (such as IILP, UCCLA64 or Instituto Camões), which have mostly organized isolated, punctual initiatives, without offering articulate and feasible solutions in the long term (ibid.: 308). Ultimately, Maciel proposes to define *lusofonia* as a symbiosis between the rhetorical-discursive

62 This might explain why the actual word *lusofonia* does not feature in the official document that created the CPLP, on July 17, 1996 (Sousa 2014: 517-8, citing Brito et al. 2006).

63 The ideas of ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson 1983) and ‘invented traditions’ (Hobsbawn & Ranger 1983) seem applicable in this respect, in the sense that communities depend on certain symbologies to represent themselves.

64 UCCLA - União das Cidades Capitais de Língua Portuguesa was created in June 1985, with the objective to foment “o entendimento e a cooperação entre os seus municípios membro, pelo intercâmbio cultural, científico e tecnológico.” The cities of Bissau, Lisbon, Luanda, Macau, Maputo, Praia, Rio de Janeiro and São Tomé/Água Grande signed the foundational act. Today, UCCLA reunites 42 cities in 5 continents (including regional cities) and has 45 sponsoring companies. In the case of Portugal, the participating cities are Lisbon, Coimbra, Guimarães and Angra do Heroísmo. See http://www.uccla.pt/membros/0/0/Membro%20Efetivo

Researchers such as Dias (2014) have explicitly linked UCCLA to *lusofonia* in academic writing: “A U.C.C.L.A. como veículo da Lusofonia no Contexto da Globalização.”
and empirical level, in which discourse is used to represent both idealized realities and lived experiences across some societal domains (ibid.: 88). I find Maciel’s conceptual distinctions enlightening in understanding how the _lusofonia_ bubble is both sustained and sustainable, and apply her terminological interpretation throughout this dissertation.

1.2. Cultural events evoking _lusofonia_

From the mid 1990s onwards, cultural dissemination focusing _lusofonia_ related interests expanded enormously. Before that, in 1994, the celebration of Lisbon as European Capital of Culture fostered a strategic reflection on the city’s cultural capabilities\(^\text{65}\), while the creation of Canal África by RDP Internacional\(^\text{66}\) served to strengthen existing bonds between the PALOP and Portugal. In 1996, the CPLP was officially constituted in Lisbon, while Canal África was renamed into RDP África, with emissions in Portugal and in the PALOP. In 1998, the Lisbon World Exposition (Expo ‘98) presented a substantial programming of “lusophone” performers that shaped a production domain that linked diasporas and African countries (Cidra 2010: 789). RTP África was created in the same year\(^\text{67}\). Observing initiatives involving migrant musicians in Lisbon, La Barre and myself noted a cosmopolitan environment under construction (2013). In this study, I aim to understand these processes as “revealing boundaries”, “feeding participation”, “pacifying emotions”, “challenging categories” and “renewing references” (Côrte-Real 2010b: 15-17).

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\(^{65}\) This event did not present the idea of _lusofonia_. It was, however, used in some means to stress same cultural interests. Among music researchers it was mentioned by Holton as a unique opportunity for reorienting Portugal’s national identity, cultural image, and geopolitical position as a member state of the European Community” (1998: 174).

Personal opinions of musicians and festival producers obtained during my MA research contradict the universality this affirmation: according to cultural entrepreneur Carlos Martins (P), “Havia possibilidades mas poucos recursos deste lado[,] Lisboa como capital da cultura nesta altura foi uma coisa desorganizada”; while musician Costa Neto (M) recalls: “Sabes quantos artistas de países lusófonos africanos participaram que eu saiba? Nenhum. Entretanto, fui assistir a um espectáculo de um colectivo de 100 e tal artistas de sulafricanos” (Vanspauwen 2010: 50 and 65, respectively).

For more information about the event, see http://ecoc-doc-athens.eu/lisbon-home.html

\(^{66}\) Radio Difusão Portuguesa. See http://www.rtp.pt/rdpafrica

\(^{67}\) Radio Televisão Portuguesa. See http://www.rtp.pt/rtpafrica
The use of music and expressive culture in consolidating ties between Portuguese-speaking countries is evident from institutional and other societal domains that use the concept of *lusofonia* either directly or indirectly. The preparatory data collection for the ACIDI guest issue *Música e Migração* in 2009, under the supervision of Maria de São José Côrte-Real, served as a starting point for the present subchapter. I gathered my examples through a virtual ethnography, making the result necessarily partial and incomplete. My selection of cultural events was steered by their similarities vis-à-vis my case study. I then devised an analytical division between institutional and non-institutional agents and their organized events to categorize expressive culture evoking *lusofonia*. Given the formal limitations in length of this dissertation, I converted the retrieved material into a list of organizing details, public discourse and performing musicians. The text below mentions events organized by institutions and other agents as well as the musicians that appeared in each of them. I present the specific data of this information in annex 16.

### 1.2.1. Institutional events

Governmental (1), research (2) and associative (3) institutions have all dedicated themselves (directly or indirectly) to promoting new understandings of *lusofonia* and the lusophone communities it involves.

1. Governmental institutions such as Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP), União das Cidades Capitais de Língua Portuguesa (UCCLA), the Portuguese government, Radio e Televisão de Portugal (RTP), Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural (ACIDI) and the municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area have all, to a different extent, promoted lusophone cultural expressions.

   The CPLP has played a crucial role in the institutionalization of the concept of *lusofonia*. Framing its political, economic and educational concerns through the *Conferência Internacional sobre o Futuro da Língua Portuguesa no Sistema Mundial*,

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68 Events outside the Lisbon Metropolitan Area were not included as they go beyond the scope of this dissertation. I do consider them in my general reflection on transnational fluxes in the lusophone sphere.

69 By the word “institution”, I mean foundations, organizations or establishment of charity or public utility. Taken from “instituição”, in Dicionário Priberam da Língua Portuguesa http://www.priberam.pt/dlpo/institui%C3%A7%C3%A3o [consulted September 6, 2016].

70 See the respective website http://www.cplp.org
organized in Brasília in March 2010\textsuperscript{71} and repeated in Lisbon in October 2013\textsuperscript{72}, it showed a gradual interest for lusophone expressive culture\textsuperscript{73}, particularly through the Festival de Música da CPLP (in East Timor in 2002 and 2005; in Guinea-Bissau in 2006), the CD Música da CPLP (2003)\textsuperscript{74} and the Semana Cultural da CPLP (yearly in Lisbon since 2008). CPLP has also promoted lusophone musics in Lisbon at other, punctual occasions: its 14\textsuperscript{th} anniversary at Praça da Figueira (June 2010); the night Música na Diversidade at Universidade de Lisboa (February 2012); the event Falar Português at Convento do Beato (October 2013); and the Mostra Saberes e Sabores da CPLP at Terreiro do Paço (December 2013)\textsuperscript{75}.

Similar to CPLP’s initiative, other government bodies have represented Lisbon’s lusophone soundscape, such UCCLA’s 25\textsuperscript{th} anniversary concert A Viagem do Fado at the Teatro Tivoli (October 2010); the cooperation between Portuguese and Brazilian governments during the Ano do Brasil em Portugal at LX Factory (2012-13); and the Portuguese government’s celebration Concerto da Lusofonia. 40 anos da independência dos países de língua portuguesa in the Jardim da Assembleia da República (April 2015). The recording Juntos na Diversidade, released by the Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural (ACIDI) and Associação Sons da Lusofonia during the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)\textsuperscript{76} as well as the marketing video ‘De Braços Abertos’ by Transportes Aéreos Portugueses (TAP), defined as a “‘hino’ para a união das culturas lusófonas”\textsuperscript{77} (2011), are also noteworthy. Finally, the concretization of Radio Difusão Portuguesa África (RDP África) in 1996\textsuperscript{78} and Radio Televisão Portuguesa África (RTP África) in 1998\textsuperscript{79} lead to a number of programs that were

\textsuperscript{71} See http://www.conferenciacplp.itamaraty.gov.br/pt-br
\textsuperscript{72} In co-organization with the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Camões, Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua; Universidades de Lisboa, Porto and Coimbra, as well as Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
\textsuperscript{73} See http://www.conferencialp.org
\textsuperscript{74} CPLP commissioned this CD to Brazilian producer Marcelo Salazar with the objective to “transformar [as] diferenças em uma unidade coesa para que o ouvinte passe ter uma visão ampla do extraordinário universo cultural destes Países, dos seus Artistas e da importância da CPLP” (taken from http://www.marcelosalazar.com/cplp.htm). To my understanding, in order to display a broad and inclusive view, a responsible institution with transnational ramifications such as the CPLP should not have commissioned just one music producer, but should also have gathered the expertise of specialized research institutes.
\textsuperscript{75} In addition, CPLP has also sponsored events of other institutional entities, such as the 2\textsuperscript{nd} edition of Odívoras’ Biênal de Culturas Lusófonas, (March-April 2009); ONG Etnia’s Lusofonias 2012. Culturas em Movimento (August 2012) and Festival Conexão Lusófona (yearly since 2012).
\textsuperscript{76} Information retrieved from http://www.acidi.gov.pt/docs/Press_Releases/press/09_03_16_Lancamento_CDJuntosnaDiversidade.pdf
\textsuperscript{77} See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S1vfju9qJj0
\textsuperscript{78} See http://www.rtp.pt/rdpfrica
\textsuperscript{79} Its slogan is “Vários mundos, uma só língua.” See http://www.rtp.pt/rdpfrica
inspired by the idea of *lusofonia* (‘Vozes da Lusofonia’\(^{80}\)) or cultural expressions of lusophone or African communities in Portugal (‘Latitudes’\(^{81}\) and ‘Rumos’\(^{82}\)).

Various municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area have also put together initiatives that promote lusophone music and cultures. Curiously, apart from its 2015 participation in the *Festival da Lusofonia de Lisboa*, the Lisbon municipality seems to have been reluctant in using the term *lusofonia*: it does not figure in the strategic document ‘Estratégias para a Cultura em Lisboa’ (June 2009), which contains a specific section on music and its various aspects\(^{83}\), and employs the notions of interculturalism and cosmopolitanism instead. This may seem strange for a city that journalists have called “capital e coração da *lusofonia*”\(^{84}\) and a place home to a “português híbrido, vivo, mestiço, em constante mutação”\(^{85}\). Interestingly, neighboring municipality Odivelas has explicity used *lusofonia* in their Bienal de Culturas Lusófonas (since 2007), aiming to reach the whole of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

(2) Besides the above-mentioned government bodies, various Portuguese research associations and institutes such as Associação de Universidades de Língua Portuguesa (AULP) and Associação Internacional de Ciências Sociais e Humanas em Língua Portuguesa (AILPcsh) have also addressed *lusofonia*. National universities and research institutes have equally organized relevant seminars, conferences and publications, with the common objective to stimulate a special dialogue between Portuguese-speaking countries, constructing encounters, platforms and publications that foster interaction and exchange. This is exemplified by Universidade de Aveiro and Fundação Portugal-África’s *Portal das Memórias de África e do Oriente* (since 1997); Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade na Universidade do Minho (CECS)’s *Anuário Internacional de Comunicação Lusófona* (since 2007); AULP’s Prémio Fernão Mendes Pinto (since 2008); the Fundação Caixa Geral de Depósitos - Culturgest’s conference *Internationalization of Portuguese and Lusophone Music* (October 2012)\(^{86}\); the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian portal *Plataforma9* (since 2014); and AILPcsh’s conference *Imaginar e Repensar o Social: Desafios às Ciências* (February 2015).

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\(^{80}\) “Um ponto comum une os convidados de Vozes da Lusofonia: a língua portuguesa!” See http://www.rtp.pt/icmblogs/rtp/vozes-da-lusofonia

\(^{81}\) See http://www.rtp.pt/programa/tv/p18847

\(^{82}\) “O programa Rumos pretende dar a conhecer o quotidiano das diversas comunidades de língua portuguesa a residir em Portugal.” See https://www.facebook.com/RumosRTP

\(^{83}\) See http://cultura.cm-lisboa.pt

\(^{84}\) See http://psbenfica.com/lisboa-capital-coracao-da-lusofonia-e-cidade-global


\(^{86}\) See http://www.culturgest.pt
A selected number of scientific agents have specifically fostered research of cross-cultural music processes in the Portuguese-speaking world, implicitly referring to the notion of *lusofonia*. Salwa Castelo-Branco’s organization of the 6th ICTM colloquium *Crosscultural Processes - The Role of Portugal in the World’s Music since the 15th Century* at Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (December 1986) was pioneering in this respect. Between 1996 and 1999, the Instituto de Etnomusicologia (INET) then studied Lisbon’s migrant communities and musical expressions, and brought them to the stage in the event Sons e Sabores, in a partnership with the ngo Oikos - Cooperação e Desenvolvimento and the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses (CCDP). In 1998, INET researcher Susana Sardo collaborated in the anthology *A viagem dos sons / The Journey of Sounds* (12 CDs, 1998)\(^7\). The Instituto de Ciências Sociais (ICS-UL), together with Chapitô, Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical (CESEM-UNL) and Museu Nacional de Etnologia, organized the colloquium *Sonoridades no Espaço Luso-Afro-Brasileiro* (November 2003), followed by the seminar *Expressões musicais populares de Aquém e de Além-mar*, together with INET (November 2009). In 2010, INET published the *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX* (Castelo-Branco 2010a), with various entries on lusophone genres and musicians. In the same year, it published the special issue *Música e Migração* in collaboration with the Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural (ACIDI) (Côrte-Real 2010b). Finally, INET celebrated its 20 years of existence with a study day entitled *Lusofonia and Cultura Expressiva* (October 2015).

(3) Civil and cultural associations based in Lisbon have also organized activities under the banner of *lusofonia*. Sons da Lusofonia\(^8\) (since 1996) aims to contribute to the cultural cooperation between Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries. Musically, its *Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia*\(^9\) brought together resident musicians from PALOP countries. Etnia - Cultura e Desenvolvimento\(^10\) (since 2000) explicitly evoked *lusofonia* in its project ‘Lusofonias: Culturas em Comunidade’\(^11\) in the 2008 and 2012

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\(^7\) This anthology, coordinated by Sardo and producer José Moças (record label Tradisom), was financed by Expo’98 and coproduced by the Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, the Portuguese Pavilion at Expo ‘98 and Tradisom. It covered the following regions: Goa, Sri Lanka, Dâmão, Diu, Cochim and Korali, Malaca, Sumatra, Macau, Timor, Mozambique, São Tomé, Cape Verde and Brazil. Information retrieved from http://www.tradisom.com/catalogo/a-viagem-dos-sons

\(^8\) See http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com


\(^10\) See http://www.etnia.org.pt

\(^11\) See http://lusofonias2008.blogspot.com
editions at its Centro InterculturaCidade. The youth association Conexão Lusófona (CL) (since 2006) is an intercultural movement that uses lusofonia as a vehicle for social entrepreneurship. Since 2012, it has yearly organized the Festival Conexão Lusófona, as well as other activities that evoke musical lusofonia. It has also organized public debates in Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra, Strasbourg, Beira, Matola, Bissau and São Paulo. Associação Cultura e Cidadania de Língua Portuguesa (Asculp) has organized Festin – Festival de Cinema Itinerante da Língua Portuguesa since 2009. Through its various debates, Movimento Internacional Lusófono (MIL) aims to create a “movimento cultural e cívico que visa mobilizar a sociedade civil para repensar e debater amplamente o sentido e o destino de Portugal e da Comunidade Lusófona”.

Similarly, the Plataforma Activa da Sociedade Civil (PASC) hosted the encounter A Importancia da Lusofonia para Portugal in 2012. Likewise, Implementar Uma Nova Atitude (IUNA) (Coimbra) and Universidade de Aveiro hosted the Encontro de Jovens Líderes da Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa in June 2012 and May 2013 (which materialized in the Festival Jovem da Lusofonia and the I Fórum da Juventude Europa Lusofonia). The association 8 Séculos da Língua Portuguesa organized a homonymous event in May-July 2014. Finally, the Associação Cristã da Mocidade de Lisboa organized Vozes da diaspora. Concurso de Música para a Comunidade CPLP residente em Portugal in March 2015.

To my understanding, these institutional actors contribute to the construction of a cultural and civic movement that revalorizes the importance of diaspora communities and lusophone cultures for contemporary Portugal, suggesting not only a collaborative outline between lusophone countries and their representatives, but also inclusive participation and propaganda within the Portuguese context.

92 See http://interculturacidade.wordpress.com
94 Co-produced by EGEAC (Municipality of Lisbon’s cultural branch) and the Cinema São Jorge. See http://festin-festival.com/?page_id=2444
95 Its organizing committee is presided by Paulo Borges and Renato Epifânio (both of Universidade de Lisboa). I have not come across a foundation date. See http://movimentolusofono.wordpress.com
97 See http://www.iuna.org.pt/festivaljovemlusofonia/encontrojovensliders.html
98 See http://www.festivalusofonia.com/
99 In partnership with Centro de Informação Europeia Jacques Delors, Assembleia da República de Portugal and Instituto Português de Desporto e Juventude, and financed by the Erasmus+ Program. See http://www.eurocid.pt/pls/wsd/wsdwcot0.detalhe?p_cot_id=8390
100 Supported by Camões - Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, IP. Information retrieved from http://8seculoslinguaportuguesa.blogspot.com
101 See http://www.acmlisboa.com/
102 See https://www.facebook.com/events/758741650888883/
1.2.2. Non-institutional events

Non-institutional cultural entrepreneurs have also evoked understandings of *lusofonia* through event branding, recordings, radio programs, blogs and documentaries. I specifically deal with practices of musical *lusofonia* in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (festivals, venues, musicians) under 2.2.

Regarding event branding, coffee brand Delta’s festival *Delta Tejo*\(^{103}\) (2007-2011) was described as the “CPLP da música”\(^{104}\) by local media stressing its strong representation of lusophone musicians. In 2015, it chose singer Anselmo Ralph (A) as coffee ambassador in Angola. Likewise, the project InvestLisboa used *fadista* Gisela João (P) to launch the video ‘Lisbon, Soul of the World’ in January 2013, to show “the importance of the Portuguese language and culture and its influence worldwide”\(^{105}\).

A number of recordings have also promoted musical interpretation of *lusofonia*. The *Rapúlica* album compilation (1994) pioneeringly brought together rap in Portuguese made by Portugal-based musicians with origins in lusophone countries\(^{106}\). The *Projeto Enlace* (10 CDs, 1997) was produced by São Paulo-based editor Oboré, in support of East Timor’s Independence, containing 200 songs of the then 7 CPLP countries\(^{107}\). *Onda Sonora: Red Hot + Lisbon* (1999), curated by David Byrne, uniting musicians from Portugal, the PALOP, Brazil and Goa\(^{108}\). In 2008, the label Farol edited the anthology *Memórias de África – As grandes músicas dos anos 60, 70 e 80. Angola, Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, Moçambique e São Tomé e Príncipe* (4 CDs).

The online entrepreneur Zarpante has offered podcasts and soundclouds since 2011, aiming to “enriquecer o patrimônio cultural lusófono através de um intercâmbio e interatividade maior”\(^{109}\). The audiblog Caipirinha Lounge has dedicated itself to “música lusófona, da bossa nova brasileira ao fado português, incluindo kizomba”\(^{110}\).

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104 See http://cotonete.clix.pt/noticias/body.aspx?id=43137
105 See http://expresso.sapo.pt/fado-de-caetano-veloso-promove-lisboa-creativa=f778035
106 See http://mesademistura.clix.pt/pasta-da-reciclagem-rapublica
107 See http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/ilustrad/fq011002.htm
108 See https://vimeo.com/46369796
109 Zarpante receives support of Instituto Camões and the Portuguese ministry of foreign affairs. See http://www.zarpante.com
110 See http://lusotunes.blogspot.com
TV station Afro Music Channel, based in Madrid, and broadcasting in Portugal, Angola and Mozambique, is also noteworthy in this respect.111

Blogs and sites that debate the validity to the notion of *lusofonia* include O Patifúndio, Revista Cultural da Lusofonia,112 Cultura: PALOP Portugal113, Luso(dis)fonía114, Lisboa africana115 and BUALA. Cultura contemporânea africana.116


In my opinion, these non-institutional cultural entrepreneurs have addressed representational issues of lusophone populations in Lisbon, visualizing cultural and racial mixtures that resulted from postcolonial migration fluxes. In general, I contend that the majority of both institutional and non-institutional events are prescriptive and pedagogic rather than descriptive and performative, in the sense that they use the label of *lusofonia* for self-legitimation and postcolonial critique. These complex negotional processes of representation use Lisbon as a showcase of lusophone mixtures and a communicative hub for its potential to the outside world.

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111 See http://afro-music.sapo.ao
112 See http://opatifundio.com/site
113 See http://www.culturapalopsportugal.com
114 See http://lusodisfonia.wordpress.com/about
115 See http://lisboafabricana.com
116 See http://www.buala.org
117 See http://www.adorocinema.com/filmes/filme-174906/trailer-19378674/
119 See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uJndNSp9g3A
120 See http://canalbrasil.globo.com/programas/musica-portuguesa-brasileira
121 See http://crioulidades.blogspot.com
122 See https://www.facebook.com/notes/lisboa-mesti%C3%A7a/lisboa-mesti%C3%A7a-nota-de-inten%C3%A7%C3%B5es/408218185873941
123 Produced by Fernanda Polacow and Juliana Borges (B), Mário Bastos (A), and Filipa Reis and João Miller Guerra (P). See http://vimeo.com/72970872
124 Project of CIES-IUL. See https://www.facebook.com/events/1652065821745021
1.3. Fluidity, hybridization and in-betweenness of *lusofonia*

The nation is no longer the sign of modernity under which cultural differences are homogenized in the ‘horizontal’ view of society. The nation reveals, in its ambivalent and vacillating representation, the ethnography of its own historicity and opens up the possibility of other narratives of the people and their difference. (Bhabha 2003: 300)

In this section, I want to discuss and frame processes of fluidity and hybridization within the perspective of social sciences in general and lusophone postcolonial studies in particular. How is the musical community that envolves Musidanças administrated and in what ways does it defy dichotomous categorization? To build my thought theoretically, I first deal with cultural policy in a postcolonial context, addressing the differences between multiculturalism and interculturalism. I then discuss diaspora, hybridity and in-betweenness, determining positive, negative and perhaps null aspects of the notion of *lusofonia*. Finally, I construct my argument through the notions of cultural performance of representation of music communities.

1.3.1. Postcolonial critique, interculturalism and cultural policy

The restructuring of the world economy after the international and colonial wars in the 20th century favored flows of people, capital, ideas, images, goods and services, intensifying global interconnectedness and promoting phenomena relating space and time such as reterritorialization, -contextualization and -location (Pereira 2012: 1). Due to increased migration flows resulting from decolonization as well as other globalization processes, the academic debate on the management of the so-called multicultural societies intensified in the 1990s. For example, Meinhof & Triandafyllidou (2006) and Marques *et al.* (2012) discussed migrants’ transnational citizenship; Pettigrew & Meertens (1995) and Baptista (2006) addressed prejudice issues; Gómez-Chacón (2003) and Sassatelli (2009) focused on national-European cultural identities and policies; Trichet (2009) and Ponzanesi & Blaagaard (2011) approached the diversity issue; and Bauböck (2008) and Beck & Grande (2007) framed cultural hybridity as constitutive for cosmopolitan Europe through diaspora politics and transnationalism. In the field of

\[125\] Stuart Hall has argued that the ‘post’ in ‘postcolonial’ does not refer to a chronologically later, but to epistemological reconfiguration and interrogation, in an ultimate attempt to reconfigure the power relations between ‘the West and the rest’ (Hall 2003, cited by Paiva 2014: 546).
Ethnomusicology and migration, Côrte-Real observed aesthetic, social, conceptual and performing questions to lay bare “strategies of inclusion, integration, adaptation and socially justified acceptance of population movements”, ultimately believing that “better governance may arise from the revision of the relationship among population groups” (2010: 11).

Migrants, the transnational agents that build social relations between locations of origin and destination in a detrerritorialized and moving way, are the central subjects of my study. How do they use music in their intercultural action, and how do cultural policies affect them, is my main concern here. Their identity formation and cultural practices in metropolitan contexts are complex and challenge existing hegemonic categories. To better understand them, we must find new ways to access these ‘intercultural negotiations’ and ‘transracial sociabilities’ (Dias 2009: 39, Fradique 2002: 67). No doubt, the biggest challenge of contemporary societies is recognizing and valorizing difference in postcolonial, relational contexts (ibid.: 86-87).

At the start of the twenty-first century, issues of multiculturalism, minority rights, and cultural heritage have become increasingly mentioned for the development and implementation of international, regional and local cultural policies. According to UNESCO - which organized the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in 2008126 and the International Year for the Rapprochement of Cultures in 2010127 -, without a doubt, intercultural competence, understood as “constructive interaction among different peoples emerging from distinct cultures”, is a core issue in the 21st century (UNESCO 2010: 2).

As major sites of immigration and cultural diversity, cities have increasingly become privileged arenas for the expression of citizenship and democracy, while not being immune to sentiments of exclusion, xenophobia and racism (Bäckström & Castro-Pereira 2012)128. Centers of interest for ethnomusicological research on ethnicity and nationalism since the late 1970’s in New York (Schramm 1979) and other urban centers have focussed attention more and more on the development of citizenship rights, equal opportunities and intercultural practices at the local level to “give those who are more

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127 See http://www.un.org/en/events/iyrc2010
128 I subscribe Ba’s (2014: np) definition of racism as “the social, cultural and political result of eurocentrism (among other centrisms), which created the need to mark, distinguish and separate racialized ethnic groups of the human community, on the basis of skin color and/or culture.”
marginal the ability to better voice and assert the needs of their communities” (Leon 2011: np)\textsuperscript{129}.

One problem that disturbs true interculturalism is the “isomorphism of space, place, and culture”, traditionally assumed by societies to distinguish themselves from one another. (Gupta & Ferguson 1992: 6-7). They point out how this isomorphism has simplified how we theorize contact, conflict, and contradiction between cultures and societies in three distinct ways: (1) the idea of multiculturalism subsumes this plurality of cultures within the framework of a national identity; (2) conventional accounts of ethnicity and subcultures rely on an ambivalent link between identity and place; and (3), postcolonialism destabilizes the notion that nations and cultures are isomorphic.

For if one begins with the premise that spaces have always been hierarchically interconnected, instead of naturally disconnected, then cultural and social change becomes not a matter of cultural contact and articulation but one of rethinking difference through connection. Instead of stopping with the notion of deterritorialization[,] we need to theorize how space is being reterritorialized in the contemporary world (ibid.: 9).

The scientific research of postcolonial societies’ cultural policy has become increasingly sensitive to how co-ethnic communities, such as the one represented by the festival Musidanças, (ab)use interculturalism to stage their identities. Researchers such as Werbner (1997), Slobin (2000), Guilbault (2011) and Brandtstädter et al. (2011) have warned for the danger of implementing cultural policies that are based on multiculturalism, since this idea frames communities as static ethnic segments. According to Werbner (1997: 2), multiculturalism has been used as a paternalistic, top-down solution to the ‘problem’ of minorities, being the political solution to ongoing power struggles and collective negotiations of cultural, ethnic and racial differences. Interesting in this respect is the discussion in Slobin (2000: 166-7) about the political/administrative and analytical use of the term multiculturalism. Similarly, Brandtstädter et al. point out that this politically steered multiculturalism “creates divisions in society that ghettoizes cultural minorities [and] limits the rights of their members” (2011: np). This is congruent with Guilbault’s opinion: governing co-ethnic communities that share a nation-state ultimately comes back to “who has the authority to create norms and social hierarchies within society or to exclude anyone and on what basis” (2011: np).

\textsuperscript{129} See http://www.acidi.gov.pt/noticias/visualizar-noticia/531dd835d7431/conferencia-%22a-cidade-intercultural%22A-ligacoes-transnacionais-em-lugares-locais%22
Postcolonial analysis and critique questions traditional rhetorics of cultural ‘contact’ or ‘encounter’ to deconstruct “the West” as a political, cultural and social entity (Almeida 1998: 236, Dias 2006: 42, Cabecinhas 2014: 506). The binary scheme we/other as a logic of understanding cultural differences is challenged by ideas of hybridity and in-betweenness of society and culture. Textual exegesis and performative practices are instruments that can be used to analyze processes of identity representation in the “racial and ethnic power dynamics of global cultural relations” (Dias 2006: 20, Middleton et al. 2001: 6). Postcolonial critique may thus reread cultural exchanges by deconstructing national discourses, and accounts for “historical legacies which have been denied, forgotten or silenced,” tracing “alternative models for solidarity and conviviality” (Ponzanesi and Blaagaard 2011: np; Santos 2002: 29-30). This implies the repudiation of implicit eurocentrism, as well as essentialized versions of nation. In this respect, postcolonial thinkers such as Crapanzano (1986), Clifford (1997), Hall (2003) and Guibault (2007) have indicated the importance of subject-centered cultural research in a decentered and fluid way.

Social sciences constructions such as ‘identity’, ‘culture’ and ‘race’ a.o., Abu-Lughod (1991: 466-70) argues, produce and maintain differences by enforcing separations that inevitably carry a sense of hierarchy. The author stresses that these modes signal a shift away from the culture concept, as they were devised to analyze social life without presuming the degree of coherence and idealism that the culture concept has come to carry (ibid.: 472, in Turino 2008: 87). This “critical pragmatism” (Durão and Fradique 2010: 2) proposes cultural differences as non-contradictory reasons for pride or conflict, because they often coexist in different, fluid ways, involving a multiplicity of postcolonial voices. Postcolonial approaches promote, as Dias reminds, the deconstruction of the idea of ‘cultural difference’, demonstrating that there are multiple centers of reference for the reflection of otherness (2006: 20). Cultural difference bears witness to “the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order” (Bhabha 2003: 171). Postcolonialism does not question these hierarchies as such, but lays bare the discursive ways in which they were built to

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130 One should undo the “disproportionate influence of the West as cultural forum, in all three senses of that word: as a place of public exhibition and discussion, as place of judgement, and as market-place” (Bhabha 2003: 21, cited in Dias 2006: 10-1).
131 Abu-Lughod fosters three modes of writing against culture: practice and discourse, relational connections; and an ethnography of the particular (similar to Geertz’ 1973 idea of “thick description”).
hegemonize the Other (Paiva 2014: 545-46). In this sense, the prefix ‘post-’ indicates, more than a temporal and historical division, an inherent critique of hierarchical power structures of colonialism (Dias 2006: 3).

In the postcolonial critique literature focusing on Portugal and the lusophone world, Sousa (2013: 23, citing Khan 2008: 97-8) argues that the relations that existed over centuries between Lisbon and its colonies in Latin America, Africa and Asia “produced niches and universes of intercultural and mixed, creolized experiences, hybrids between colonized and colonizers that, undoubtedly, flow into the present day”132. These historically situated cultural exchanges factually continued into the postcolonial era, but were not always acknowledged as such133.

In this context, the necessity of the study of expressive practices of lusophone migrants in Portugal seems to have incited the interest of researchers of music and other scientific domains, whose production emerged around 2010. The special issue Music and Migration, of the journal Migrações, guest-edited by Côrte-Real (2010) under the auspices of the Portuguese government, through ACIDI, in a bilingual production (English and Portuguese), in which I collaborated throughout, joined researchers called from the international and national academic communities and other collaborators. Among the twelve extended articles and the eighteen smaller ones, eighteen concentrate in music practices of migrants from the lusophone world, either by senior or younger researchers, entrepreneurs, or musicians among which Sardo, Côrte-Real, Ribeiro, La Barre, Meersschaert, Magalhães, Leitão, Barbosa, Martins, Ngom, Fernandes, Dias, Jorge, Murteira, Rego, Costa, Nascimento, Fernandes Dias, Roriz, Elvas, Ramalho and Vanspauwen, with very different intercultural perspectives and focused music objects, of their direct experiences, linking migratory and musical processes (2010). At this time, other researchers such as Cidra also called attention for the relation between political and popular discourses in lusophone music (2010: 773-4), while Vanspauwen studied the reception of a particular documentary on the same topic, Lusofonia, a

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132 I have opted to not refer to Portugal’s historical, transcontinental nationalism with wordings such as ‘empire’ and ‘imperial’. Although the country’s maritime expansion made it into the first global cultural reference in history - spanning almost six centuries, from the Conquest of Ceuta in 1415, to the return of sovereignty over Macau to China, in 1999 -, and the idea has been coined and used in different contexts, Portugal was never an ‘empire’, neither during the monarchical nor during the republican regimes.

133 Henriques, in the series Racismo em português (2015), relates how in the five lusophone African countries, until today, “houve independência mas não descolonização das mentes” (2015) so that “ser africano [é] um tabu”. The author further shows how Cape Verde has been ideologically marketed as the country of miscegenation, the “proof of racial harmony” caused by lusotropicalism, pairing cultural imperialism with an oblivion policy not only of colonialism but of indigenous African identity itself.
The Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX, coming to light in the same year, made available a number of biographical and other articles that were very convenient for this study. In a way, these research outcomes responded to Pegg’s plea for an understanding “how the music of Portuguese colonies affected the music of Portugal and its immigrant groups [in] a reciprocal process of musical exchange” (2002: 177). My study of the meaning of the notion of lusofonia for the musicians and entrepreneurs that actively use it, such as those participating in the festival Musidanças, continues this flow of research.

1.3.2. Diaspora, hybridization and in-betweenness

Postcolonial studies have, as discussed before, questioned foundational narratives, be they national, international or of religious inspiration. They challenge clear-cut separations and dichotomies of “ethnic national absolutisms” (Sanches 2004: 119). Critics have emphasized the importance of diaspora spaces, hybrid forms of belonging and split identities to analyze how interculturalism, which promotes identity interpenetration, is reflected in them (ibid., in Sousa 2014: 515).134

The term diaspora135 does not simply refer here to a transnational movement – being it transregional, -national or -continental – but to political struggles to define the local, as a distinctive community or not, in a historical context of both roots and routes (Clifford 1992: 252). Morier-Genoud and Cahen (2013: 10) contribute eight key characteristics to the notion: (1) dispersal or expansion from the homeland; (2) collective memory about the homeland; (3) idealisation of ancestral home; (4) development of a return movement; (5) strong ethnic group consciousness; (6) troubled relationship with host societies; (7) sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnics; (8) and finally, potential for a distinctive creative life136. I partake, in this

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134 Wade point out that “processes of racial and cultural mixture, usually referred to by a series of different terms such as hybridity, syncretism, métissage, mélange and creolisation, all or some of which may be related to other concepts, such as diaspora, which evoke the kinds of migrations and movements that lead to mixture” (2005: 240).

135 Eide in this sense defends the use the term ‘diaspora’ instead of ‘ethnicity’: diaspora focuses on the practicility of group belonging and the possession of common traits between members (2010: 64-5).

136 Dias defines diaspora in terms of cause. She argues that the term may refer to the experience of the transatlantic slave trade, which relocated populations by force, categorizing these people in terms of nation, ethnicity and culture. But diaspora may also originate from adverse conditions (such as war, poverty, unemployment, lack of structures) in the country of origin. In this sense, diaspora seems to be a synonym for “forced” migration (2006: 27).
study, Sousa’s (2014: 515-6) definition of diaspora in terms of personal and structural historical conjunctures, arguing that its meaning in part results from unresolved tensions. Diaspora’s cultural positionings are hybrid in their specificities, linked to historical constructions, personal narratives and intercultural repertoires. In this sense, they can be seen in light of their discursive practices and performances, as their cultural legitimacy reveals a logic that redefines the nation-state “não como um local cultural homogêneo, mas plural, com uma localização subjetiva instrumental” (Sousa 2014: 516).

Diasporas have become widespread conditions in today’s globalized world, and their transnational connections question binary dependency relations of ‘minority’ communities and ‘majority’ societies. Processes of domination and resistance develop in them. Since diasporas involve relocations that imply contact among populations that are geographically, socially and culturally different, I see them as performative migratory experiences that foster hybridization processes and multiple senses of belonging. The in-between spaces of diasporic experiences give way to new representations that contest, negotiate or adjust previous definitions of society\(^\text{137}\).

Morier-Genoud and Cahen remind us that Portuguese colonialism strategically relied on diasporic/emigrated groups to sustain its dominance, initiating a number of different Portuguese diasporas depending on specific contexts (2013: 8-12)\(^\text{138}\). The authors argue that counterintuitively, historiography has obliterated these communities in favor of nationalist narratives, at the same time as it has obscured subtleties between the Portuguese and lusophone diasporas. Arguing that the study of margins can reveal a lot about the core, they advocate a case-specific approach to these different Portuguese diasporas in order to better understand Portuguese identity representation (ibid.: 11):

\textit{Which kind} of diaspora or community had \textit{what kind} of relations with the Portuguese Empire? What kind of relation did a trade diaspora have, what function did they come to fulfil, what new connections did they provide, what kind of ideology did they have?]\(^\text{137}\)

\(^{137}\) Abu-Lughod refers to these mixed representations as “halfies” (1991).

\(^{138}\) As is pointed out by Carvalhais, Portugal’s need to strengthen ties with a vast emigrant community around the world is a sign of the state’s “recognition of its loss of territorial and demographic relevance after decolonisation, as well as of the economic (but also social and political) importance of not losing contact with second and third generations of Portuguese emigrants” (2010: 1-2).

In this respect, interestingly, President Cavaco Silva’s speech on the 2014 Dia de Portugal explicitly addressed the “portugueses que vivem ou trabalham no estrangeiro” or “comunidades portuguesas”. Information retrieved from http://consuladoportugalsp.org.br/presidente-cavaco-silva-dirigiu-mensagem-as-comunidades-portuguesas
The discourse about the so-called racially mixed Portuguese colonial society, often explicitated through Freyre’s lusotropical ideas, deserves discussion through this lens of diaspora studies. Peralta shows how in popular perceptions, *lusofonia* is perceived as a “huge Diaspora that embraces not just the Portuguese citizens, but the immigrants from its former colonies now living on Portuguese soil, the citizens of the former colonies themselves, as well as the Portuguese emigrants” (2011: 211-2). As such, the notion functions on the basis of “assimilationist logic”, “[objectifying] difference [...] into a whole array of multiple individual cultures (ibid.)” According to Sanches (2005: 121, citing Leal 2000: 15), after 1974, conceptions of Portuguese migration were in this context influenced by the idea of scattered communities with an emphasis on diasporic links, stressing traditional (binary) understandings of Portuguese overall identity based on a uniform language and culture, and implicitly excluding immigrant communities in Portugal. This kind of perceptions about Portuguese colonization’s benevolence and tolerance, was more recently translated into a “vague official discourse on multiculturalism” (ibid.). This perspective is shared by different anthropologists such as Almeida (2000), Feldman-Bianco (2001) and Freixo (2002). The specificities of diaspora communities within Portuguese cultural framework were indeed a focus of attention of the Portuguese school of Ethnomusicology (Castelo-Branco 1997 on the confluence of cultures in Portugal; Pegg 2000 and Sieber 2002 on postcolonial counter-narratives in Portugal; Dias 2006 and Maciel 2010 on lusophone Africans in Portugal; and Peralta 2011 and Morier-Genoud and Cahen 2013 on postcolonial nationalisms). The pioneering works of Carvalho and Côrte-Real on Portuguese migrants around New York (1990 and 1991, respectively), INET’s project on migrant musicians in Lisbon (1995), as well as Sardo (1995 and 2010) on Goans, Almeida (2012) on the Damão diaspora, Roxo (2016) on the Hindu-Gujarati, Batalha

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139 Morier-Genoud and Cahen (2013: 13) in this respect mention three different generations of ethnically white Portuguese diaspora communities: (1) there were small but old overseas creole milieus that were considered with distrust by Lisbon because of their autonomy; (2), there were the so-called *velhos colonos* - white Portuguese that mainly traveled from Portugal and Madeira to Brazil before World War II; and (3), white immigration to Africa in the 1950’s was instigated to defend the expansion myth and defy international anticolonial pressure. Since these white populations were never numerically sufficient for colonial purposes, mixed-race people and *assimilados* turned themselves a necessity to populate the colonial territories.

140 Sanches’ musical reference to fadista Mariza (M-P) is telling. “She [has proposed] new ways of coming to terms with multiple affiliations. [The song] “Gente da minha terra” could lead us to think that the people being sung about should not be understood as ‘ethnical’, ‘white’, Portuguese but as broader, more multilingual, diasporic communities and their histories” (2004: 135-6).

141 In this respect, Carvalho argues that “non-ethnic nationalism presents the nation as a supra-ethnic community replacing undesirable ethnic identities.” This enables imaginations of “nationalism as multiculturalism, transcending ethnicity and avoiding inter-ethnic conflicts” (1999: 150).

The contextual reconstruction from the margins to an evolving center brought by diaspora studies value decolonization as part of an essentially transnational and -cultural global process (Almeida 2004: 232; Santos 2002: 5). These processes of cultural diasporization (Beja Horta 2008: 41) lay bare the workings of the nation as a cultural narrative. It is in this sense that the comunidade lusófona, and the various diasporas it involves, thus reflects associations with interculturalism which, for Portugal, implies an aperture that acknowledges all parts engaged in the postcolonial process (Sousa 2013: 28, citing Khan 2008: 105). Indeed, whereas colonial discourse was based on a polarity between the colonizer and the colonized, postcolonialism makes it clear that one is unthinkable without the other (ibid: 13, Sanches 2004: 133).

In this study, the hybridization practices are defined as by Canclini as “socio-cultural processes in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects and practices” (2005: xxv). I thus understand the hybrid (mestiço) as the product of processes of natural and cultural intermixture (mestiçagem) (ibid.: xxiii). This is in line with Santos, that views hybrids as normal instead of reactionary or deviant, since they constituted both the condition and the result of Portuguese (post)colonialism (Santos 2002: 9).

By subverting essentialism, hybridity can alter the power relations between dominant and dominated meanings. Hybridity opens space by discrediting hegemonic representations, thereby displacing antagonism in such a way that it stops sustaining the pure polarizations that made it up (Santos 2002: 14).

Similarly, Sanches contends that only a “destabilizing hybridity that blurs the canon, reverses the current, subverts the centre” can neutralize assimilationists models inherited from lusotropicalism (2005: 133, citing Pieterse 2001: 56). Following Anthias (2001: 638), I see that hybridity and diaspora concerns are “essentially those of culture and consciousness, rather than social inequality and exclusion”, which may weaken the materialist foundations of racial and cultural subordination. This vision of

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142 Santos’ (2002) criticism resides in the distinction between forms of ambivalence and hybridization that effectively give voice to the subaltern (the emancipatory hybridizations) and those who use the voice of the subaltern to silence (the reactionary hybridizations) (Paiva 2014: 551).

143 Almeida argues that the flux of migrants from ex-colonies in Africa and then from Brazil that started to arrive in Lisbon in the late 1980s converted inherited notions of “colonial miscegenation, tolerance and exceptionalism” into a “covert racism”, resulting from the “cognitive tension between hegemonic
hybridization can thus be useful in analyzing cultural inequality, multiple cultural membership, and power imbalances (Canclini 2005: xxx). As such, it is worthwhile to stress that plurinationality and decolonial pedagogy constitute a passage from rhetorical multiculturalism to critical interculturalism (Walsh 2008, 2014, Andrade 2014) which not only undoes the “pretense of establishing ‘pure’ or ‘authentic’ identities”, but also demonstrates the risk of “delimiting local, self-contained identities” (Canclini 2005: xxiii). In this way, hybridity can break loose of its “discursive origins in colonial fantasies and oppressions” and can become instead “a practical and creative means of cultural rearticulation and resurgence from the margins” (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 19). This perspective finds resonances with Mignolo’s “epistemological claims about subaltern knowledge” (Alcoff 2011), resumed under the “decolonial option” to instigate analytical approaches and socio-economic practices that oppose colonialism and modernity. With Quijano & Wallerstein I accentuate, based on my study of Musidanças, that it is critical to recognize that the “structure of power was and even continues to be organized on and around the colonial axis”, that decolonization did not eliminate coloniality, “it merely transformed its outer form” (1992: 550).

The hybridization perspective applied to the research on the notion of lusofonia has in this case stressed differences between colonial and postcolonial positions towards it. In particular, the tension between “roots-hybridity” and “routes-hybridity” as proposed by Peter Wade seems to be particularly fruitful to characterize the case in study: whereas the former syncretically makes two anterior wholes into a new one, enabling the production of “exclusive essentialisms”, the latter originates from “unpredictable diasporic movements [that give] way to more inclusive identities based, for example, on perception of common interests and goals, rather than common origins” (2005: 256, evoking Clifford 1992). In my point of view, this same tension exists between lusotropicalism and portugalidade, on the one hand, and intercultural variants of lusofonia, on the other.

In line with an earlier evocation of francofonie in this chapter, and in the light of my discussing of hybridization in a diaspora context, below I shortly discuss the notions
discursive statements on the historically non-racist character of Portuguese society on the one hand, and the social, professional, legal and geographical exclusion of migrants, on the other” (2008: np).

144 Kiwan and Meinhof point out that transnational networking can give rise to transcultural capital, but can also reflect inequalities and authenticity pressures (2011: np). Moreover, the concept may suggest “easy integration” and fusion of cultures, without giving sufficient weight to that which resist being hybridized (Canclini 2005: xxix). In general however, hybridity is generative depending on how its varied audiences interpret it (Werbner 1999: 150).
of *mestizaje* (Wade 2005) and *creolité* (Grenier and Guilbault 1997), as these terms are emically used by some of my interviewees for the case in study, under the wordings *mestiçagem* and *mestiço*, on the one hand, and *criolidade* and *criolo*, on the other.

1.3.2.1. *Mestiçagem*

The terms *mestiçagem* and *miscigenação* are similar but not identical: while the former refers to the actual crossbreeding of different ethnicities, the latter has a broader meaning that entails the mixture of individual components or backgrounds. Both however refer to processes in social, cultural, racial hybridization, translated as *miscegenation*. As Brazilian historian Eduardo França Paiva (2015) points out, both terms were used since the 19th century by scholars, government officials and ordinary people, who clearly associated them to the biological, genetic and racialist dimension of the resulting mixtures from sexual encounters between individuals and social groups.

For Quintero-Rivera - who researched the racially heterogeneous societies of Cuba, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and Brazil - miscegenation historically represented a “biological struggle” between civilization and barbarism, on the one hand, and a symbol of a new world order, on the other. As such, the notion and the processes it described created contradictions between the search for a unifying identity and the perception of differences as constituent elements for new nations (2000: np).

In this respect, Puri (2004: np) shows that hailing a hybrid culture as representative of the nation-state has proven problematic, as afro-creole cultures were

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145 “Mestiçagem”, in *Dicionário Priberam da Língua Portuguesa*, http://www.priberam.pt/dlpo/mesti%C3%A7agem
146 “Miscigenação”, in *Dicionário Priberam da Língua Portuguesa*, http://www.priberam.pt/dlpo/miscigena%C3%A7%C3%A3o
147 Carlos Eduardo Amaral de Paiva (2014: 549) makes a distinction between *mestiçagem* (social and class mixture) and *miscigenação* (racial mixture). He argues that *mestiçagem* took place in colonial Brazil, where the *mulatto* figure was created; while in colonial Angola and other African colonies, only *miscigenação* was practiced, maintaining segregation through state policy. In this dissertation, I use the term *mestiçagem* as an overarching term, referring to processes of cultural and racial mixture.
148 Personal communication with Eduardo França Paiva in Lisbon, September 2015. In this respect, also see the international conference *De Que Estamos Falando*, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte/MG, 5-8 October 2015: https://sites.google.com/site/dequeestamosfalando
149 Similar opinions also emerge from Moore’s (1995) and De la Fuente’s (1998) discussion of music, race and cultural politics in Cuba, showing that African elements were incorporated in the reconstruction process of a national identity to celebrate as the very essence of *cubanidad* (Sánchez 2012: 150).
rather seen as deviations than the norm vis-à-vis the old world. Much in the same sense, Wade highlights the way in which notions of inclusion and exclusion in processes of mixture are intertwined and challenge essentialist notions of identity (2005: 241). Wade defines *mestizaje* both as a “space of struggle” and a “process of racial-cultural mixture” that allows for the “maintenance of enduring spaces for racial-cultural difference alongside spaces of sameness and homogeneity” (ibid.: 239). Like Quintero-Rivera, he contends that the intermixture-fusion-hybridization ideologies have frequently been (ab)used in processes of “national homogenisation and of hiding a reality of racist exclusion behind a mask of inclusiveness” (ibid.). According to Wade, elites and middle-classes want to “re-establish hierarchical distinctions of race” to keep “distinctions intact”, discriminating notions of *mestiçagem*, blackness and indigenousness hierarchically and/or rendering them exotic (ibid.: 245). As such, intermixture continues to be “subjected to rooted in racial hierarchies that corresponded to the domination of whiteness over moral evaluations blackness” (ibid.: 254).

1.3.2.2. Creolité

Guilbault and Grenier’s (1997) have discussed the notion of (intermixed) creolité as somehow complementary to the (not necessarily intermixed) idea of the francophone world or *francofonie*. With the former, they refer to the former slave societies in the French Caribbean, while with the latter, they refer to geographic locations that received large fluxes of French immigrants (such as Canada) or that were colonized by France (such as Moroccos, Mali or Vietnam).

The notion of creolité came to international attention with the publication of *Éloge de la Creolité* (1989), a manifesto written by linguist Jean Bernabé, and novelists Patrick Chamoiseau and Raphaël Confiant. It is indissociable from two determining anticolonial movements: *négritude* (1940s) which emphasized black identity and *antillanité* (1970s) which celebrated hybridity (ibid.: 209). As such, *Éloge de la creolité* engages with issues of cultural métissage and the recovery of local collective memory

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150 Thus, Amselle 1999’s work “Logiques métisses” as well as his 2008 publication *L’Occident décroché. Enquête sur les postcolonialismes* argue against the immutable social, ethnic or cultural categories that originated from colonial domination. I am grateful to Fabrice Schurmans for these references.  
151 Interestingly, for Wade, these spaces not only include the nation-state but operate within embodied persons and networks of family and kinship relationships as well (2005: 239).
that has been silenced in colonial narratives (ibid.: 210). In fact, as Guilbault remarks, creolization issues involve establishing a hybrid “Afro-Creole” culture as representative of the nation-state “rather than as a deviation from a European market,” making it into a profoundly “creative, transformative and performative process” (2011: 11, citing Puri 2004).

Applied to this thesis, both *mestiçagem* and *creolité*, taken as emic wordings for hybridization processes resulting from the colonialism of some of the world’s most influential language powers, raise questions regarding the degree of mixture in *lusofonia*; and kind of relations to Portuguese cultural details of different sorts; and frictions caused.

1.3.3. (Dis)advantages in the use of the notion of *lusofonia*

Widely used in political and media means, *lusofonia* is a widely used term that is continuously debated and critiqued in academia due to its ambiguity in reference to Portuguese colonialism. The polarized positions towards this notion have been interpreted by scholars that I discuss below.

1.3.3.1. Contra *lusofonia*

A ideia de lusofonia não é ingênua […] (Dias, cited in Lança 2010: np)

Among immediate critiques to *lusofonia* are those involving language as its foundational element. In these contexts, the notion of *lusofonia* refers to the language of those that originate in countries where Portuguese is an official language. However, this leaves out many people that do not speak Portuguese fluently: speakers in Goa, lusophone African countries, Macau and East Timor, as well as immigrant communities on various continents that domestically use Portuguese in places where other languages dominate (e.g. Canada, the United States, Venezuela, South Africa, Australia, France, Luxembourg, Switzerland or Germany) (Pina-Cabral 2010: 6). As far as this concern is considered, Pina-Cabral reminds that defining a space and social time through one
single language is undesirable as it stimulates “sociocentric convergence” between language, culture and nation (ibid.).

Apart from this linguistic dimension, *lusofonia* is also critiqued because of its alleged Portuguese centrality. In this respect, Sanches (2004: 121) argues that *lusofonia* seems to have substituted a colonial conception of Portugal with an emphasis on diasporic links and affiliations, in a way that tends to stress traditional concepts of Portuguese identity based on a uniform language and culture, and implicitly excludes migrant communities in Portugal. Similarly, Dias contends that *lusofonia* implies a first line of defense of Portuguese civil society, serving its diverse economic activities and interests, at the same time using the symbol of the Portuguese language as an accountability of Portugal for the countries it previously colonized (2006: 37; 2009: 7). For Barros, finally, *lusofonia* represents a reflection on national identity *a posteriori* and, simultaneously, a “espécie de fórmula alegórica de projecção do futuro” (2011: np).

*lusofonia* can thus be criticized as a neo-colonial project in its “intentions and symbologies, pursuing a ‘lusocentrical’/eurocentrical/linear understanding of history” (Dias 2009: 7). In this respect, Klimt and Lubkeman signal the existence of a “tense interplay between persistent essentialist versions of Portugueseness and emergent images of multiculturalism, fusion and hybridity” (2002: 150). They argue that this cultural dualism has resulted in an “unpolluted and untouched Portugueseness ‘at home’,” standing in unidirectional contrast with the influences from the ex-colonies on Portugal, of which visibility is denied (ibid.). Similarly, Almeida envisions *lusofonia* as an example of how the nation is reproduced by cultural and political elites through a process of colonial continuations in the postcolonial present, which he calls “post-lusotropicalism” (Almeida 2001: 149; 2004: 238). Furthermore, Almeida sees similarities between colonial assimilation and postcolonial integration and contends that *lusofonia* may thus be understood as a “hidden continuation” of Freyre’s lusotropicalism (Freyre 2006 [1933]) - the idea that the Portuguese colonial profile was ideologically prescribed towards miscegenation, tolerance and exceptionalism (Almeida 2008: np). The author argues that the influx of migrants from the ex-colonies after 1974 deeply challenged this self-representation, causing a “cognitive tension”

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152 In this respect, Morier-Genoud and Cahen ask whether CPLP is “a surviving, or rather reinvented, imperial structure and ideology,” and [whether] “the discourse around the CPLP, if not the organisation itself, not in reality an inheritance of an imperial past” (2013: 9).
between hegemonic discursive statements on the historically non-racist character of Portuguese society on the one hand, and the social, professional, legal and geographical exclusion of migrants, or “covert racism”, on the other (ibid.). Regarding the latter, Almeida contends that:

Praticamente não existem contra-narrativas, representações da influência ou experiência africanas em Portugal. É como se a narrativa lusotropicalista visasse espalhar pelo mundo os produtos culturais portugueses sem se preocupar com o retorno de produtos culturais africanos, e outros, para Portugal (2008: np).

According to Sousa, the lack of visibility expressed remounts to power imbalances of colonial times, in which exogenous languages and cultures and their mixtures were not acceptable in continental Portugal (2015: 423, citing Almeida 2006: 363-364).

a narrativa da mistura se baseia “na dádiva que recusa o contra-dom: alguns portugueses ter-se-iam misturado com africanos; (...) teriam criado sociedades luso-tropicais; teriam oferecido materiais culturais; mas nada seria suposto ‘retornar’ a Portugal, nada cultural e muito menos étnico-racial (ibid.).

Beyond the foundational narrative of Portugal as an exceptional colonizer that primarily took language and culture to underdeveloped populations (Santos 2002), other narratives, fraught with violence, repression, racism and discrimination, have been ignored (Coutinho 2014: 580).

The seemingly secondary realities of colonialism, slavery, the slave trade, the colonial wars, all become missing terms and invisible contexts. In their stead, the ideas of human contact, historical grandeur and civilizing legacy are loudly proclaimed. Portuguese expansion is represented as civilisational, while the Portuguese culture thus fictionalized becomes a Creole culture that symbolically defines Portugal as a transcontinental European nation (Peralta 2011: 211).

Maciel in this respect shows that the current diversity ideology\(^\text{153}\) was actually inherited from the colonial period, and crystallized into institutional and symbolical structures. These structures, however, hardly fit the reality of Portuguese society, where

\(^{153}\) Particularly instrumentalized by the governmental institution Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural (ACIDI) in 2008, the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. ACIDI was previously known as the Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas (ACIME). Nowadays, it is known under the name Alto Comissariado para as Migrações (ACM). To my understanding, this shift from immigration of ethnic minorities (ACIME) to intercultural dialogue (ACIDI) and the inclusion of Portuguese migration flows (ACM) indicates an evolution in institutional thinking about migration. ACM’s current mission is “integrating immigrants added to the inclusion of new Portuguese citizens as well as to the connection and support for our non-residents Portuguese citizens”. Retrieved from http://www.acm.gov.pt/acm
Racism and social exclusion are central problems (2010: 207). In this sense, Maciel argues that such discriminatory behaviors have been “abafados pelo véu ideológico do lusotropicalismo [que] alimenta a ideia de que esses comportamentos e as atitudes que os sustentam não têm expressão entre nós [portugueses]” (ibid.: 228-9). Similarly, Peralta signals a “Creole essentialism that “[camouflages] unequal power relations.”

Yet behind the public façade of a tolerant, open, anti-racist society, there lies an unadorned social fabric characterized by striking class and social divisions and differences, if not by the very presence of a subtle, underlying racism that makes social relations highly restrictive (2011: 211-2)

The restrictiveness mentioned by Peralta seems to be congruent with what Balibar and Wallerstein call a ‘neo-racism’, understood as a “racism of the era of 'decolonization', of the reversal of population movements between the old colonies and the old metropolises, and the division of humanity within a single political space” (1991: 20-1). Although race, ethnicity, nationhood are “not precise analytical concepts” but “vague vernacular terms whose meaning varies considerably over place and time”, “ethnic” categories such as immigrants continue to be used in processes of exclusion of those who struggle to be included (Brubaker 2009: 27-8)\(^{154}\). In this respect, pioneer urban ethnomusicologist Reyes warns us that ethnicity is a matter of “boundaries set up through the articulation of differences and the use of symbols perceived to be cultural or assigned a cultural meaning by members of the group and by outsiders” (Reyes 1979: 5, later dealt with by Banks 1996, Eriksen 2002, Comaroff & Comaroff 2009). According to Carvalho, nationalism is thus both useful to the state (“because it boosts cohesion and loyalty among individuals”) and to the individual (because “it offers security and perceived stability”) (1999: 150). This perception in is line with Smith’s understanding of nations as “forms of community and movement […] with their members viewing them as resources and vehicles for their own interests and visions, and as intimate social bonds and cultural solidarities” (2009: 13-4).

Following this reasoning, the category of immigration has often substituted the notion of race, confronting collectivities of migrant workers with “xenophobic violence in which racist stereotyping has played an essential role” (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991: 20-1). Or in Almeida’s words, “os imigrantes são aqueles com quem não nos

\(^{154}\) Likewise, Balibar and Wallerstein argue that it makes “little difference whether we define pastness in terms of genetically continuous groups (races), historical sociopolitical groups (nations) or cultural groups (ethnic groups). They are all peoplehood constructs, all inventions of pastness, all contemporary political phenomena” (1991: 78-9).
misturamos” (2006: 363-364, cited in Sousa 2015: 423). Peralta argues that “race and class thus combine to engender cultural distance and at times even social conflict” (2011: 211). In this respect, Balibar and Wallerstein contend that postcolonialism is a “fluctuating combination of continued exteriorization and internal exclusion” of migrants; arguing that the interiority-exteriority configuration not only structured racism in colonial times, but in fact “reproduces, expands and re-activates” it today (1991: 42-4). For this very reason, Dias (2006: 37) contends that the idea of lusofonia “não é ingênuo e pura, revelando-se os seus discursos intrinsicamente políticos e prolongando a subalternidade do outro”.

Portugal é o criador da língua portuguesa e da lusofonia, e é também o seu principal promotor e beneficiador. A lusofonia é um imaginário nacional que funciona como lógica-base (em que se baseiam os discursos multiculturalistas nacionais) para a interpretação das relações entre Portugal e o outro cultural (ex-colonizado) no espaço nacional ou fora dele. (ibid.)

Because of its representation as a way of accommodating difference and promoting cultural unity, lusofonia refers itself not to the structure of the problem but to its effect. In other words, lusofonia builds on a conservative view of the cultures of the ex-colonized, because it determines their difference and equality in relation to Portugal, and thus simplifies them, translating them into linear discourses that conceal their actual existence and complexity (ibid.: 38). Brazilian critic Freixo believes that lusofonia has largely been a Portuguese discourse, reasoning that it was constructed through elements of Portugal’s political imaginary and not necessarily those of other Portuguese-speaking populations (2010: np). Freixo argues that the idea of a lusophone identity based on the projection of a cultural matrix with ‘luso’ or Portuguese origins is an obstacle to the consolidation of a lusophone community 155. In turn, Lança understands lusofonia as a relationship of official discourse and practice that mainly extends itself between Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking African countries. She also argues that the same logic applies to Brazil or Portugal’s former possession in Asia, though these are hegemonically different (2010: np). Like Ribeiro (2013: np) - that argues that lusofonia is “a última marca de um império que já não existe. E o último impedimento a um trabalho adulto sobre as múltiplas identidades dos países que falam português”, Lança

155 In this respect, Barros observes that “a matriz da lusofonia se funde sobre a ideia de um legado do qual Portugal foi o grande depositário[,] mesmo quando não se celebra directamente, ela acaba sempre por protagonizar inconscientemente a narrativa de um centro a partir do qual se pode identificar a matriz originária da língua através da qual todos os restantes espaços do mundo lusófono se encontram vinculados” (2011: np).
questions why these countries must be taken together as a “pacote de países, estas diferentes culturas a quem aconteceu terem sido esquartejadas em países colonizados pelo mesmo poder central” (2010: np). The answer lies in a mixture of incapacity of constructing a genuine interest in Otherness, on the one hand, and a transition from guilt towards responsibility in process, on the other. According to Morier-Genoud and Cahen, this postcolonial attitude also seems to reflect in the CPLP, which, they argue, paradoxically exclude lusophone diasporas and foreign communities since it builds on states and national communities rather than on linguistic or cultural communities (2013: 22). In fact, many critics point out that lusofonia is a binary type of multicultural (and not intercultural) discourse, based on the logic of ‘us and them’. They claim that, despite discursive utterances towards linguistic, political, economic and cultural harmonization in this imaginary space, there is no “real interest” in integrating non-Portuguese lusophones in Portuguese society (Lança 2010: np). Lusophone African interlocutors are the ones that are most rejected in this respect:

Interessa persistir nesse mito das boas relações, mas sem efectividade, porque nos autocarros, nas escolas, nos prédios, nas noites, no poder, deparamo-nos com inúmeras situações de desigualdade, exclusão social e racial, deslizes de linguagem cheios de preconceitos (e pudor, como a fórmula disparatada de se chamar africanos aos negros, mesmo que se trate de um negro português), na comunicação social e no senso-comum e, muitas vezes, nos meios mais esclarecidos (ibid, and Maciel 2010: 228).

In return, most Africans (and Brazilians) reject the notion of lusofonia in favor of their proper national or ethnic identity (Vanspauwen 2010, Ribeiro 2013). Freixo in this respect argues that for lusophone Africans, which were dominated by Portugal until 1974, the trauma of colonialism did not yet heal, making the CPLP into a sort of “Império Colonial Português revisitado” (2005: 1-4). This same author considers CPLP’s discourse as an updated reading of lusotropicalism:

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156 Lança contends that “lusofonia, no mundo pós-colonial, funciona como uma descarga de consciência, em que Portugal, numa estreita relação entre nação e império, se sente responsabilizado pelos países dos quais foi colonizador, e actua como centro” (2010: np).
157 Ribeiro critiques Portugal’s “incapacidade de construção de um país pós-colonial que não consegue olhar as suas ex-colónias numa relação de confronto de interesses e de respeito pelas identidades que cada um desses países pretende construir” (2010: np).
158 For Morier-Genoud and Cahen, “CPLP seems, like so many, to be blind to how diasporas not only contributed to empire but were also sometimes made into Lusophone elements” (2013: 22).
159 Interestingly, Freixo notes that the sectors that are most involved in the construction of the lusofonia/CPLP discourse are those from the Portuguese democratic left that paradoxically, in the past, fought Salazarism and sought to deconstruct the myths that he created (2002: np, Menendéz 2000, 2006).
Most authors contend that Portugal, instead of acknowledging centuries of social, racial and cultural mixture under its reign and early republic, reconfigured itself as an authorized European - “civilized and white” - nation as soon as it entered the European union in 1986; in particular, it attempted to “disguise the actual bonds between race and nation” through a homogeneity discourse exemplified in the revived notion of portugalidade (Feldman-Bianco 2001: 37). Indeed, the historical given of a shared cultural heritage established through colonial assimilation strategies was coated with a new - multiculturalist and politically correct – appearance, which permitted viewing both Portugal’s maritime discoveries and its colonialism through the lens of a pacific encounter of cultures (Freixo 2002: np). In fact, Margarido (2000: 76) considers that the re-invention of lusofonia occurred through a collective amnesia\footnote{\textit{O discurso lusófilo actual limita-se a procurar dissimular, mas não a eliminar, os traços brutais do passado” (Margarido 2000: 76, cited in Cabecinhas 2014: 506-7).}} of the colonial trauma, while Baptista (2006: 24) contends that it “sinaliza e encobre em Portugal o lugar do verdadeiramente ‘não-dito’.” Finally, the ideas and figures that typify lusofonia easily lend themselves to stereotyping, which dilutes plurality and makes differences fade (Martins 2002: 93-4)\footnote{Monteiro, referring to Portugal’s isolated geographical position as “uma sociedade de fronteira semiperiférica”, in this sense posits that “discursos essencialistas-estereotipizantes” can be analyzed as “ésferas de mediação que ‘contaminam’ nossa percepção dos bens culturais” (2008: 6).}. This has turned lusofonia in an “identity conundrum” – a conceptual context of contested discourses, to use Dias’s term (2009: 7).

\textit{Lusofonia} may consequently be viewed as a hegemonic discourse of affect. This discourse distorts Portugal’s colonial memory representations in an exaltation of its positive legacies (such as a common language), and camouflages a substantial number of conflictualities and subalternities (Barros 2011: np)\footnote{Sieber views lusofonia as a elitist kind of cosmopolitanism with an historical stamp. He argues that in Portugal after Expo 98, Portuguese expressive culture was still seen as separate from lusophone cultures, which correlated with a “strong aversion of multicultural definitions of Portuguese national culture that cast it as a creole or hybrid product.” (2002: 167, cited in Sanches 2010: np, retrieved from http://www.buala.org/en/cidade/drawing-the-lines-postcolonial-lisboa-and-other-modern-fortresses-europe).}. A critique of \textit{lusofonia} thus constitutes a necessary first step towards a renovation of Portuguese cultural and identity representation (Dias 2009: 7). In sum, \textit{lusofonia}’s basic problem is the friction
between a political discourse that evokes hegemonic relationships from the colonial era (theory), on the one hand, and expressive culture in the field (practice), on the other (Lança 2010: np). The notion is “not an empty shell because many people […] engage it if only to subvert it,” by “the ideology reappropriating and reinventing and the heritage of empire and thus contribute to the formation of a new real, non-official, lusophone identity, if not yet community” (Morier-Genoud and Cahen 2013: 23).

In this sense, Martins (2013, cited in Cabecinhas 2014: 506-7) urges to deconstruct four misconceptions of the concept, namely: (1) its supposed Portuguese centrality; (2) its supposed reconstitution of dominant narratives in a postcolonial context with neo-colonial purposes; (3) its supposed continuation of lusotropicalism and the myth of a ‘sweet’ colonizer; and (4) its postcolonial narratives of resentment. The overcoming of these misconceptions would create a reinvigorated and complex understanding of postcolonial relations. The contradictions between the rhetorical force of lusofonia, in its discursive center, and the weakness of its inscription, in subaltern margins, need diagnosis and discussion (Barros 2011: np). To better understand lusofonia’s disfunctionality, it is urgent to include lusophone narratives that, for a number of reasons, have been kept external to Portugal’s nation-building and –telling, and may
dar voz a diferentes narrativas sobre a história, de modo a tornar visíveis as versões de pessoas e grupos que foram sistematicamente “apagados” da história durante o período colonial e que continuam, muitas das vezes, invisíveis nas narrativas dominantes em período dito pós-colonial (Lança 2010: np).

1.3.3.2. Pro lusofonia

A pergunta a ser enfrentada, portanto, é não só a favor de que se cria a lusofonia, mas também contra o que ela se coloca (Martins 2011: np).

The critical suggestions contra lusofonia above stress the need to carry out national ethnographies on the reconfigurations of the colonial experiences in former colonial metropoles (Almeida 2000: 232-3), taking into consideration the histories of slavery, racism and colonization from the standpoint of those who endured its effects (Madureira
By investigating into the practices labeled as lusofonia, research should consider not only of what is said in speech content or other performance means, but also what this content tries not to say - what it seeks to erase (Martins 2006: 90, Cabecinhas 2014).

Those who defend the need to conceptually fortify lusofonia, stress the necessity to reevaluate the notion’s historic hibridization processes (Klimt and Lubkeman 2002, Madureira 2006, Lança 2010). This implies, Holton mentions, viewing the cultural identities in the lusophone space as mutually constituting and plural, challenging nationalist or ethnically absolutist approaches to theorizing modernity (2006: 11-12).

The so-called lusophone community is thus understood as various interrelated diasporas in the lusophone world, and should be described as a hybrid construction-in-the-making. The Portuguese language itself has incorporated external influences over time, and has equally contributed to criolo variants (Galito 2012: 4, citing Seabra 1998; Pardue 2012). Pina-Cabral (2010: 6) argues that lusophone links may be more visible in language and expressive culture, but culinary, as well as legal and commercial spheres also feature these connections, which consolidate through their degree of occurrence. He argues that Portuguese colonialism created an outward expansion of linkages that became dependent on a dialectic of return, thus gradually creating a world of common references:

> É preciso reconhecer que, para o bem e para o mal, a experiência colonial criou um mundo de referências comuns a muitas pessoas. O que devemos fazer é trabalhar nesta afirmação fundamental e tentar identificar as relações intrincadas entre o poder e a emancipação e a violência e o prazer em que esta comunhão forçada se tornou numa comunhão vivida (Almeida 2008: np).

Pina-Cabral approaches lusofonia, which he defines as lusotopia, as a “potential creation of complicity” in an “open network of interconnections” (2010: 6). As such, the notion is instantiated inter-subjectively and reflexively by people that have

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163 Madureira insists “that it is this question - and emphatically not the putative hybridity, subalternity, inefficiency, and indeed incompetence of the Portuguese colonizer - that ought to figure at the center of Lusophone postcolonialism” (2006: 141).

164 “Para pôr a questão na sua forma mais crua: foram ou não os ‘descobrimentos’ portugueses que abriam a lusotopia? Poderemos, pois, falar de lusotopia sem presumir o movimento unidirecional que esse processo histórico implica? [Importa] compreender que a lusotopia não foi instituída no Brasil no momento em que Pedro Álvares Cabral lá chegou, mas sim no momento em que [a] carta escrita pelo seu piloto, Pedro Vaz de Caminha, chegou às mãos de D. Manuel em Lisboa” (Pina-Cabral 2010: 15).

165 Lusotopia is the network formed by the continued identities that find their origin in the Portuguese expansion of the sixteenth century, but acquired a proper complexity and dynamics immediately afterwards (Pina-Cabral 2010: 15).
similar modes of identification. In line with this, Martins (2006: 2337) contends that the assertion of a transnational and transcontinental lusophone geo-cultural community largely transcends the language issue, as it both mobilizes civil society and recognizes demographic, cultural and economic imbalances (Martins 2006: 90-1, 2015: 7). He shows that, while lusotropicalism used the common denominator of language as homeland, *lusofonia* takes this culturalist and regionalist bias out and instead constitutes a plural and fragmented space and memory\(^{166}\). Martins thus favors viewing *lusofonia* as a ‘culturofonia’: a plural space in which cultural production links itself to multiple symbolic imaginaries (2006: 2337). Similarly, Macedo uses the image of “mosaico mágico” to prescribe how *lusofonia* ethically fosters respect for cultural differences (2013: 216). She argues that this interpenetration (rather than *meeting*) of cultures allows for deconstructing misconceptions on the one hand, and for discovering ourselves, on the other. While Macedo acknowledges that a community of lusophone cultures necessarily resulted from Portugal’s colonial policies and practices, she also contends that the current presence of such a community is an unequivocal proof of the gradual disappearance of hegemonic processes (ibid.). In other words, the fact that the political notion of *lusofonia* acknowledged the existence of affective ties across Portuguese-speaking countries, further stimulated the imagined and affective community that was already present (Maciel 2010, Barros 2011).

In sum, for these positive critics, *lusofonia* is also considered an open multi-dimensional, and global system, constituting a potential dialogue platform for participatory cultural citizenship and democratic civil society. It is urgent to develop a debate in Portugal on contemporary lusophone cultural expressions in the specificity of their contexts, as well as on the development of postcolonial identities and their potential role for Portuguese society (Dias 2006: 59-60, Vanspauwen 2012). Existing categories of analysis should be reviewed by underlining complementarity, flexibility and permeability (Dias 3006: 54). As a credited transnational player, CPLP – which has been critiqued as “extremely limited in achieving its goals”, given the constant change of political regimes, its actions and interests of the states that comprise it (Campos and Baptista 2014: 648-9) – has to promote initiatives aimed at the valorization of cultural identity in the lusophone space, using these initiatives for civic and intellectual

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\(^{166}\) “Por essa razão, dar sentido à Lusofonia é entendê-la como inextricavelmente portuguesa, brasileira, angolana, moçambicana, guineense, cabo-verdiana, sãotomense, timorense, galega, assim como de todas as diásporas destes povos” (Martins 2015: 9).
education as well as for the promotion of intercultural dialogue (Pereira 2011: 411). Civil commitment is essential to strengthen entrepreneurship between economic, political, cultural and social areas of Portuguese-speaking countries and to increase lusofonia’s vitality for the future (ibid.: 410, Maciel 2010: 182). This thesis aims at developing this specific field of studies.

1.3.4. Cultural performance and the representation of music communities

Music, seen as a hybridization practice, may reveal contradictions in contexts that are related linguistically rather than geographically, such as the postcolonial lusophone world. Ethnomusicology has increasingly investigated the link between musical cultures, race, and postcolonialism in a memory perspective (Middleton et al. 2001: 7; Reily 2014: 2) to understand the use of “expressive modes in the claim of (cultural or historic) heritage, identity or nationhood” (Carvalho 1999: 152). For long, researchers have moved away from cultural imperialism approaches investigating acculturation or integration, instead favoring theories of postcoloniality and globalization that analyze musical hybridity and interaction in a transnational, deterritorialized scenario (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 25).

This paradigm shift has increased the study of local contexts (such as the city) instead of national contexts to both “celebrate a plurality of globalized cultures” and “situate identities as based in a certain kind of ‘rootedness’ in race, ethnicity, and linguistic communities” (Biddle and Knights 2007: 2-5). Nevertheless, critical voices signal that music continues to “give voice to racial difference” (Radano and Bohlman 2000: 37) as the notions of hybridity and authenticness are used to perpetuate binary thinking and power, due to “the centrality of discourse of race and ethnicity and the continuing prominence of Orientalist, primitivist, and exoticist tropes in popular music” (Middleton et al. 2001: 11, Stokes 2004: 60). In this respect, Carvalho has discussed the double identity of urban African musics - “simultaneously Western and African in

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167 Castelo-Branco has defined ethnomusicology as the study of music in its social, cultural, political, cognitive and aesthetic dimension, addressing core issues in the social sciences and humanities such as globalization, media, nationalism, identity construction, diasporas and postcolonialism (2010: 419).
168 As Radano and Bohlman point out, music also contributes substantially to the vocabularies that are used to construct race. Music is a domain that different races, depending on interpretation and case, potentially share, appropriate and dominate; or that itself contains common syncretic practices (2001: 7-8).
its form” - as expressive practices that suffer from the excluding versus including effects of music performance (1999: 179). Postcolonial music analysis has to foreground the “racial and ethnic power dynamics of global cultural relations” with concerns for the economic wellbeing and social status of musicians by “stressing the dimensionality of culture rather than its substantiality” (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 6). It has to explore how theoretical tools can engage research on the role of music in the construction of identity in multicultural contexts (Castelo-Branco 1997: 40). This heuristic use of culture allows to understand (music, social, racial) notions, concepts or categories as “ideologically grounded symbolic constructs that are assigned meanings through interpretive processes” (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 6). With Middleton and Manuel, I contend that music serves less as a mirror reflecting pre-existing patterns of identity than as an area for their negotiation, or even their construction (2001: 30). Beyond problematizing ethnicity, authenticity, nationalism and (western) cultural hegemony, we need to get a better understanding of the ways in which “the politics and cultures of local communities and movements are derivative of the very discourses they seek to interrogate” (Erlman 2003: 20). The “extraordinary tension” between the centralized cultural policies of nation-states and the local or more distributed practices of popular musicians reveal a “fluid, open-ended and productively unstable” territory (Biddle and Knights 2007: 12-4) for analysis.

Migrant and their hybrid musics have flourished in cities, as Middleton et al. (2001: 48-9) stress, because of concentrated ethnic enclaves, media and technological infrastructures, political openness, and exposure of musicians and audiences to new ideas and influences. Thus, with Middleton et al. I insist that urban contexts increasingly contain heterogeneous social groups and institutionalized forms of musical patronage, whilst new social identities and aesthetic sensibilities also stimulate the creation of hybrid musics. Musicians and entrepreneurs in diaspora often serve as cultural brokers that use musical performance to articulate representational metaphors and mediate dichotomies (ibid.). Paradoxically, they are in favorable conditions to

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169 “By ‘including effects’ is meant that music performance is designed to ignore ethnic or other differences and to promote unification (regional, tribal or other); an ‘excluding effect’ means that music is expected to underscore differences, emphasizing the ethnic identification of a particular group or groups within a larger environment” (Carvalho 1999: 152).

170 Born and Hesmondhalgh contend that “as symbolic constructs, music categories have been used as effective mechanisms for emphasizing unity or difference, constructing identities, inculcating or combating nationalist ideologies[,] and exercising power” (2000: 6).
promote and practice interculturalism, as they foster greater openness towards cultural expressions (in detriment of stereotypical, essentialized or biased categorizations of “non-western” musics), and lift them out of the often invisible and fragile art circuits (such as bars, associations and restaurants) where they perform (Dias 2006: 88-9, Vanspauwen 2010: 8-9). The study of these local migrant communities implies a revision of their relationship with the reference values of the host society, in particular in what concerns their social and cultural participation. Indeed, people are increasingly reaching for dynamic musical movements as they tire of the easy models of official multiculturalism, with their promise of separate but equal artistic expression (cf. Dias 2006: 88-9).

This scenario, as has perhaps been represented most accurately by Rice’s analysis of shifting temporal, social, and cultural bases of musical experience of sociocultural or ethnic groups (2003: 152), constitutes a theoretical context that is very convenient for this study. Rice’s time-place-metaphor model is a detailed way to “think about and plot out the multiple social settings in which people produce, experience, and understand music” (ibid.: 160-1). Rice’s proposal envisions music in four distinct types of metaphor: music as art, as commodity, as social behavior, and as symbolic system (ibid.: 166-7). While music as art highlights the relation to music production and reception, music as commodity does it to economic revenue. In turn, music as social behavior highlights cultural performances that refer to social structures, while music as symbolic system stresses references to both existing music and the world beyond. With Born and Hesmondhalgh, I defend that this dialectical relationship between musics’ financial potential and political, economical and cultural power relations is essential to consider relations between culture, power, ethnicity and class (2000: 3). I recall that music both reflects society and is constitutive in ‘engendering’ socio-cultural identities, communities or scenes.

Nations are dynamic, purposive communities of action in which ethno-symbolic practices play out (Smith 2009: 13-4). These practices, exemplified by cultural performances, allow its participants to both construct and participate in ‘public’ life (Houseman 2006: 413, Turino 2008: 90). Particularly for marginalized people, they can become a tool for “public discussion of vital issues central to their communities, as well as an arena for gaining and staging their identity” (Conquergood 1991: 175). As such,
cultural performances often involve some degree of ritual, metaphor and agency\textsuperscript{171}. In this respect, Guilbault (2007: 6) has used the Foucauldian notion of \textit{governmentality} to analyze how various discourses and practices shape perceptions and uses of music, how music enables distinct ways of thinking and acting, and how musical practices are constitutive of subjectivities that are positioned in relations of power\textsuperscript{172}. Alternatively, musical practices are also framed by institutional, collective and individual articulations, which relate to issues of musical entrepreneurship. Guilbault understands this notion both “as a distinctive target of governing as well as a mode of self-conduct” (ibid.: 7-8). In other words, entrepreneurship may be as much the target of individual musicians’ ventures as well as external interventions from institutional or associative domains. Understanding governmentality as a “field of social management” (ibid.: 4-5) may help to unravel power unbalances.

As Brandstädter \textit{et al.} point out, “cracks in existing hegemonies and alternative possibilities emerge through social engagement as a member of (and for) a particular collective - not an abstract ‘cultural community’, but a community of meaning, praxis and emotional attachment” (2011: np). The idea of (real and/or virtual)\textsuperscript{173} communities, defined by Lysloff as a “predicated on a collective sense of common interests and purpose” (2003: 243), and Shelemay’s definition of \textit{musical community} in particular (2011: 349-50), are useful to my analysis of the role of music in community formation. Shelemay explores musical transmission and performance not just as expressions or symbols of a given social grouping, but as an integral part of processes that can help generate, shape, or sustain new collectivities. She defines musical community as a “social entity, an outcome of a combination of social and musical processes, rendering those who participate in making or listening to music aware of a connection among

\textsuperscript{171} In this sense, Taussig (1993: 7) uses the notion of \textit{mimesis} to refer to the (post)colonial process in which both dominant and subordinate groups appropriate and transform aspects of one another’s difference, thus attaining semiotic power over that Other. In this sense, \textit{mimesis} is similar to Bhabha’s (1994): \textit{mimicry} and Baumann and Gingrich’s (2005: 25-6) idea of encompassment – defined as an “act of selfing by appropriating, adopting or co-opting, selected kinds of otherness” (ibid).

\textsuperscript{172} While the analytics of governmentality may be useful for studying issues of cultural politics in music, it does not explain everything. “Its emphasis on linking power to the deployment of strategies leaves unexplained the tangible effects produced by several activities and practices that have to do more with improvised celebration or unanticipated situations than with calculated effects” (Guilbault 2007: 6-7). To theorize this unpredictability, Guilbault follows Hall’s notion of “articulation”.

\textsuperscript{173} Lysloff argues that “on-line communities [are] as ‘real’ (or imagined) as those off line,” because the internet provides “a new materiality through which social interaction and group formation can take place and from which new possibilities for subjectivity and group identity can emerge” (2003: 236).
themselves”\textsuperscript{174}. In this sense, she proposes a continuum of 3 community types – descent, dissent and affinity – to invoke identities that “tend to be shared by people over a substantial period of time, whether based on ethnicity, nationality, or belief” (ibid.: 376). This continuum “elucidates music’s generative role in shaping new collectivities and unsettles the notion of music as a static sonic marker of social groupings” (ibid.: 391).

As Shelemay did, many other ethnomusicologists have articulated reflections between music makers and collective or social memory to account for “a negotiation and a questioning of the past” (Cidra 2015: np). Some have even delimited their objects of study to precise periods in the past. This perspective helps to understand how members of a particular group create social ties, share cultural experiences and memories (Cabecinhas 2014: 507-508). Indeed, all memory is social, as memories are transmitted through language and communicative processes\textsuperscript{175}. Thus, social representations can show not only how historical memories are constructed, but also what their shared political and cultural functions are (Peralta 2007). Hence, collective memory is as a “field of dispute [...] because of its capacity to determine what is memorable and what should be forgotten” (Cunha 2003: 86). Music plays a central role in this process, promoting collective consciousness, group cohesion, and general changes in society (Frith 2000: 316).

In the light of the above, the lusophone diaspora in its various manifestations can be seen as a specific and localized form of transnationalism\textsuperscript{176}. In fact, musical traditions from different locations have coexisted, interacted, and mixed themselves in Portugal since the 15\textsuperscript{th} century (Castelo-Branco 1997: 37). This resulted in musical fusions, on the one hand, and power structures, on the other, creating an active dialectic

\textsuperscript{174} “A musical community [represents] a collectivity constructed through and sustained by musical processes and/or performances. [It] can be socially and/or symbolically constituted; music making may give rise to real-time social relationships or may exist most fully in the realm of a virtual setting or in the imagination. A musical community does not require the presence of conventional structural elements nor must it be anchored in a single place, although both structural and local elements may assume importance at points in the process of community formation as well as in its ongoing existence” (Shelemay 2011: 364-5).

\textsuperscript{175} Cabecinhas points out that collective memory is a set of social representations of the past, shared within a particular group. As such, it is a process of selective and thus partial reconstruction which depends on the social networks and affiliations of individuals as well as their experiences and life trajectories. This means that different social groups tend to remember different facts and tend to construct different memories under the same circumstance (2014: 507-8).

\textsuperscript{176} Vertovec and Cohen describe transnationalism as (1) a type of consciousness, (2) a mode of cultural reproduction, (3) a site of political engagement, and (4) a reconstruction of locality. They argue that in the digital age, a diaspora can, to some degree, be re-created through the mind, cultural artefacts and a shared imagination (2002: 1, 5).
between group identity and ideological hegemony (ibid.)\textsuperscript{177}. Despite this ambiguity, the expression ‘lusophone musics’ is increasingly used by cultural entrepreneurs in Portugal to approximate musics from Portuguese-speaking countries, to which the idea of \textit{lusofonia} is inherent\textsuperscript{178}. To my understanding, Grenier and Guilbault’s depiction of \textit{francophonie} and \textit{creolité} as disjunctured, opposed but intersecting movements is in many aspects central to the so-called divide between Portuguese musics and lusophone musics, in that it favors “borrowing, juxtaposition and métissage” as a “creative, transformative and performative process” (1997: 208-11). Understanding lusophone musics as the product of intense contact between Portugal and geographical nodes in Latin America, Africa and Asia with which it made contact over a period of nearly six centuries, challenges dualist understandings and provides a window into (post)colonial relationships between social agents manifested and produced through performative modes of expression (Holton 2006: 12)\textsuperscript{179}. Studies of the lusophone music communities that currently exist in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, such as those evoked by the festival Musidanças and related events, venues and musicians, may offer new insights into political concepts such as \textit{lusofonia} that are being deployed to imagine and negotiate both ethnic and national identities.

\section*{1.4. Concluding remarks}

The conclusion must be drawn that postcolonialism in the Portuguese space is very little post- and very much anticolonialism. The struggle is not against a past present but rather against a present past (Santos 2002: 37).

\textsuperscript{177} In this respect, Maciel points out that the common language element remains closely linked to ideological expressions, power relations and cultural options (2010: 252).

\textsuperscript{178} For example, since 2010, the MTV África Music Awards distinguishes the best lusophone (as well as anglophone and francophone) African musicians. In 2014, Anselmo Ralph (A), jury member of the Portuguese TV show \textit{The Voice}, and a frequent performer in Portugal, was awarded in this category. Information retrieved from http://www.conexaolusofona.org/anselmo-ralph-e-eleito-o-melhor-cantor-da-lusofonia-no-mtv-africa-music-awards/#.VEEJHldVhY

\textsuperscript{179} In this sense, Sanches argues that “one needs only take a look at fado’s history to be aware how Portuguese national identity is the result of constant exchanges, despite its presumed distinctiveness. “Being a form of music developed in Brazil and inspired in forms of music practiced by African slaves, fado was [first] sung and danced [ , and only] later to be associated with a white Portugal unwilling to accept her multiple roots and routes” (2004: 135-6).
As Portugal went from a medieval nation of discoveries to a colonial power, a regime, a democracy, a member of the European Union and the CPLP, in an age of politically correctness, postcolonialism and globalization, the heterogeneity and number of musical narratives that converge in the country today may come as no surprise (De La Barre and Vanspauwen 2013: 215, Coutinho and Baptista 2014. 579). The historical circulation of practices, genres and musical styles between Portuguese-speaking cities, regions and countries has effectively established historical, cultural and linguistic linkages between their expressive practices (Cidra et al. 2010: 173). While in the mid 20th century, other European colonial powers gradually gave in to international demands of decolonisation, Portugal actively deployed musics and dance to foster a sense of lusophone connections (Beldman-Bianco 2001: 6-8). In similar ways, the Exposição do Mundo Português (1940) and the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition represented Portugal as an area of cultural confluence, acknowledging an apparent openness to mixtures of the Portuguese-speaking world (Castelo-Branco 1997). During the 20th century, there were indeed various moments in which expressive culture alternated between assimilation and resistance, depending on time, place and role (colonizer, colonized or intermediaries). It is fascinating to see how the effects of the political strategy of cultural and racial hybridization (mestiçagem), originally promoted by the Estado Novo, was translated into the present postcolonial setting.

Theoretically framing my inductions through Rice’s idea of time-place-metaphor, Guilbault’s notion of governmentality and Shelemay’s definition of musical communities, I have tried to position Lisbon’s lusophone musics and cultural performances in a perspective that both transcends and deconstructs old modes of representation. This approach implies a decolonial understanding of social and cultural difference within throughout the so-called comunidade lusófona. Defining diaspora as a hybrid transnational phenomenon, I have advocated an intercultural view that takes processes of hybridization as central in defining contemporary Portuguese society. It is important to realize that diaspora cultures in Portugal, albeit transnational in origin, also have national aspirations. Thus, studying the musical flows of Portugal’s resident populations from Portuguese-speaking countries allows for a better understanding of national culture in a transnational perspective.

The study of hybridization processes of specific cultural agents may stimulate the evolution from multicultural to intercultural understandings, in which alternative viewpoints replace or complement foundational narratives. Although lusophone migrant
musicians in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area seem to actively practice interculturalism, my ethnography has shown that anthropological constructs such as nationalism, culture and race still divide the capital. Institutional notions to denote diversity frame identity in a singular, synthetic form and as such represent the extent to which the dominant culture accepts elements that question its hegemony. In this respect, it has become clear that *lusofonia* is a contested signifier that constitutes an arena of struggle to define reality. Caught between an lusocentric nostalgia (which recalls historical facts) and a postcolonial criticism (which seeks to understand the present and shape the future), *lusofonia* seem to lend itself, on the one hand, to misconceptions and simplifications, while it aims to promote formulations of intercultural dialogue, on the other.

Without democratizing and updating psychological and cultural power structures from the colonial past, a lusophone community can have no relevance for the present and the future. This task of re-imagining *lusofonia* necessarily involves a decolonization of binary eurocentric thought (culture, social practices, politics and science), forcing us to rethink the notion strategically within a broader articulation between the local and the global. This may lead to inequality reduction and voicing of new “intersection cartographies” (Fradique 1999: 123) that question known representations of the past. Thus, *lusofonia* can only be understood as a plural space where collective memories are also plural and fragmented, implying the recognition and respect for the stories, voices and feelings that are associated to it (Campos & Baptista 2014: 646). As such, *lusofonia* points to complex, non-essential understandings of exchange that go beyond a monocultural, -ethnic or -national focus.

*Lusofonia* in the 21st century is a multifaceted and polemic concept under heavy reconstruction. Despite the notion’s polysemy, a large and growing number of macro- and micro-communities feed into it and thus sustain its bubble. Its creative use by institutional and other agencies have made this clear. In addition, politicians, journalists, researchers, cultural entrepreneurs, associative leader, musicians and the public in general seem to move back and forth between these domains. This sustains Maciel’s (2010: 218) assumption that these micro-networks have been contributing to the macro-picture. It appears that the abstract notion of *lusofonia*, has effectively inspired social

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180 See http://www.lasics.uminho.pt/lusofonia2013
181 See http://estudosculturais.com/congressos/ivcongresso/en
182 See Maria Manuel Baptista’s introductory text at http://estudosculturais.com/congressos/ivcongresso/apresentacao
reality and expressive behavior in a wide array of events between top-bottom and bottom-up perspectives.

Although some studies suggest homogeneity among different nationalities of immigrants considering them regardless other conditions (integration/multicultural trajectories) on the basis of country of origin\textsuperscript{183}, a cultural reconfiguration is taking place in contemporary Portugal, whereby new identities based on heterogeneous cultural repertoires and complex life experiences concede a concrete plurality to an otherwise generalized Other (Bäckström and Castro-Pereira 2012: 96). However, despite the large number of agents and events that dedicate themselves to lusofonia, it is often unclear how the concept is defined. What we here may consider a comunidade lusófona tends to manifests itself in concrete and punctual situations, while an articulated and continued link to its underlying realities is still in the making.

In short, a debate in Portugal on postcolonial thinking in which their expressive practices can have a place, though fragile and still incipient, fortunately is on its way. Political and academic institutions would develop investigation on Portugal’s (relatively recent) colonial past to nurture this tendency, generating anti-essentialist, plural discourses that acknowledge the agency of the post-colonial Other\textsuperscript{184}. As Bäckström & Castro-Pereira remind us, the use of arts to rethink the social and overcome fears of cultural homogenization may play a role in the study of hybridization practices of specific cultural agents (2012: 83). This reinterpretation necessarily implies an ethical approach to social and cultural difference\textsuperscript{185}.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Migrants from PALOP in Portugal also identify differently according to their original countries, with substantial differences and alliances (Sanches 2004, Cidra 2008, Vanspauwen 2012).
\item Dias argues that any “análise da sociedade portuguesa tem de compreender, entre outras coisas, o confronto com a sua história colonial e com as suas relações actuais com as ex-colônias. Esse confronto deve ser feito tendo em atenção os países antes colonizados, assim como as suas diásporas” (2006: 33–4).
\item “O Outro, seja ele quem for[,] só pode ser acedido, não a partir da epistemologia, mas da ética” (Sousa 2014: 520, citing Baptista 2006: 171).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
2. LUSOPHONE SOUNDSCAPES AND WEBS OF INTEREST IN LISBON

Historic and recent events laid out political and ideological foundations for both the representation and interpretation of musical *lusofonia* in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Intercultural niches created by rhizomatic migrations within the Portuguese colonial enterprise, the bloody postcolonial independencies and the victory of language affinities in transnational political reencounters such as the ones promised by the CPLP, have increasingly diversified the lusophone profile of Lisbon. By lusophone profile of Lisbon, I mean the heterogenous composition of various populations originating in other localities where Portuguese is spoken, and that have communicated socially and culturally between one another over time.

In this chapter, I test whether this diversification has also implied empowerment. To this end, I use ethnographic data that have been gathered both in the field and online, regarding festivals, live music venues and related associations of people in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. I particularly looked for musical fusions and collaborations of particular musicians through their discourse, concerts and recordings. Who organizes the events, what types of discourse are used, and which musicians (re)appear on stage? Can one speak of a circle or scene of lusophone musicians that perform in and from Lisbon, and in what ways does *lusofonia* play out in their creative work? These are the kinds of question with which I started my research.

To discuss these questions, I deal with lusophone soundscapes in Lisbon from both historical and contemporary points of view. Regarding the former, I was curious about the ideological foundations of *lusofonia*, specifically in what concerns important moments such as the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition and the documentary *Lusofonia, a (R)evolução* (2006), eight years apart in the transition of the millennium. I then discuss performance practices in which I recognize lusophone resonances of some sort. Finally, I characterize *lusofonia* in the festival MusiDanças during its first fifteen years of activity (2001–2015) and as my core ethnographic subject.

I aim to contribute to enrich a body of information for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area collected in INET since its foundation in 1995, first through the projects on fado and migrant communities conceived by its leading professors, materialized in the

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186 Text as seen on a billboard at Cais do Sodré in Lisbon in early 2015.
Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX, and the special issue on Music and Migration in which I participated.

2.1. The ideological foundations: projecting Lisbon musically

Culture is not something that we can ever expect to encounter ‘on the ground’. What we find are people whose lives take them on a journey through space and time in environments which seem to them to be full of significance[,] and who, in their talk, endlessly spin metaphors so as to weave labyrinthine and ever-expanding networks of symbolic equivalence (Ingold 1994: 330).

The diachronic perspective used deals with transcultural processes of music and migration within the lusophone world in the colonial, postcolonial and global time stretches, respectively. My aim is to understand the gradual construction of current soundscapes of lusofonia – musical lusofonia, with its fractal, nodal and multidimensional characteristics (Rice 2003: 160-1). The overall structure divided for this thesis finds resonances in various historic examples that ultimately illustrate how political strategies and notions have approached music expressions to govern multicultural and co-ethnic communities (Guilbault 2007: 6, Shelemay 2011: 364, Maciel 2010: 206).

Historically speaking, Portuguese presence overseas varied widely in its nature and length, as did the ensuing economic, political, social and cultural processes, which affected both the Portuguese and the people with whom they came into contact (Castelo-Branco 1997: 31). The intensive maritime explorations by various generations of Portuguese ‘discoverers’ during the 15th and 16th centuries initially mapped the coasts of Africa, Asia and Brazil. At this time, the Portuguese mainly emigrated to the northern coasts of Africa and the Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Azores. After the discovery of the sea routes to India (1498) and Brazil (1500), emigration first spread through the East, remaining very intense throughout the 18th century. In the mid-16th century, increasing emigration fluxes gradually turned Brazil into the main overseas receptor for Portuguese, remaining stable until the 1950s. Rio de Janeiro became the Portuguese capital between 1808 and 1821, initially to protect the royal family from the invasion of
French ruler Napoleon Bonaparte. Lisbon regained its status as capital of Portugal when Brazil declared its independence from Portugal in 1822.187 This swift translocation of the Portuguese capital is telling in many respects. Since the early 19th century, Portugal and its overseas possessions formed an intertwined space of mutual cultural and political construction, involving the movement of goods and people (Cidra 2010: 780, Nery and Lucas 2013: np)188. Music production and reflection was no exception. At the end of the 19th century, for example, César das Neves and Gualdino Campos pioneeringly collected traditional musics in the lusophone space, resulting in the publication *Cancioneiro de músicas populares* in Porto (1893, 1895 and 1898). In the 1910s and 20s, Portuguese musicians with practice in the areas of fado, música ligeira and música erudita toured Angola and Mozambique, where they performed for urban audiences. These audiences roughly consisted of an upper class white and *mestizo* population that was familiar with these musicians’ repertoires, either through commercial recordings or radio broadcasts (Cidra 2010: 780). In the 1950s, Portuguese theater companies and musicians toured Brazil to disseminate fado, teatro de revista and the canção de Coimbra among Portuguese migrant communities (ibid.: 173-4).

The second half of the 20th century was marked by Portugal’s colonial wars in Africa as well as the ensuing independencies. The Carnation Revolution [Revolução dos Cravos], almost a bloodless left-wing military coup190, introduced democracy in Portugal in 1974. After Guinea-Bissau in the same year, Portugal granted independence to Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe in 1975. Nearly 1 million military personnel and citizens (Portuguese or people of Portuguese descent)

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188 In the late 19th century, Portuguese emigrants began to actively seek new alternative destinations to Brazil, both in Europe and across the Atlantic. Throughout the 20th century, they moved to France, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany, the USA, Argentina, Venezuela, Canada, or Australia. In addition, the increased colonization of Africa (in the 1930s) increased the number of Portuguese that settled in Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea-Bissau, South Africa, Zimbabwe, the Congo, the former Portuguese State in India (Goa, Daman and Diu), Macau and East Timor (Maciel 2010: 209-10).

189 This songbook contained 622 original compositions and transcriptions of lyrics and melodies, especially from the regions of Beira Litoral, Alentejo Litoral and Douro, but also from the Azores, Brazil, Cape Verde, Goa and São Tomé and Príncipe. It devoted attention to the genres of fado, mando, modinha and lundum, a.o. (Castelo-Branco 2010a: 422, 876).

190 There were 4 civilian casualties, whereas 45 people got wounded by the Direção-Geral de Segurança. Information retrieved from [http://www.rtp.pt/noticias/index.php?article=728206&tm=157&layout=121&visual=49](http://www.rtp.pt/noticias/index.php?article=728206&tm=157&layout=121&visual=49)
returned to Portugal as refugees (the so-called retornados)\textsuperscript{191}. In the following decades, the newly independent countries suffered from protracted civil wars - the Angolan Civil War (1975-2002) and Mozambican Civil War (1977-1992), resulting in millions of deaths and more refugees. Meanwhile, Brazil exited a period of military dictatorship in 1985. In 1986, Portugal entered the European Economic Community. In 1996, the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) was founded in Lisbon, including Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Portugal lost its final colonial possessions in 1999, when Macau was returned to China, and in 2002, when East Timor - which had been invaded and annexed by Indonesia in 1975 - became independent, joining the CPLP shortly thereafter.

Politic and economic conditions thus gave rise to intense migration fluxes with social and cultural dimensions within the lusophone transnational space. Below, I analyze soundscapes of lusofonia in both colonial and postcolonial time stretches; with this term, I mean the populational movements, expressive practices and cultural politics in a transnational perspective during the Estado Novo, under democracy, and in the so-called global age.

2.1.1. Migration in the Portuguese colonial times

The 20\textsuperscript{th} century nationalist dictatorship in Portugal, autodenominated Estado Novo (1933-1974), instrumentalized popular culture to inculcate its ideology among Portuguese citizens. In particular, state institutions and censorship bodies categorized cultural phenomena in order to implement cultural policy and control expressive behavior (Côrte-Real 2001: 49-50, Castelo-Branco 2010a: 423, 875-95)\textsuperscript{192}. In particular, they adopted a conceptual division between ‘high culture’ (‘alta cultura’) and ‘popular culture and performances’ (‘cultura popular e espectáculos’): while the former included a minimum number of public bodies responsible for official representation of the state for a minority audience, the latter encompassed initiatives of entertainment and

\begin{footnotes}
\item[191] See in this respect the article “A face violenta da descolonização vista por três escritores”, by Joana Emidio Marques. Available at http://observador.pt/2015/10/25/face-violenta-da-descolonizacao-vista-tres-escritores
\item[192] As Côrte-Real points out, the dictatorial constitutional policy (1933) imposed state coordination in the field of arts and sciences (2000: 15).
\end{footnotes}
political-ideological indoctrination which were aimed at the population in general (Nery 2010: 1019). The Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, in Porto (1934)\(^{193}\), and the Exposição do Mundo Português, in Belém/Lisbon (1940)\(^{194}\), exemplified the dictatorial cultural policy, as they essentialized artefacts of popular culture and identities of different regions of mainland Portugal and overseas (Cidra 2010: 777-8). Music and dance groups from Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique, as well as string ensembles consisting of some of the most recognized musicians of Cape Verde - led by Luís Rendall (1934) and B.Leza (1940), were used to display the colonial grandeur, cultural diversity and political authority to the metropolitan public (Cidra 2010: 193, 777-8). In addition, the Exposição do Mundo Português - intended to commemorate 8 centuries of Portuguese independence (1140) and 3 centuries of the restoration of independence of Portugal (1640)\(^{195}\) - also featured Brazilian and South American music through the Orquestra Argentina (Cidra et al. 2010: 175).

Between the 1940s and 1970s, specific population groups coming from the Portuguese overseas territories settled in Portugal, and Lisbon in particular. Some of these students, employees of the colonial administration, soldiers, maritime workers and athletes were particularly interested in representing their musical expressions of their place of origin (Cidra 2010: 777-8). For example, Cape Verdian musicians’ affinity with Portuguese expressive culture made musical and poetic genres of Cape Verde, particularly morna, easily ajustable to the Emissora Nacional project, in accordance to the colonial ideas of political unity and regional diversity (Cidra 2010: 193-4)\(^{196}\). In addition, as Castelo-Branco (2010: 423) points out, during this period various research projects of music and dance of communities in Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique were undertaken.

In the case of Brasil, that had been independent from Portugal since 1822, power relations were markedly different. The advent of radio broadcasts in the 1930s – such as

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\(^{193}\) Eduardo Lichuge (INET-md, Aveiro) is currently working on performative practices of this exhibition.

\(^{194}\) The garden of the Praça do Império became a symbol of the exhibition that celebrated the idea of a pluricontinental Portugal during the Estado Novo (Costa 2014: 575). Curiously, in 2014, the Lisbon Municipality, responsible for the space’s maintenance, decided to withdraw the floral compositions that reproduced the coat of arms of the former colonies, arguing that they were outdated. This decision was critiqued for affective reasons. Information retrieved from http://www.publico.pt/local/noticia/camara-de-lisboa-vai-acabar-com-brasoes-das-excolonias-do-jardim-da-praca-do-imperio-1667709

\(^{195}\) Fotographic material, including a Portuguese nau docked at the location, can be found at https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.1499339596958177.1073741838.14936277784196025&type=3

\(^{196}\) Cape Verde’s mixed population was considered as ‘assimilated’ by the colonial administration, officially denoting local cultural expressions as ‘folklore’ (Cidra 2010: 777-8).
Música Portuguesa e Brasileira, by Emissora Nacional (EN), or Portugal Brasil, by Rádio Clube Português – made Brazilian music reach a wider Portuguese audience, significantly contributing to its popularity (Cidra 2010: 777-8). Samba-canção, choro and baião were most commonly heard, while imported Brazilian recordings stimulated the growing practice of arrangements of Brazilian repertoire by Portuguese musicians and orchestras (Cidra et al. 2010: 175). Conversely, in the first half of the 20th century, fado’s popularity among significant Portuguese migrant communities in Brazil increased as well. In 1944, for example, fadista Amália Rodrigues performed for three ongoing months at Rio’s Copacabana Casino, returning to Brazil only a year later with Companhia de Revistas Amália Rodrigues (ibid.). From the late 1950s, then, the return movement of Portuguese from Brazil went hand in hand with an initially limited number of Brazilian emigrants, intensifying the presence of Brazilian musicians in Portugal - such as Sivuca, who participated in the first Portuguese recordings of the Angolan Duo Ouro Negro (ibid.: 173-5).

Ideologically, Portugal mobilized the expressive culture of its colonial territories to evidence the specificity of its colonial mission (Cidra 2010: 777-8). This was especially true after World War II, which forced the end of colonial policies of Europe’s leading nations. Portugal, however, discursively appropriated Freyre’s lusotropicalism to defend the country’s colonial configuration as a multiracial, -cultural and pluricontinental nation, developed through miscegenation rather than segregation or force (Beldman-Bianco 2001: 6-8, Paço 2008: np; Coutinho and Baptista 2014: 581). As is pointed out by Barros, the idea of a colonial community thus became to be metaphorically associated to language memory:

197 In this respect, Cidra et al. (2010: 175) argue that the export of Brazilian music (since the 1940s through the international music industry) stood in contrast with the small size of the Portuguese music market and the priorities of the record labels of investing in the local market.

198 Freyre’s book Aventura e Rotina (1954) refers to his visits to Guinea, Cape Verde, São Tomé, Angola, Mozambique and Goa in 1951-2. As Bastos (2015) points out, “ao fundo passam paisagens de geografia tropical e influência portuguesa: está para nascer o Luso-tropicalismo” (36, 40). As such, it puts Freyre’s view in larger perspective than just Brazil and allows for thinking about lusotropicalism, cultural miscegenation and lusofonia. I am grateful to Debora Baldelli for pointing me to this.
In the case of Cape Verde, this politico-ideological orientation translated itself musically through the appropriation of mornas and coladeiras. Cape Verdian musicians who had migrated to Lisbon were accepted as singers for the Emissora Nacional’s *Serões para Trabalhadores* and recorded a wide array of these genres, adapted to *música ligeira* and initially sung in Portuguese (Cidra 2010: 777-8).

In the 1960s, the increase of migrants from rural areas to Lisbon and Porto; the Portuguese emigration to non-lusophone countries\(^{199}\); the start of the Colonial War in Angola (1961), Guinea-Bissau (1963) and Mozambique (1964); the incipient tourism development; and the introduction of television (1957) all increased a sense of community among Portuguese populations (Castelo-Branco 2010a: 891). The Portuguese state started to explicitly stimulate cultural manifestations from colonial territories to politically defend its sovereignty there (Cidra 2010: 779). Thus, cultural entrepreneurs brought colonial musicians to Lisbon’s theaters, radio and television stations, and recording studios\(^{200}\). Their repertoire and composition was often controlled by the colonial administration, which categorized them as ‘overseas folklore’.

Cape Verdian musicians enjoyed most popularity. For example, in 1961, Amândio Cabral – a singer in the Emissora Nacional of Cape Verdian origin – was asked by the Ministério do Ultramar to perform for the Portuguese military in Angola.

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199 As is pointed out by Carvalho (1996: np), in the period between 1960 and 1972 about one and a half million Portuguese migrated to France, Germany, Switzerland, South Africa, Venezuela, Canada and the United States due to poor economic conditions. This motivated the construction of a Portuguese national image that included emigrants. Currently, these ‘Comunidades portuguesas’ constitute over four million people. Information retrieved from http://www.secomunidades.pt/web/guest/PostosConsulares

and Mozambique, and to represent the music of Portugal and its overseas provinces during a European tour (Cidra 2010: 194). In the same year, the Conjunto de Cabo Verde (featuring Luís Rendall) toured Portugal as a ‘folklore group’ (ibid.). And in 1965, the Lisbon-based entrepreneur Vasco Morgado brought the Concurso Yé-Yé to Lisbon, featuring musical ensembles of Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique that had won contests at home to represent their cultures in Lisbon (ibid.: 780).

Restrictions on freedom of expression, both in Lisbon and in the colonies, fed anticolonial movements in both places. In particular, residents from lusophone Africa (especially Angola) in Lisbon sought to unbind their expressive practices from colonial policies, articulating their anticolonial sensibilities through music (Cidra 2010: 773-4). Athletes Bonga and Rui Mingas, students Teta Lando and Waldemar Bastos, and soldier Vum Vum were notorious in venting their sentiments in this manner (ibid.: 387-391, 780-1). The eclectic repertoire and international acclaim of touring musicians Duo Ouro Negro (Raúl Indipwo and Milo Mahon) initially fit in well with the colonialist ideas of miscegenation that marked the rhetoric of peaceful equality and merger between colonizers and colonized. Nonetheless, the group was later labeled as an anticolonial agent that used its mobility and fusion features to question Africa’s place in the contemporary world.

From the end of the 1960s onwards, the shortage of skilled labor in some sectors of the Portuguese economy - caused by the colonial wars and economic emigration - generated a first wave of lusophone laborers from the PALOP, East Timor, Brazil, Goa and Gujarati. These migrants largely settled in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, performing their musics through community networks in discoteques, dance halls, associations, bars and restaurants (Cidra 2010: 781). Lusophone African musicians were especially involved in developing new genres and styles and stimulated phonographic production, connecting Portugal to other lusophone diasporic centers and countries of origin (ibid.: 784). At a time of imminent political upheavel, these performers fostered open dialogues with Portuguese musicians that saw traditional music as a key element in the (re)construction of música popular portuguesa (Cidra 2010: 788-9).

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201 Simultaneously, record labels, recording studios and factories (such as Valentim de Carvalho) were created in Angola and Mozambique. In addition, recordings made in Portugal during the 1950s and 60s were widespread in Cape Verde and its diaspora centers, contributing to the establishment of a popular repertoire of mornas, coladeiras and guitar solos (Cidra 2010: 194). One should not forget that these countries were Portugal then, making their denomination here anachronical in a sense.

202 According to Cidra (2010: 387), the band musically referenced to música ligeira, fado, MPB, music of the bakango area, Venezuelan and Cuban music, and urban musical practices of Angola’s ethnic groups.
Simultaneously, researcher-opponents Fernando Lopes-Graça and Michel Giocometti revigorated the musics of rural areas to negotiate the regime’s folklore model (Castelo-Branco 2010a: 426, 891). The links between canção popular and musical militancy developed in the canção de intervenção movement, comprising Portuguese singer-songwriters such as José Afonso, José Mário Branco, José Carlos Ary dos Santos, Sérgio Godinho, Fausto, Júlio Pereira, Rui Junior, Vitorino and Janita Salomé, among many others. Dissidents sympathized with the anticolonial cause of lusophone African musicians in Lisbon such as, a.o., Rui Mingas and Luís Cilia. Rui Mingas was one of the key instrumentalists of Angolan music performance on radio and television, in concert halls and on records, his song ‘Meninos do Huambo’ (1985) being one of the biggest hits after the Carnation Revolution (Cidra 2010: 781, 789). Luís Cilia (Côrte-Real 2010a: 223-4) was a Portuguese musician born in Angola and former university student in Lisbon. He edited his first álbum, Portugal-Angola: Chants de Lutte, during exile in Paris, where he worked from within the Portuguese migrant communities (Côrte-Real 2010a: 223-4). In general, Angolan musicians developed expressive representations of distinctive black identities, defending traditional cultural practices in the margins of colonial governance.

Meanwhile, Brazilian musicians, exempt from taking a colonial stance, increased their presence in Portugal through samba-canção and bossa nova, which according to Cidra et al., became the most representative genres in Portugal in the late 1960s (2010: 176). In addition, the military dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985) connected Brazilian musicians to the Portuguese musicians of the canção de intervenção movement. The production and reception of recordings, shows and other contexts gave way to many examples to illustrate memories of such situations, such as the show of Vinicius, Baden Powell and Marcia in Lisbon’s Teatro Villaret (recorded by RTP) in 1968 - the same year in which Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil were arrested in Rio de Janeiro - which revealed that, in addition to cultural and linguistic affinities, the two countries faced political contexts marked by a lack of freedom of expression (Cidra et al. 2010: 176). In 1970, Vinicius returned to perform with Chico Buarque, which, together with Gilberto Gil and Milton Nascimento, had become

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203 Some of these musicians had biographical links to African countries, such as José Afonso (Angola and Mozambique), Fausto (Angola) and, later on, João Afonso (Mozambique).

204 With the exception of emigrants in Brazil such as Francisco José (1960-70) and Roberto Leal (1960-80), Portuguese musicians had a tenuous disclosure in Brazil after 1965 (Cidra et al. 2010: 178).
notorious for his hidden social critique in “Cálice” in 1978. In addition, many of these Brazilian musicians also participated in regular Portuguese television broadcasts, thus influencing popular sentiments; these shows included *Discorama* (Elis Regina, Edu Lobo, Os Mutantes, Baden Powell, Gilberto Gil), *Zip-Zip* (Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso) and *Curto Circuito* (Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso and Gal Costa) (Cidra *et al.* 2010: 176).

Revolutionary Brasil, Portugal and the PALOP thus used música popular as a means of protest for freedom of expression. The Portuguese dictatorship and its colonial policies ended, but the linguistic, social and cultural affinities remained.

### 2.1.2. From the independencies to the implementation of CPLP

The Carnation Revolution especially stimulated the development of transnational networks vis-à-vis the PALOP (Cidra 2010: 782-3). Beside Cape Verdeans (numerically predominant because of their historical migration tradition related to droughts), citizens of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and East Timor (since 1976) mainly moved to the Lisbon Metropolitan Area because of unstable political contexts and civil wars. In addition, about half a million Portuguese settlers returned to Portugal, as did Goans residing in Mozambique (ibid.). This populational shift greatly impacted Portugal: the country that for centuries had projected itself as a nation of expansion, now received large immigrant populations (while emigration did not stop either). The rapid decolonization process created conservative attitudes towards the newcomers: although Portugal’s inclusive colonial rhetoric had acknowledged them before, they became a problem when they were formally considered as peers (Maciel 2010: 236). As Carvalhais points out, “suddenly, the more or less arrogant certainties of the colonial order gave way to the anxieties of a country that had to re-learn how to live with a

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205 Cállice means “chalice”, while cale-se means “shut up”. Through the use of the orthography of the second, the authors were able to get around the censorship imposed by Brazil’s and Portugal’s military rule. I am grateful to Luisiane Frota Ramalho for pointing this out.

206 Sofia Lopes (2012) has written her MA thesis about the role of Zip-Zip, music and television in the period before democracy in Portugal.

207 The Indonesian military invaded of East Timor in December 1975.

208 Carvalhais calculates that 61% of the retornados came from Angola and 33% from Mozambique, causing a 6% growth of the population, then estimated at nearly 10 million (2011: 10).

209 Indian citizens born in Goa, which was incorporated into India in 1961, were of Portuguese nationality, while their descendants had the option to obtain it (Cidra 2010: 783).
smaller version of itself” (2011: 9-10). These “fictions of a creole nation” gradually nurtured Portuguese national representations as “peaceful, non-racist, gentler colonialists, and of their culture as universal, hybrid, somehow Creole, enriched by centuries of colonial contact”, and in this sense “universalistic, humanistic and multiculturalistic”, even after the Carnation Revolution (Peralta 2011: 193). In this respect, Balibar and Wallerstein point out that “no nation, that is, no national state, has an ethnic basis, which means that nationalism cannot be defined as an ethnocentrism”; however, racism - patent in fantasies, discourses and behaviors, they argue - “maintains a necessary relation with nationalism and contributes to constituting it by producing the fictive ethnicity around which it is organized” (1991: 49).

Implementing the “3 d’s de 25 de abril” (democratize, develop, decolonize), the new Republican Constitution (1976) expressly provided access to cultural enjoyment and creativity for all (Côrte-Real 2010c: 73). This entailed the abolition of censorship; a public cultural sector; a político-ideological debate; and grassroots associativism (Nery 2010: 1022). In musical terms, the cançaõ de intervenção remained a valid tool for political and cultural intervention. Efforts were made to change the Portuguese music scene, by preserving and disseminating traditional musics of rural origin, innovating Lisbon’s fado, and modernizing urban musics (Côrte-Real 2010a: 220-1, 225-6, 228). Meanwhile, political discourses and practices promoting the idea of portugalidade - which had been instrumentalized during the dictatorship to control the populations in the overseas territories - created friction, especially with the growing PALOP resident populations in Lisbon. Their increasing presence centered a universe of musical practices from the PALOP in Lisbon. These expressive practices, based on common cultural backgrounds, were essential in giving meaning to fractal experiences of mobility and migration, often marked by positions of marginality and social exclusion (Cidra 2010: 786). Thus, music practices were fundamental in reconfiguring identity and memory representations, as well as cultural citizenship and political participation.

Paradoxically, the Portuguese phonographic industry showed little interest in the PALOP musicians which, in the absence of structures and financial means of production...
of popular music, fell back on their own initiative to make use of existing editing structures (Cidra 2010: 783-4)\textsuperscript{212}. In the 1970s and 80s, for example, Cape Verdian musician Bana played a key role in the international promotion of PALOP musics in Portugal. Bana created the first performative space and the first record company dedicated to this field in Portugal, named Monte Cara (Cidra 2010: 103-104)\textsuperscript{213}. He also restructured the group Voz de Cabo Verde to make records, bringing young Cape Verdian musicians - Paulino Vieira, Tito Paris, Toy Vieira and Vaiss - to Portugal to perform. The latter also were instrumentalists, arrangers and music producers in recordings of many PALOP musicians\textsuperscript{214}, and toured widely in African music venues in Portugal and in other diaspora centers (ibid.: 194-5, 783-4). While Dany Silva was the first to know popularity during democratic times, Paulino Vieira (who had arrived to Lisbon in 1973 to accompany Bana in a revamped Voz de Cabo Verde formation) participated in more than one hundred recordings of PALOP musicians (ibid.: 1331-2, 194-5, 784, 971), as musician or producer\textsuperscript{215}. Monte Cara’s migrant entrepreneurship was fundamental both for the development of PALOP music in Portugal and the foundation for a transnational music network that used Lisbon as a hub. Portuguese entrepreneurs interested in editing recordings of PALOP interpreters in Portugal, such as Armando Carrondo\textsuperscript{216} and Arnaldo Trindade\textsuperscript{217}, were rather exceptions.

Migrant musicians from Guinea-Bissau in Lisbon formed transnational linkages for music production, linking both countries as well as diaspora communities in France, Germany and the USA (Cidra 2010: 784-5), and contributing to the sedimentation of n’gumbé as national genre back home. For example, the legendary group Cobiana Djazz recorded an LP in the Valentim de Carvalho studios (1977) for the State Secretariat of Culture of Bissau, while the collective Super Mama Djombo represented its government at a number of international political and diplomatic events (ibid.).

\textsuperscript{212} Cultural policies of the new lusophone African nations - especially Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau - encouraged musicians to travel to Portugal for their recordings (Cidra (2010: 784).
\textsuperscript{213} Bana founded this restaurant-bar-discotéque in 1976 under the name Novo Mundo, later on renaming it Monte Cara and, at the end of the 20th century, Enclave (Cidra 2010: 194-5). Interestingly, in April 2012, UCCLA awarded Bana with the prize Voz da Lusofonia - Prémio Carreira Cabo Verde Música Awards. One year later, he died in Loures (Lisbon Metropolitan Area) in July 2013.
\textsuperscript{214} Initially focusing on Bana’s work, Monte Cara also launched recordings of Manuel de Novas, Luís Morais, Paulino Vieira, Luís Rendall, Frank Mimita, Celina Pereira, a.o. (Cidra 2010: 783).
\textsuperscript{215} Paulino Vieira participated in the records of Bana, Celina Pereira, Cesária Évora, Chico Serra, Dany Silva, Maria Alice, Otis, Titina, Tito Paris, and Vaiss, a.o. (Cidra 2010: 784).
\textsuperscript{216} Black Power (CV), Norberto Tavares (CV), Blyck di Tchuchi (CV), Tulipa Negra (CV), João Cirilo (CV), Luís Morais (CV), Voz de Cabo Verde (CV), Marino Silva (CV), Tito Paris (CV), África Negra (STP), N’Kassa Cobra (GB), Sabaminyamba (GB) (Cidra 2010: 784).
\textsuperscript{217} In 1976, Trindade’s label Orpheus produced Black Power’s Mornas e Coladeiras (Cidra 2010: 784).
With an ongoing civil war at home, Angolan musicians with links to Portugal used music as a means of societal critique and political action, much like the canção de intervenção. Bonga’s anticolonial involvement took him into exile in Holland (Rotterdam) and France (Paris) in 1972 where he met other lusophone African musicians involved in the liberation struggle of colonies, while in Lisbon Waldemar Bastos was arrested for the same motives (Cidra 2010: 781).

Brazil affirmed its influence in Portugal, which only had a minor Brazilian population until the 1990s, through carnival festivities and telenovelas, as well as samba and bossa nova (Cidra et al. 2010: 177). Bossa nova established links to the canção de intervenção given the similar political contexts of censorship, song festivals and social media in the two countries.\(^\text{218}\) The genre thus contributed to the renewal of música ligeira portuguesa, patent in the work of José Niza, Carlos do Carmo and José Cid, a.o.

During the 1980s, the demographic flows from lusophone Africa to Portugal augmented\(^\text{219}\), while the oil crisis made European countries rigid in their migration policies\(^\text{220}\). Preparing its entry into the European Economic Community in 1986, Portugal reconfigured itself as a European country, positioning itself as a bridge between Europe and its former colonies, by virtue of historical and cultural ties and as well as economic interests\(^\text{221}\). This coincided with restrictive policies vis-à-vis migrants from lusophone Africa (Beja Horta 2008: 235-36, Coutinho and Baptista 2014: 581-2).

Despite the continued lack of investment from Portuguese publishing companies, PALOP musicians in Portugal managed their activity autonomously albeit separatedly from other musical fields in the Portuguese market, thus reinforcing existing racial and cultural boundaries (Cidra 2010: 786). The most active Guinean group in Portugal was Guto Pires’ Issabary (ibid.: 784-5). Waldemar Bastos’s mix of semba, MPB, rhythm ‘n blues, merengue, rumba and fado earned him two recordings for EMI-Valentim de Carvalho in 1983 and 1989 (ibid.: 132-3). In 1987, Tito Paris formed his own band with a repertoire of coladeiras, mornas, jazz, Latin American music and MPB, receiving (inter)national recognition (ibid.: 784)\(^\text{222}\). In the late 1980’s, producers

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\(^{218}\) Chico Buarque even wrote *Tant* as a dedication to the Carnation Revolution (Cidra *et al.* 2010: 176-7).
\(^{219}\) In 1960, 67 % of the immigrant total came from European countries, while only 1,5 % from Africa. In 1981, 44 % of non-nationals were from Africa, of which 42 % from the PALOP (Carvalhais 2010: 11).
\(^{220}\) At this time, France and Germany returned thousands of Portuguese emigrants.
\(^{221}\) For this reason, the Prime Minister Mário Soares insisted on having the signing ceremony at the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos.
\(^{222}\) The presence of African musicians from outside Portugal also became stronger. Festa do Avante! featured Manu Dibango (Cameroon) in 1985, Mory Kanté (GB) in 1988, and Salif Keita (Mali), Ray Lema (Congo) and Kassav (Martinique and Guadaloupe) in 1989 (Félix 2010: 490).
Zé Orlando (Sons d’África) and José da Silva (Lusáfrica) dedicated themselves to editing musical productions of PALOP musicians (ibid.: 784). VC, Vidisco, Discossete, Mundo da Canção Flaviense and Sonovox also featured African musicians in their música ligeira catalogues, consumed by African residents in countries with Portuguese migrant communities (ibid.: 786).

This transnational rapprochement, between musicians of Portugal and the PALOP, also translated itself into local collaborations. For example, the Portuguese pop-rock group Heróis do Mar had Paulino Vieira as a group member and recorded with Waldemar Bastos and Issabary (ibid.: 789). Portuguese musicians Carlos Zel and Paulo de Carvalho musically approximated fado and morna, while the latter also interpreted Rui Mingas’ song *Meninos do Huambo* (1985) as a stylized fado (ibid.).

Telenovela songs’ diffusion created an increasing demand for concerts of Brazilian musicians in the 1980s, next to individual efforts (Cidra *et al.* 2010: 177). The Festa do Avante! represented dissident MPB musicians. The end of Brazil’s dictatorship in 1985 gave origin to migratory fluxes that arrived in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area between the late 1980s and mid-1990s. While this enriched the lusophone perspective in Portugal, it also intensified racist attitudes and cultural preconceptions.

In the late 1980s, Portugal saw a wave of music internationalization protagonised by Portuguese names such as Madredeus, Misia, Dulce Pontes and Rodrigo Leão, who joined PALOP musicians under the newly coined label of world music. Concurrently, the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses (CNCDP, 1986-2002) prepared, organized and

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223 For an interview with Zé Orlando on this period, see http://fortinho.blogs.sapo.pt/1499.html
224 The concert *Entre Mornas e Fados*, organized by Celina Pereira on 15 April 2010, with various participating musicians, is relevant in this respect. Available at http://www.rtp.pt/programa/tv/p26425
227 This wave of Brazilians was of labor migrants. Some generalized as active in prostitution or construction work, which facilitated the creation of stereotypes. Available at http://www.oi.acidi.gov.pt/docs/Col_Comunidades/1_ImigrBrasileira.pdf
228 Available at http://ipsilon.publico.pt/musica/texto.aspx?id=267415
229 As is pointed out by Cidra and Castelo-Branco (2010: 1349), world music is a term that was invented by record label representatives during a meeting in London in 1987 to classify and expedite the commercialization of diverse genres and musical styles, mostly from countries with a peripheral status in the international music industry.
coordinated the celebrations of the Portuguese discoveries of the 15th century, commissioning specific recordings from Portuguese musicians. In addition, the prestigious concert venue Centro Cultural de Belém (CCB) was constructed between 1988 and 1993, occupying the same space of the ‘Portugueses no Mundo’ pavilion during the 1940 Exposição do Mundo Português, facing the Praça do Império (referring to a Portuguese colonial empire image).

The 1990s brought a greater institutional interest for lusofonia soundscapes. The creation of the CPLP in Belém/Lisbon in 1996 roughly coincided with the concretization of Radio Difusão Portuguesa África (RDP África) in the same year and Radio Televisão Portuguesa África (RTP África) in 1998. This media channels were important steps in terms of valorization of lusophone African cultural expression in Lisbon, as both were specifically designed for the diaspora populations of the African Lusophone countries. In Lisbon, they triggered a ‘snowball’ effect, as a large number of lusophone African associative leaders and cultural entrepreneurs began to ask RDP África’s presence in their express cultural events (Maciel 2010: 220). This helped them to both affirm African presence in Lisbon and promote acceptance for the idea of Portugal as an intercultural country that participated in the construction of a lusophone community (ibid.). In other words, these sequential events framed Portugal within the lusophone world.

Migration fluxes from both PALOP and Brazil intensified during the 1990s. These populations gradually received preferential treatment by the Portuguese government, which had gotten politically committed to the construction of ‘special bonds’ with the Portuguese-speaking countries and their diasporas (Maciel 2010: 213-4). This entailed a High Commissioner for Migration (ACIME, later ACIDI, now

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230 I am grateful to Mariana Abrunheiro for an informal conversation on this topic in 2014.
232 RDP-RTP África’s transnational programing has implicitly promoted the idea of lusofonia, however leaving room for “aberturas [a] outras músicas, portuguesa, brasileira, antilhana, latino-americana”, more or less extending into the concept of world music. In fact, the musics that are best represented are from the PALOP (kizomba, kuduro, morna, funaná), but also música popular portuguesa and música ligeira. Besides broadcasts from Lisbon, music programs have also been transmitted from Cape Verde (Top Crioulo, Artes e Espécétculos) and Mozambique (Música d’Afrique, Massave). RDP-RTP África’s slogans are “Sempre lá” and “Vários mundos, uma só língua.”
233 Maciel (2010: 219) argues that these projects particularly attained the cultural elites of the participating countries. For populations of African descent in general, however, radio broadcasts constituted a daily channel of participation, which culminated in RDP’s Maio, Maio Mês da África em Lisboa.
ACM\textsuperscript{234} as well as broader citizen’s rights for citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries (ibid.: 211). In practice, however, racist attitudes continued to exist:

It was this very context that, in the early 1990s, gave rise to the hip hop movement in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. This movement provided young descendants of African immigrants in Portugal - as well as ‘white’ Portuguese sharing the same social class - with a means to contest their perceived racial exclusion and social marginalization (Cidra 2010: 619-22). Brazilian rappers such as Gabriel o Pensador, which performed in Lisbon in 1993, were instrumental not only in the transition of hip hop verses from English into Portuguese, but also in revealing parallels between the realities of poverty in urban areas in Portugal and Brazil (Cidra \textit{et al.} 2010: 179). In 1994, the movement’s most active rappers launched the compilation \textit{Rapública}\textsuperscript{235}, which pioneeringly brought together rap in Portuguese produced in the city’s margins\textsuperscript{236}. General D (M) and Boss AC (P-CV) protagonized the movement for its audience, representing diasporic identities and musical fusions\textsuperscript{237}: General D mixed Mozambican popular music genres like makwaela and marrabenta with Cape Verdian batuque and funaná and Caribbean and African-American rhythms to express a black identity, while Boss AC used popular musics from both Cape Verde and the PALOP, representing a Portuguese and creole identity through textual alternations between criolo and Portuguese (Cidra 2010: 622, 154-5, Pardue 2012). In 1998, the compilation \textit{Tejo Beat}\textsuperscript{238}, produced by Mário Caldato Jr. (Beastie Boys) and Mário Barreiros, took advantage of this rap movement, as did the Festa do Avante!, with the presentation of

\textsuperscript{234} See http://www.acm.gov.pt/inicio
\textsuperscript{235} 20 years later, roughly 100 youngsters presented their work during the event “20/40 – 20 Anos do Hip Hop em Portugal/40 anos do 25 de Abril” during Lisboa Mistura 2014. Available at http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com/projectos.php?cd_projecto=1
At the same time, a concert at Largo Intendente joined Portugal’s hiphop pioneers General D (M), Bambino (A), Boss AC (P-CV), Chullage (CV), Family (CV), Allen Halloween (GB), Janela (Kussundulola, A), Valete (STP, P), a.o. Information retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10154247101680475&set=a.115616595471.208192.602340474&type=1&theater
\textsuperscript{237} Available at http://www.publico.pt/general-d
\textsuperscript{238} This compilation featured Cool Hipnoise (P), Da Weasel (P), Primitive Reason (P), Boss AC (P-CV), Blasted Mechanism (P), and others. Available at http://www.discogs.com/Various-Tejo-Beat/release/1808558
General D, Boss AC, and Da Weasel, as well as many African musicians living in Portugal (Celina Pereira, Dany Silva, Paulino Vieira, Issabary, Tito Paris, and Waldemar Bastos, a.o.) (Félix 2010: 492).

Simultaneously, the growth of African music clubs was massive. These discoteques – resulting from Angolan, Portuguese and (to a lesser extent) Cape Verdean entrepreneurship – constituted popular social spaces directed to African students and workers, and Portuguese with biographic links or other to Africa (including the retornados) (Cidra 2010: 790). Their DJs played recorded music to promote dancing (zouk, soukouss, kizomba and kuduro (ibid.) Zouk was particularly successful, especially among the younger PALOP population of Lisbon, which did not identify with national genres (morna, coladeira, semba, a.o), as these were often associated with older generations and issues of cultural heritage. Similarly, kuduro, a musical and choreographic style created in Luanda during the 1990s, also gained in popularity.

Bars, restaurants, dance rooms and live music venues in Lisbon also lent their stages to residing PALOP musicians. As is pointed out by Cidra (2010: 788), the market expansion provoked by the world music circuit dictated a higher rotativity of musicians, who participated in various bands and recordings featuring various nationalities and musical backgrounds. Much like Bana’s Monte Cara in the 1970s and 80s, B.Leza (1995) focused on disseminating African national genres in a context of emerging political, commercial and artistic sensibility vis-à-vis African culture in Portugal. Like Monte Cara, it featured a fixed group of largely Cape Verdean singers (Dany Silva, Maria Alice, Nancy Vieira, Tito Paris, Paulino Vieira) and musicians (Toy Vieira, Zezé Barbosa and Vaiss), which performed dance genres such as morna, coladeira and funaná, also including MPB and reggae (ibid: 789-90, 196-7, 93). Like Expo’98, B.Leza pioneerlingly framed its concert programming within the idea of lusofonia, giving the stage to resident PALOP as well as Portuguese musicians, directed to a mixed European

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239 Cidra (2010: 790) points out that in 1995, there were close to 40 spaces complying with this profile in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Livia Jiménez Sedano is currently carrying out a postdoctoral research project on African clubs in Lisbon.

240 Zouk was born during the 1980s in the European centers of Capeverdian and Angolan immigration, given the social relationships with immigrants from the Antilles (especially due to the massive popularity of the Antillean group Kassav) (Cidra 2010: 790, Guilbault 1993).

241 In this sense, Buraka Som Sistema got acknowledged internationally for their mix of techno beats with zouk and kuduro. Available at http://www.buraka.tv

242 Over time, Lisbon-based music venues that featured live music from PALOP musicians included Enclave (former Monte Cara), Ritz Club, Lontra, Espaço Cabo Verde, Casa Mãe and O Espaço das Ilhas, a.o. (Cidra 2010: 197).
and African public\textsuperscript{243}. This enabled musical collaboration and fusions between African and Latin American genres, as well as fado, música ligeira, and pop-rock (ibid.)

At B.Leza, Tito Paris, Toy Vieira and Humberto Ramos replaced Paulino Vieira in producing and arranging recordings of PALOP musicians (ibid.). In general, however, the lack of editorial projects for African music on a national scale contributed to the fact that a large number of PALOP musicians residing in Portugal started to commercialize their music from other European countries. For example, Cesária Évora (CV), Bonga (A), Tito Paris (CV), Maria Alice (CV), Tcheka (CV), and Lura (CV-P) recorded with Lusáfrica (Paris); Mayra Andrade (Cuba-CV) with Sony Music France (Paris); Waldemar Bastos (A), Sara Tavares (CV-P), and Mariza (M-P) with World Connection (Amsterdam); and Celina Pereira with Piranha Music (Berlin) (Cidra 2010: 786). These musicians also integrated a growing international circuit of world music and jazz concerts and festivals (ibid.: 196, 784). Albeit only marginally represented in the media, promotional music journalism gradually recognized their cultural value. This stimulated a young, urban audience with alternative musical tastes, including world music (ibid.: 788)\textsuperscript{244}.

Gradually, cultural events based on the emerging concept of lusofonia promoted inclusive strategies for lusophone musicians. Specific projects advocated collaborations between Portuguese musicians - especially in the fields of jazz and música popular portuguesa - and PALOP musicians living in Portugal, for example Sons da Fala (1994)\textsuperscript{245} - a festival in Galicia (Spain)\textsuperscript{246} that featured 9 lusophone singers\textsuperscript{247} born in the PALOP and/or in Portugal - as well as Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia\textsuperscript{248} (1995), founded and directed by the jazz saxophone player Carlos Martins in Lisbon. These associative actors intensified lusophone musical dialogues, resulting in shared stage

\textsuperscript{243} After 1996, the following nationalities of musicians performed in B.Leza: Angolans (Bonga, Paulo Flores), Cape Verdeans (Aninha, Boy G Mendes, Ildo Lobo, Leonel Almeida, Simentera, Titina), Guineans (Issabary, Manecas Costa, Tabanka Djazz), Mozambicans (Costa Neto, Otis) and Portuguese (Jorge Palma, Rui Veloso, Ala dos Namorados, Carlos Zel) (Cidra 2010: 93–4).

\textsuperscript{244} Interesting in this respect is the blog Raízes e Antenas by Blitz journalist António Pires: http://raizesantenas.blogspot.pt

\textsuperscript{245} Available at http://www.pflores.com/sonsdafala/index.php

\textsuperscript{246} A border region in the northeast of Spain that is known for stimulating its linguistic ties and geographic proximity with Portugal. The region’s language, Galician, is very similar to Portuguese and the region has various musicians and cultural associations that are present in Lisbon.

\textsuperscript{247} These singers were Sérgio Godinho (P), Vitorino (P), Janita Salomé (P), Tito Paris (CV), Filipe Mukenga (A), André Cabaço (M), Guto Pires (GB), Juka (STP) and Madeira Júnior (B).

performances at a number of occasions, some of which invited for representative meanings.\(^{249}\)

In 1994, the 10 month celebration of Lisbon’s tenure as European Capital of Culture fostered a strategic intensification of the city’s cultural participation (Holton 2006, Ribeiro 2006, Lopes 2007, Portelinha 2009). The linking theme of the event was ‘Lisbon, a Meeting Point of Cultures’, aiming to transform Lisbon into a showcase of Portuguese culture.\(^{250}\) However, this event did not present the idea of *lusofonia*. Instead, as Holton (1998: 174-96) points out, it “represented a unique opportunity for reorienting Portugal's national identity, cultural image, and geopolitical position as a member state of the European Community.” In musical terms, fado received most leading attention,\(^{251}\) whereas resident PALOP or Brazilian musicians were largely ignored. Critics called the event ‘episodic’ (Nery 2010: 1025) and ‘disorganized’ (Martins, in Vanspauwen 2010: 50-1).

Meanwhile, researchers such as Tinhorão (1994) maintained their concerns regarding fado’s historical links to Afro-Brazil, arguing that the genre was initially performed by Lisbon’s lower classes and African populations, only to be appropriated by the bourgeois classes in the early 20\(^{th}\) century as a product of urban leisure and national song (Félix 2010: 1265-6). Others studied and documented how cultural policies of the *Estado Novo* instrumentalized fado as a musical category for nationalistic identity building efforts, thus purposely limiting Portuguese society to the thus recognized cultural configurations (Carvalho 1996: np; Côrte-Real 2001, 2002, 2011: 74, 2013: 6-7). With the advent of democracy and increasing lusophone presence in Portugal, fado was recognized as a product of hybridization (Laplantine 2000, Nery 2004, Pais 2012), even within the conservative environment of the large Portuguese

\(^{249}\) Guto Pires’ (former Issabary member) trajectory is worth mentioning in this respect. This Guinean musician, with influences from Angola, Cape Verde and Brazil, represented Guinea-Bissau at Lisboa’94, at the formalization concert of the CPLP in Lisbon in 1995, and at Expo’98. He also partook in *Sons da Fala* and *Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia* as a singer-songwriter (Cidra 2010: 1012-3). Despite these official performances, Pires has given highly critical comments regarding Portugal’s bias towards African musics: “Portugal exige automaticamente que a música seja daquela corrente de branqueamento musical. Tem que passar por fado[.] Um africano tem que branquear a sua música para poder passar por aqui.” (Vanspauwen 2012: 80).

\(^{250}\) Available at http://ecoc-doc-athens.eu/lisbon-home.html

\(^{251}\) Joaquim Pais de Brito, Salwa Castelo-Branco, António Firmino Costa and Ruben de Carvalho formed the *Projecto Fado* with the broad objective of “dignifying” fado through scientific study. This resulted in the exhibit *Fado: Vozes e Sombras* at the Museu Nacional de Etnologia, as well as CD compilations and the reprinting of several historic books on fado (Holton 2006: 13).

\(^{252}\) As Costa Neto points out in an interview: “Sabes quantos artistas de países lusófonos africanos participaram que eu saiba? Nenhum. Entretanto, fui assistir a um espectáculo de um colectivo de cento e tal artistas sul-africanos” (Vanspauwen 2010: 65).
migrant communities around New York City (Côrte-Real 1991). It was in this ambit that new fado voices gained protagonism in the international world music circuit between the late 1990s and the 2000s. Festa do Avante! increasingly gave the stage to fadistas such as Carlos do Carmo, Maria Amélia Proença, Beatriz da Conceição, António Rocha, Camané, Mafalda Arnauth, Mísia, Ana Sofia Varela, Katia Guerreiro and Mariza (Félix 2010: 492). The Museu do Fado was inaugurated in September 1998 in Lisbon’s Alfama district, an old neighborhood with increasing tourist appeal.

Finally, in many rural areas in Portugal, traditional expressive practices were patrimonialized, reversing their marginalized representations of locality into potential sources of symbolic capital and tourism (Castelo-Branco 2010a: 878 and 894). The música popular label started to include rural and urban repertoires from within Portugal as well as from lusophone territories (ibid.: 875-95). Some of these musical expressions were integrated into the European folk movement and the world music market, which heavily reconfigured their identity, and sometimes connoted them to the concept of lusofonia (ibid.: 878, Castelo-Branco and Cidra 2010: 1349).

2.1.3. The 21st century: a new beginning?

The 1998 Lisbon World Exposition, the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução (2006) as well as various other national, municipal and international actions at the turn of the millennium further enabled musical projections of lusofonia in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Below, I deal with each action segment seperately.

2.1.3.1. The 1998 Lisbon World Exposition

Portugal fez do mar a via para se encontrar consigo, com os outros, com o Mundo. Tem, por isso, muita honra e muita alegria em acolher este grande acontecimento cultural, científico e humano, de dimensão planetária, que recebe o seu sentido do fundo dos tempos e o projecta no futuro (President Jorge Sampaio’s opening speech at Expo’98).

254 Available at http://www.museudofado.pt
255 The term música popular refers to expressive practices such as music of rural origin, urban song (including fado, especially after World War II) and canção de intervenção (Castelo-Branco 2010a: 876).
Two years after the foundation of CPLP in Lisbon in 1996, the Portuguese capital hosted the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition\textsuperscript{256}, represented by an oceanlike flag that can be found in annex 10, fig. 3. Expo’98 was pioneering in staging collaborations between musicians from Portugal and all other Portuguese-speaking countries, reunifying diaspora communities and performers from their country of origin. These concerts represented Lisbon as a multicultural city with international links, framed through the concept of *lusofonia* (Santos 1999: 92-4, 112-3, Cidra 2010: 789). Expo’98 reserved a special place for the concept of *lusofonia* through its musical programming and linking theme ‘The Oceans, a Heritage for the Future’, discursively alluding to Portugal’s maritime expansion as well as to the cultural contacts that arose in Africa, Asia and the Americas (Cidra 2010: 179), and treating it as a singular aspect of the internationalization of Portuguese culture (Santos 1999: 132-3). Effectively, all countries pertaining to the lusophone space - as well as the CPLP - were present, with a proper musical programming. Critical observers such as Sieber, however, pointed out that amidst all the “seeming representation of multicultural, international, including lusophone, cultural expression in the Lisbon festivities,” Portuguese culture itself was “implicitly presented as homogenous, traditional, fairly static, fundamentally European, and white” (2002: 167).

In contrast to previous projects evoking the notion of *lusofonia* (such as the projects Sons da Fala and Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia) that had featured little Brazilian participation, Brazil was the Portuguese-speaking country that was musically best represented at Expo’98. Curiously, it mainly featured concerts of Brazilian musicians popular in Portugal, but not resident Brazilian migrant musicians. Alternatively, the event did involve PALOP migrant musicians of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area as well as Portuguese musicians. This was illustrated through the special project *Sem Legendas*, which challenged four internationally renowned musicians to collaborate with lusophone musicians. Caetano Veloso (B) sang together with Paulinho Vieira (CV) and Pedro Abrunhosa (P); Sadao Watanabe (Japan) performed with Toquinho (B), Ala dos Namorados (P) and N’Goma Makamba); Cesária Evora (CV) took the stage with Marisa Monte (B), Dulce Pontes (P) and Finka Pé (CV); and David Byrne (USA) collaborated with Balanescu Quartet (Romenia), Tom Zé (B) and Waldemar Bastos (A).

\textsuperscript{256} Expo'98 was held from May 22, 1998 to September 30, 1998. It received around 11 million visitors in 132 days. It represented 155 countries and organizations. Information retrieved from http://www.facebook.com/pages/1998-Lisbon-World-Exposition/116314238381388
Other PALOP musicians such as Lura (CV-P), Bonga (A), Filipe Mukenga (A), Netos do N’Gumbé (GB), General D (M), Simentera (CV), Portuguese musicians (António Chainho, Mísia, Madredeus, Né Ladeiras) and Brazilian musicians (Maria Bethânia, Chico César) also performed together (Santos 1999: 92-4, Cidra 2010: 178). At Expo’98, a total of 170 sessions were organized by all 8 CPLP countries as well as CPLP itself (Brazil had 60 sessions, Angola 23, Mozambique 21, East Timor 19, Cape Verde 18, Macau 10, São Tomé and Príncipe 9, CPLP 5, and Guinea-Bissau 5). The relative weight of these initiatives in the total of performances was between 14% and 17%, varying according to categorization criteria (Santos 1999: 132). Through all these music performances, Expo’98 explicitly promoted the idea of *lusofonia*, metaphorically converting Lisbon’s historical role as colonial metropolis into a postcolonial haven of lusophone culture.

The anthology *A viagem dos sons* (1998), compiled by Susana Sardo and José Moças and commissioned by the Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses (CNCDP), featured ethnographic recordings from different parts of the lusophone world (Castelo-Branco 2010a: 429). In the same year, the CNCDP also commissioned Maria João and Mário Laginha to embark on a journey through India and Africa, which resulted in the recording *Cor*257, whereas in 2000, their album *Chorinho Feliz*258 marked the 500th anniversary of the ‘discovery’ of Brazil. Furthermore, the music compilation *Onda Sonora: Red Hot + Lisbon* (1999), under the curatorship of David Byrne, was a breakthrough for PALOP musics on the world music market (Cidra 2010: 179).

Expo’98 publicly valued the existence of a music production domain linking Portugal, Brasil, the PALOP and their diasporas, framing itself explicitly through *lusofonia*, and taking advantage of the overall growth of the music industry. Indeed, many genres and musical styles developed in Portugal were marketed abroad under the label of world music, with special highlights for fado, morna, coladeira and semba by performers such as Madredeus, Dulce Pontes, António Chainho or Waldemar Bastos (Cidra and Castelo-Branco 2010a: 1349)259.

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257 Available at https://sites.google.com/site/jazz6por4/mario-laginha
258 Acknowledged Brazilian musicians such as Gilberto Gil, Lenine, Toninho Horta, Toninho Ferragutti and Nico Assumpção participated in this effort. Information retrieved from http://mariajoao.org/music/project?chorinho-feliz
259 From the mid 1990s onwards, there was a pulverization of protagonists associated with fado (Mariza, Cristina Branco, Ana Moura, Mafalda Arnauth), urban musics (Buraka Som Sistema, J-Wow), and musicians with roots in lusophone Africa (Sara Tavares, Lura, Nancy Vieira), with an annual average of
Most observers agree that Expo’98 has been important in changing artistic and cultural perceptions in and about Lisbon and Portugal. Its effects can be summarized as the densification and innovation of (inter)cultural production and consumption: “[a] Expo’98 surgiu como ocasião incomum para o cruzamento entre formas culturais, ou entre generos artísticos, e também entre hábitos e práticas culturais” (Santos 1999: 81, 112-3). Expo’98 also turned itself into a social phenomenon, concentrating the people that (actively or passively) participated in it. Its organization served as an important instrument for external promotion, stimulating political and diplomatic relations and suggesting cultural understandings of lusofonia (ibid: 191-2).

Following Expo’98, other intercultural music festivals with a specific focus on lusofonia have increasingly -and quite simultaneously- taken place in Portugal and beyond Portugal’s borders, both in Portuguese-speaking countries and elsewhere. Regarding the former, specific events in Brazil (Nossa Língua, Nossa Música260 in Brasília in 2010; Back2Black 2012261 in Rio de Janeiro; Terra do Rap 2013, 2014 and 2015 in Rio de Janeiro262, Margens dos Mares263 in São Paulo in 2015), Cape Verde (Festival Internacional de Música da Praia da Gamboa264 in Praia in 2009; Festival da Baía das Gatas265 in Praia in 2012) and Angola (Festival Internacional de Hip Hop da Lusofonia266 in Luanda in 2011), a.o. should be mentioned. Regarding the latter, similar encounters in Spain (Cantos na Maré. Festival Internacional da Lusofonia267 since 2003; Estou Lá268 in 2012), Germany (Festival Berlinda 2012269; Luso-tronics 2013270, Wassermuzik 2014271), France (VA - Rio Loco 2012272), the UK (City Festival of 500 concerts of Portugal-based musicians abroad (Belanciano 2010). Available at http://ipsilon.publico.pt/musica/texto.aspx?id=267415

260 Available at http://www.hojelusofonia.com/nossa-lingua-nossa-musica-2
261 Available at http://www.back2blackfestival.com.br/programacao
263 Available at http://www.sescsp.org.br/programacao/60689_AS+MARGENS+DOS+MARES#content=programacao
264 Available at http://palcoprinicial.sapo.pt/tags/festival_internacional_de_musica_da_praia_da_gamboa
265 Available at http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao/17/35/musico_bonga_divide_palco_com_tito_paris_e_sara_tavares
266 Available at https://pt-pt.facebook.com/festivalinternacionalhiphopclp
267 Available at https://www.facebook.com/cantosnamare
268 Available at http://aviagemdosargonautas.net/2012/10/17/estou-la-concerto-musical-lusofono-galiza
270 Available at http://lusotronics.com/about/music
272 Available at http://www.rio-loco.org/dans_la_ville_musique.html
London in 2010; Back2Black 2012 in London; and China (Festival da Lusofonia in Macau, since 1998) are noteworthy. In 2014, the I Festival da Lusofonia was organized in Oslo (Norway) in June; the I Festival de Sons da Lusofonia (not related to the association directed by Carlos Martins) was held in Funchal (Madeira) in the ambit of the I Semana Cultural das CPLP Multilingual Schools, in September; and the Festival Internacional de Música Lusófona, conceived for the celebration of 800 years of the Portuguese Language by composer Filipe Larsen (P), in 20 countries (including Portugal, Spain, France, Luxemburg, Germany, Brazil, Cape Verde, India, Australia and East Timor), in December. Finally, in 2015, the I Lusophone Festival Goa was organized in February and March; the II Festival da Lusofonia in Oslo, in May; the XVI Raízes do Atlântico in Funchal, in July; and the Lusophone Festival by the World Music Institute in New York City, in September. For a detailed

**Available at** http://festivalmusidancas.blogs.sapo.pt/3182.html

**Available at** http://www.back2blackfestival.com.br/programacao


Performing musicians: Jay (CV), Ary Morais (CV), Trio Brasil (B), Gino Mendes (M), Ana Lúcia (P) and DJ Ji (A). Information retrieved from http://asemana.sapo.cv/spip.php?article100577


Performing musicians included Selma Uamusse (M), Guto Pires (GB), Melo D (A), Maria Alice (CV), Maria de Medeiros (P), Dama Bete (M, P) and Rão Kyão (P).

Larsen performed with Mariza, Ana Moura, Rui Veloso, Sérgio Godinho, Jorge Palma and others. He composed music for various pavilions of Expo’98.

The festival was co-organized by the Clube Lions da Lusofonia, Cape Verde Global Business and Associação de Amizade Matosinhos – Mansão de Portugal. Available at https://www.facebook.com/Festival.6.Continentes.O.Festival


Performing musicians: Bruna Santana (B), Celio de Carvalho (B), Ivan Mazuze (M), Cláudia Madur (P), Jacqueline Fortes (CV). Information retrieved from http://www.portaldofado.net/content/view/3538/67/

Performing musicians: Xarabanda (Madeira), Vitorino (P), C’Azoa (Madeira), Nancy Vieira (GB-CV), Raspa de Tacho (B), Aline Frazão (A, Spain)

The objective of this festival is musical mixture: “Os sons da lusofonia regressam ao auditório do Jardim Municipal do Funchal para três dias de grandes concertos onde se cruzam a música tradicional madeirense, a música portuguesa com um cheirinho a Alentejo, o ritmo contagiante das mornas e coladeras de Cabo Verde, a música da nova geração angolana e o som quente do chorinho brasileiro, num programa que atrairá, uma vez mais, um grande número de público.” Information retrieved from http://www.raizesdoatlantico.com/site/raizesdoatlantico/press_detalhe.asp?id=23

Performing musicians: Os Mutantes (B), Lula Pena (P), Fanchta (CV), Ana Carolina (B), Isabel Novela (M), and Ricardo Lemvo & Makina Loca (A). Information retrieved from http://jornalfl8.net/2015/musica-lusofoana-em-nova-iorque and http://www.voaportugues.com/content/festival-da-lusofonia-uma-oportunidade-para-a-interaccao/2936493.html#hash=relatedInfoContainer
geographic location map of festivals inspired by the notion of *lusofonia* in the time stretch 1998-2015, I refer to map 1 in annex 12.

It is interesting to see how these festivals, focusing on different types and genres of lusophone musics, give a stage especially to ‘lusophone’ musicians (that reside in Lisbon) to represent their countries. For example, *Nossa Língua, Nossa Música* mixed Brazil’s regional diversity with traditional musics of the lusophone expressive space (please see its billboard under annex 10, fig. 4). Brazilian musicians collaborated on stage with Lisbon musicians such as Joana Amendoeira (P), Nancy Vieira (GB-CV), José Amaral (T), Tonecas (STP), Enedia Marta (CV), Rosa Madeira (Ilha da Madeira) and Yami (A)\[^{285}\]. In the same sense, *Back2Black* 2012 featured Martinho da Vila (B) singing together with Manecas Costa (A) and Tito Paris (CV); *Festival Internacional de Música da Praia da Gamboa* had Boss AC (CV-P), Jay (CV), Lura (CV-P) and Tito Paris (CV); *Festival da Baía das Gatas* invited Bonga (A), Nancy Vieira, Tito Paris and Sara Tavares (CV-P) on stage. Bonga also headlined *VA - Rio Loco* in Toulouse (of which the Cármen Miranda like billboard can be found annex 10, fig. 5) while Tonecas, Manecas Costa and Lindu Mona (A-P, P) represented Musidanças at the *City Festival of London*. *Margens do Mares* explicitly aimed at constructing lusophone soundscapes: in a first concert, entitled ‘Portugal’, Ana Bacalhau (P) and Sara Tavares (CV-P) took the stage with Ivan Lins (B), Paulinho da Costa (B) and Manecas Costa (GB); in a second gig, ‘Africa’, Manecas Costa, Mayra Andrade (Cuba-CV) and Stewart Sukuma (M) played with Céu (Brasil), Sara Tavares e Paulinho da Costa; and in a third encounter, ‘Brasil’, Céu, Ivan Lins, Paulinho da Costa, Manecas Costa, Ana Bacalhau, Stewart Sukuma, Mayra Andrade and Sara Tavares performed together\[^{286}\]. A number of these musicians has also played at events organized by governamental institutions linked to the idea of *lusofonia* as well as at promotional events of Luso-Brazilian chambers of commerce.

Besides projecting traditional musical genres linked to specific nations, *lusofonia* has also been represented in festivals through hip hop. For example, the *Festival Internacional de Hip Hop da Lusofonia* in 2011 joined Racionais MCs (B),

\[^{285}\] Maria Dapaz (Pernambuco) sang together with Joana Amendoeira and Nancy Vieira; Consuelo de Paula (Minas Gerais) performed with José Amaral and Rosa Madeira, índio Cachoeira and Ricardo Vignini (São Paulo) collaborated with Tonecas and Cheny Wa Gune; and Fabiana Cozza (São Paulo) took the stage with Enedia Marta and Yami.

\[^{286}\] Information retrieved from http://www.sescsp.org.br/programacao/60689_AS+MARGENS+DOS+MARES#/content=programacao
Gabriel o Pensador (B), Bob da Rage Sense (A; residing in Lisbon), Dama do Bling (M) and Boss AC (CV-P). In 2013, the *Workshop Internacional de Hip-Hop da CPLP* was organized in Luanda, under the slogan “A arte e responsabilidade social” (see annex 10, fig. 6 for its DJ-like logo). *Terra do Rap. Festival de Rap Lusófono*, suggestively linking Lisbon and Rio with a microphone (see annex 10, fig. 7), in 2014 featured Eva Rapdiva (A), Kid MC (A), De Leve (B), Don-L(B), Funkero (B), Dj Nino Leal (B), Rodrigo Ogi (B), Vinicius Terra (B; has resided in Lisbon), Capicua (P), Mundo Segundo (P), Sam the Kid (P) and Sr. Alfaiate (P). The second edition of the *Festival Internacional de Hip Hop da CPLP*, in October 2015 in MEO Arena Lisboa (the former Pavilhão Atlântico on the Expo'98 site), pioneeringly featured one hip hop musician from Equatorial Guinea. This event featured musicians and flags on its announcement, promoting “paz e diversidade cultural” (see annex 10, fig. 8).

In this field, music celebrations and festivals are promoted both by institutional and grassroots movements that draw from the same human-artistic potential. These have converged in music initiatives that officially celebrate political moments of historical union (such as the 40 years of the Revolution of 25 April 1974 in 2014 and those of the independences of the lusophone African countries in 2015). This is exemplified by the events 20/40 – 20 Anos do Hip Hop em Portugal/40 anos do 25 de Abril, at the Castelo de São Jorge in June 2014; Concerto da Lusofonia; 40 anos da independência dos países de língua portuguesa, at the Jardim da Assembleia da República in April 2015; the *Festival da lusofonia em Lisboa*, throughout Lisbon in May 2015; Rádio AfroLis’s participation in the festival Rotas e Rituais, also in May 2015; the Agrupamento CPLP during Festas de Lisboa’s Marchas Populares, at Avenida da Liberdade in June 2015; the *Concerto Liberdade Já*, at Galeria Zé du Bois in August

### References

287 Available at https://www.facebook.com/festivalinternacionalhiphopcplp
288 Performing musicians: Gabriel o Pensador (B), Fernandinho Beat Box (B), Boss AC (P-CV), Jimmy P (P), Delema (P), W-Magic (P), DJ Ride (P), Puro L (P), Valete (STP, P), Army Squad (A), Bob da Rage Sense (A), God G (A), Verbo (A), DJ Wal Gee (A), Chullage (CV), Allen Halloween (GB), General D (M), Iveth Mc (M), Rage (M), Z Low DZ (T), and Adjouguien (Equatorial Guinea). Information retrieved from http://festhip-hopcplp.com/festival-hip-hop-cplp
289 Sara Tavares (CV-P), Lura (CV-P), Karyna Gomes (GB), Projecto Kaya (P, A), Selma Uamusse (M), Tonecas (STP)
290 The latter pioneeringly featured music and expressive culture by the following groups and individuals that reside in Portugal: Bei Gua (T), Grupo Cultural da Associação de Estudantes (STP), Casa do Povo de Corroios / Rancho Foliclórico e Grupo de Cavaquinhos (P), Xipane Pane (M), Grupo Cultural (Equatorial Guinea), Mandjuangadi di Djumbai (GB), Moinho da Juventude / Kola San Jon (CV), Escola de Samba Trepa no Coqueiro (B), and Kilandukilu (A). The theme for the Marchas in 2015 was the 500th anniversary of Torre de Belém. Information retrieved from http://www.festasdelisboa.com/events/event/desfile
2015\textsuperscript{291}; the joint performance of Bonga (A) and MCK (A) in Musicbox\textsuperscript{292} and the solidarity concert for refugees (from subsaharan Africa and Syria to Europe) in Teatro São Luiz\textsuperscript{293}, both in September 2015; Costa Neto’s concert in B.Leza for peace in Mozambique, in October 2015\textsuperscript{294}; the \textit{Concerto pela Justiça e a Liberdade de todos os presos políticos em Angola}, in Jardim da Amnistia Internacional in Campolide, in November 2015\textsuperscript{295}, and \textit{25 anos SOS Racismo} at Crew Hassan in December 2015\textsuperscript{296}. These festive encounters can be explained as a (prescription of) constructive interaction and approximation (interculturalism), but they may also be seen as result of existing processes, similar to Homi Bhabha’s (2005 [1994]) signaled tension between the pedagogical and the performative. In this sense, lusophone musics exponents seem to perform frequently alongside canção de intervenção exponents, not necessarily in terms of lyrics or genre, but in terms of collective motivation. In this sense, musical \textit{lusofonia} can be understood as social critique\textsuperscript{297}. Interestingly, there is an additional congruence between lusophone musicians in Lisbon as peace platform versus situations of conflict in the lusophone world, resulting in a new type of canção de intervenção, based not specifically on lyrics or genre but on language union, precisely through the idea of \textit{lusofonia}.

\textsuperscript{291} This event was organized in solidarity with political prisoners in Angola, among which figure Luaty Beirão, featuring music performances in both Lisbon and Luanda on the same day. In Lisbon, musicians included Aline Frazão (A, Spain), Dino d’Santiago (CV), Kalaf (A), Maio Coopé (GB), and Selma Uamusse (M), a.o. Information retrieved from http://www.buala.org/pt/da-fala/concerto-liberdade-ja-freedom-now-lisboa

\textsuperscript{292} Like \textit{Concerto Liberdade Já}, this event was also organized in solidarity with political prisoners in Angola. Valete (STP, P) and Aline Frazão (A, Spain) also participated in this show. Information retrieved from http://www.musicboxlisboa.com/mck-bonga

\textsuperscript{293} Sara Tavares (CV-P); Carlão (P, CV); Jorge Palma (P); Sérgio Godinho (P); Cristina Branco (P); Rita Redshoes (P); Camané (P); Carlos Mendes (P). Information retrieved from http://www.tvi24.iol.pt/musica/sergio-godinho/concerto-solidario-pelos-refugiados-junta-musicos-portugueses

\textsuperscript{294} Co-performers Bonga (A), Otis (M), Amélia Muge (M-P), José Barros (P), Ammy Injai (GB), João Afonso (M-P), Tonecas Prazeres (STP). Information retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10153549170910772&set=a.58885810771.65250.533805771&type=3&theater

\textsuperscript{295} Ana Bacalhau (P), Ana Deus (P), Ana Moura (P), Batida (A, P), Bob da Rage Sense (A), Couple Coffee (P, GB-B, B), D’Alva (A-P, B-P), Dino d’Santiago (CV), Eneida Marta (GB), Francisco Fanhais (P), Freddy Locks (P), Gospel Collective (M, GB, CV, A, STP, P and Belgium), Joana Alegre (P), Karyna Gomes (GB), Luis Varatojo, (P) Luiza Sobral (P), Luiz Caracol (P, son of \textit{returnados} of A), Márcia (P), Milton Gulli (M), NBC (P, STP), Octapush with Cátia Sá (P), Samuel Uriá (P), Sara Tavares (CV-P), Selma Uamusse (M), Sérgio Godinho (P), Sir Scratch (A), Terrakota (Italia, P, A), Vicente Palma (P), Tô Trips (Dead Combo) (P), Rita Redshoes (P). Information retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/events/1655583251357208/

\textsuperscript{296} Performing musicians included Karina Gomes (GB), João Afonso (M-P), Maria Viana (P), Pedro Branco (P), Selma Uamusse (M), Tiago Gomes (P), Tropicástica (?), Valete (STP, P), a.o. https://www.facebook.com/516243838405051/photos/gm.1007923815920124/1175525099143585/?type =3&theater

\textsuperscript{297} This reflection arose during the GOs1415 final session, July 2015.
Finally, another lusophone movement can be traced in recent fado festivals outside of Portugal. I contend that, although these events not explicitly refer to lusofonia through the participation of musicians, they do feature musicians that have collaborated with lusophone musicians that reside in Lisbon. This is exemplified by the festival Folisboa, on June 26-28, 2015 in Paris, bringing to the stage Portuguese fadistas such as Mariza, Carlos do Carmo, Ana Moura, Camané and Carminho, next to composer Rodrigo Leão (Madredeus, Sétima Legião), and with a special day reserved for Lenine (B), Bonga (A), Lura (CV-P) and Riviere Noire (B-Mali-France), to promote “lusophone musics” 298. It is also illustrated by the Festival do Fado, which in 2013 took Mariza, António Zambujo and Cuca Rosetta to Brazil, followed by Amália Hoje, Carminho, Raquel Tavares and Camané in 2014, and Carlos do Carmo, Raquel Tavares, Cuca Rosetta and Mísia in 2015. The Concurso do Fado during the Semana da Cultura Indo-Portuguesa in Goa (featuring concerts of Cuca Rosetta and with involvement of Marco Rodrigues) 299 and the popularity of fado among Portuguese communities of the East Coast of the United States of America 300 are phenomena that further stimulate this reflection.

These different lusophone music collaborations can be seen to some extent as a continued promotion of lusophone culture-language unity as first politically vented at Expo’98, not necessarily corresponding to the social realities that feed musicians into them.

298 Available at http://www.folisboa.com
2.1.3.2. The documentary *Lusofonia, a (R)evolução (2006)*

Catch a glimpse of the sound of today’s Portuguese-speaking world: musical moods & memories stretching from Brazil to Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, and beyond. From Creole Hip Hop to samples of Angola’s bangin’ Kuduro or Portugal’s Fado folk music on 4/4, Jazz-based grooves.

The discographic industry and its accompanying cultural policies were criticized by *Lusofonia, a (R)evolução*\(^3\), a documentary made in 2006 by the Portuguese delegation of the Red Bull Music Academy (RBMA)\(^4\), a non-commercial initiative that has been active since 1998. For two weeks each year, it travels to a different city to unite 60 musicians, DJs and producers. The platform aims at getting “a rare glimpse into local musical hybrids in a different country” (ibid.). With a similar rhetoric to that of Expo’98, this project voiced the concern of some Lisbon musicians, producers and DJs for a more supportive framework, both from institutional and mercantile perspectives. In my analysis, the idea of *lusofonia* is sonically present in the documentary, reconstructing a cultural narrative that suggests that lusophone sounds have evolved but still belong together. On the look for what makes Portugal unique in musical terms, the Portuguese delegation of RBMA, then composed by scriptwriters Artur Soares da Silva and Joâo Xavier and executive producer Mariana Moore Matos, used the slogan “Brazil-Afro-Portuguese-Sound. The revolution!” (as can be seen on fig. 9 in annex 10) to focus on the musical connections of Lisbon as a former colonial and now postcolonial metropolis. RBMA set out to reconnect the musical and cultural threads that have resulted from the Portuguese expansion since the 15\(^{th}\) century, aiming to represent the “blending between original musical elements from Portugal, Brazil and the Portuguese-speaking African countries […] and their inclusion in contemporary urban music genres”\(^5\).

The production of this auto-denominated “calling card for lusophone musical identity” took 10 months, and featured numerous interviews with musicians, music

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301 Available at http://www.redbullmusicacademy.com/video-archive/documentaries

302 Also served as the motto for my Master’s thesis, in which I linked the idea of revolution for the concept of *lusofonia* in music to that of evolution of lusophone musics. This idea has constituted the baseline of my research project since the Summer of 2008, when I first came across the documentary’s website.

303 Available at http://www.redbullmusicacademy.com/academy-info/what-is-the-academy

304 Available at http://www.redbullportugal.com/lusofoniaarevolucao/Press_kit_UK-web.pdf
publishers, journalists and critics

The documentary was temporarily available in a promotional DVD+CD pack edition, without being commercialized. Financial support was obtained from institutional partners such as RTP, Instituto Camões, CPLP and the Municipality of Lisbon. The documentary premiered during the 4th DocLisboa at Culturgest in Lisbon on October 26, 2006. After the screening, resident musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries performed at B.Leza. This event served as a fundraiser for cultural association Khapaz, promoting the music skills of young Afro-descendants in Lisbon. After a free public screening at the FNAC auditoria of Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra throughout November 2006, RTP also broadcasted the documentary in 2007. Next to providing YouTube fragments of the documentary and a bilingual press kit online, the project’s myspace came to function as a promotional platform for musicians that relate themselves to the documentary. It actually was in this way that I first came across the documentary, while still in Belgium.

In the accompanying press kit, the documentary’s narrative is divided into five sections that deal with different moments of Portuguese history: the colonisation since the 15th century (“At the Roots of this Fusion”), the respective independencies in the 1970s (“Song as a Weapon”), Portugal’s internal migrant diversification (“The 1980s Boom”), the increase of musical collaborations of musicians from lusophone countries in the 1990s (“The New Multiculturalism”) and the emergence of a music “movement” (“Sound (R)Evolution”) (Alge 2013: np).

In section 1, the scriptwriters point out that, after Portugal started its maritime explorations in the 15th century, the slave trade fostered the emergence of new musical styles as expressions of social and cultural encounters between geographically diffuse regions. Hinting at fado’s cross-cultural genesis, they cite Tinhorão’s work on the continued though silent African presence in Lisbon (1988), stating that already in the 1450s, “10% of the population of Lisbon was of African origin, which over time would

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305 Musicians and DJs (Carlos do Carmo (P), Sara Tavares (CV-P), Tito Paris (CV), Celina Pereira (CV), Raúl Indipwo/Duo Ouro Negro (A); Kika Santos/Loopless (A), Kalaf (A), Cool Hipnoise/Spaceboys (P, A), Sam the Kid (P), Chullage (CV), Tekilla (A), Melo D (A), Pac Man/ Da Weasel (P, CV), Conjunto Ngonguenha (A), Karlon/Nigga Poison (CV-P), Tó Ricciardi (P), Johnny-Cool Train Crew (A, P), a.o.; publishers (José da Silva/Lusáfrica; David Ferreira/EMI; Pedro Tenreiro/A&R Norte Sul; Tozé Brito/Universal; Hernâni Miguel/“Rádpublica”) as well as journalists and critics (Nuno Sardinha/RDP África, Gilles Peterson/BBC Radio 1, Vítor Belanciano, Duda Guennes, Luis Maio, and Rui Pereira).
306 Available at http://cidkhapaz.no.sapo.pt/indexpromo.html
307 Available at http://www.myspace.com/lusofoniaarevolucao
308 Available at http://www.redbullportugal.com/lusofoniaarevolucao/Press_kit_UK-web.pdf
lead to miscegenation,” both in the colonial center and in its possessions. These observations point to an unacknowledged role of Africans in Portuguese society.

Section 2 then makes a time leap to the dictatorial (in Portugal and Brazil) and colonial regimes (in Africa) in the 1970’s, pointing out that lusophone countries resorted to music as a means to foster social awareness and protest, in Portugal by José Afonso, José Mário Branco and Sérgio Godinho, and in lusophone Africa by the hand of Rui Mingas (A), Super Mama Djombo (GB) and Bonga (A).

Section 3 deals with the development and internationalization of the Portuguese phonographic industry and the arrival of African musicians in Lisbon, which would intensify cultural exchange and collective efforts between musicians, such as José Afonso, Paulo de Carvalho, Rão Kyao, Heróis do Mar, Tito Paris (CV) or Danny Silva (CV).

Section 4 then addresses the 1990s as an age of transformation during which the political notion of lusofonia came into vogue, next to “new multiculturalism” of a generation of urban, hip hop influenced musicians, often the offspring of migrants from African Portuguese-speaking countries. Much importance is attached to the 1994 release of the Rapública compilation. The scriptwriters further argue that bands such as Cool Hipnoise (P, A) brought on a different approach to Brazilian rhythms, while others such as Kussundulola (A) promoted an Angolan-inspired reggae.

Section 5, finally, equates the turn of the millennium as the actual breakthrough for lusophone musical fusions. Inspired by the example of Brazilian Marcelo D2, which blended samba with hip hop, the scriptwriters give similar examples in Lisbon after the year 2000: the vitality of creole in the music of Nigga Poison (CV) and Chullage (CV); Buraka Som Sistema’s (A, P) dissemination of the Luanda-based dance genre kuduro; and the success of Lura (CV-P) and Sara Tavares (CV-P) on the international world music scene. Chullage points out that morna and funana are being integrated into hip hop while Angolans are discovering Brazilian samba and Cape Verdians get to know Angolan semba. “The music from these countries is bringing us together. We look at what is coming out of these countries and are creating a common repository” (transcribed from documentary).

310 Available at http://www.redbullportugal.com/lusofoniaarevolucao/Press_kit_UK-web.pdf
311 Available at http://www.redbullportugal.com/lusofoniaarevolucao/Press_kit_UK-web.pdf
312 Available at http://www.redbullportugal.com/lusofoniaarevolucao/Press_kit_UK-web.pdf
313 Available at http://www.redbullportugal.com/lusofoniaarevolucao/Press_kit_UK-web.pdf
The above narrative fundaments the documentary’s aim by its producers: the representation and promotion of blending of musical elements from Portuguese-speaking countries and their inclusion in contemporary urban music genres. According to the scriptwriters, “the result of this cross-cultural movement is the emergence of music phenomena specific to the Lusophone sphere, revealing the unique identity of its performers in the world context”\(^\text{314}\). In other words, the authors are of the opinion that Portugal’s uniqueness today can be found in this ‘fusion’\(^\text{315}\) resulting from five centuries of transnational cultural flows between its former colonial territories. The producers thus try to represent this uniqueness as both historically legitimate and commercially appealing. In this sense, the documentary argues that fado, samba, morna and other traditional genres have inherited distinctive traits from the lusophone cultural system. Their importance for Portugal as well as their way into musical mixtures has however not been picked up locally. This fundaments the documentary’s main plea, that the increasing use of Portuguese and the increasing hybridity of lusophone musics should have a corresponding institutional and mercantile answer, in order to be able to disseminate Portuguese products made by lusophone musicians. According to journalist Vítor Belanciano, “Portuguese labels haven’t tapped into that inexhaustible source of sounds which abounds in the Lisbon night scene. It is unbelievable because this is exactly what distinguishes us. That’s what gives us our identity, in Lisbon, in Portugal, in the convergence of several cultures” (transcribed from documentary). Sara Tavares (CV-P) points out that both Lura (CV-P), Mariza (M-P), and herself work for non-Portuguese record companies. “There is a big interest outside of Portugal, but a lack of national investment in people here. People that come to visit Portugal always expect to hear fado,” she says (transcribed from documentary). Finally, Tito Paris (CV) - owner of Casa da Morna\(^\text{316}\) in Alcântara, a stage to resident musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries - calls for institutional action through the documentary. “Portugal at this stage has, undoubtedly, a lot of potential. But the cultural entities, radio and TV stations, the ministry of cultural affairs, all must act now” (transcribed from documentary). In addition, the documentary argues that established Portuguese record labels have largely lagged behind in this process; while newer labels such as Nylon, Norte Sul, Enchufada, and Loop did start to promoting (local) musics by musicians

\(^{314}\) Available at http://www.redbullportugal.com/lusofoniaarevolucao/Press_kit_UK-web.pdf

\(^{315}\) The voice-over mentions fusion (fusão) as a key word, giving kuduro, kizomba and bossa as examples. I interpret fusion both as musical hybridization and/or intercultural contact.

\(^{316}\) Available at http://www.casadamorna.com.pt
from migrant descent from Portuguese-speaking countries. Editor José da Silva\textsuperscript{317}, finally, suggests that the Portuguese-speaking world needs a budgetary system of incentives to expand its culture and to export it abroad. Without subsidies for travel, video clips and festivals, it is difficult for musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries to make it, he says (transcribed from documentary). The homologue promotional CD released together with the documentary can be seen as an effort to alter that situation (or at least part of it).

As for a number of analytical perspectives by researchers, as well as by producers, musicians or others, the text below lets us understand how complex were at the time the webs sustaining this initiative:

the birth of this celebratory, musical (and imaginary) luso-narrative has encouraged new and durable manifestations of an enduring musical lusofonia in Lisbon. In other words, how a merely subjective approach to the development of a Portuguese-speaking music movement should receive such consensual acclaim among Lisbon’s cultural agitators[, while] at the same time documenting the supposedly ancestral origins of lusophone music. (La Barre & Vanspauwen 2013: 132-3).

Lisbon being the point of departure for the documentary gave way to questioning the possibility that this starting point elsewhere “could have been São Paulo, Luanda, Maputo, Praia, São Tomé or Bissau”\textsuperscript{318}.

In an age of global political correctness, where else than in a luso-capital craving to reinvent its imperial dreams would the transition operate so smoothly, from Portuguese language to lusofonia and from Luso-Afro-Brazilian sounds to a musical lusofonia, than in Lisbon? (La Barre & Vanspauwen 2013: 132-3).

The documentary utilizes the notion of lusofonia as a discursive tool to show how discourses of diversified roots and routes in lusophone popular music are presented in today’s Portugal. Nurturing a transnational musical movement, this documentary describes and prescribes the Lisbon’s role as a main stage for popular and traditional musics in the Portuguese-speaking world.

The Lisbon music movement, of Sara Tavares, Lura, Chullage, Buraka Som Sistema or Sam The Kid, radiates some unique traits: whether they be rhythms, melodies, or words which epitomize, by way of sounds, five centuries of joint history in the territories which share today the Portuguese language\textsuperscript{319}.

\textsuperscript{317} Editor of Lusáfrica, based in París, where he was responsible for the success of the late Cesária Évora, which had left Portugal looking for opportunities.

\textsuperscript{318} Available at http://www.redbullportugal.com/lusofoniaarevolucao/Press_kit_UK-web.pdf

\textsuperscript{319} Available at http://www.redbullportugal.com/lusofoniaarevolucao/Press_kit_UK-web.pdf
In conclusion, *Lusofonia, a (R)evolução* not only presents, as sonically embodies the idea of *lusofonia*. As such, it promotes musical hybridizations and collaborations in Portugal. To do so, the Portuguese delegation of RBMA constructed a narrative that suggests that lusophone sounds have evolved and still belong together, arguing that both historical and contemporary musical confluences in and between Portugal, Brazil and PALOP should be more valorized. It semiotically connects the notion of *lusofonia* to ideas of multiculturality and cosmopolitanism to foster musical fusions. Facing broad audiences, the documentary attempts to create lines of continuity with colonialism, particularly regarding the history of African presence in Lisbon, and presents music as a key factor for the integration of the various resident populations, today as in the past. While prescribing *lusofonia* as an instrument of unification of various musical forms, whether sung in Portuguese or creole, *Lusofonia, a (R)evolução* also aims at erasing social exclusion and artistic marginalization. Among this universe of musicians, it argues as a concluding remark that the increasing hybridity of lusophone musics should be supported as historically sound and commercially fit. The documentary’s ideological stance has narrowed down the Expo’98 rhetoric of a meeting of cultures to an intercultural meeting, shifting the prescriptive attention from a mere tolerance of difference (often called multiculturalism) to genuine inclusion, participation and mixture (interculturalism).

2.1.3.3. National and municipal actions

Lisboa deve ser, como sempre foi ao longo da sua história, uma cidade de encontros, um ponto de união, uma capital do Mundo. Lisboa, cidade de tolerância, deve assumir-se claramente como uma grande capital intercultural mundial, ouvindo o que todos têm para nos dizer sobre os mais diversos tipos de expressão (António Costa, in ACIDI 2008: 7).

National and municipal cultural politics in Lisbon, such as those implied in the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008) and in the strategic document

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320 The voice-over states that “multiculturalism uses music as an element of integration” (transcribed from documentary).

321 António Costa was elected Prime Minister of Portugal in late 2015, after having served two terms and a half (2007-15) as Lisbon’s mayor. In my opinion, his discourse as it is presented here echoes Expo’98, which may not come as a surprise, given that Costa was the government official responsible for this event as minister of the XIII Constitutional Government (1997-99).
‘Estratégias para a Cultura em Lisboa’ (2009), have addressed issues of interculturality. Below, I deal with recent events that consider this condition. My aim is to point out how Lisbon’s national and municipal authorities have received or promoted ideas of *lusofonia*, particularly in musical grounds.

The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008) encouraged citizens to learn from different cultural traditions. In Lisbon, ACIDI organized this event, hosting an intercultural concert in Teatro Camões (together with RTP and Associação Sons da Lusofonia) and released the record *Juntos na Diversidade*. The Municipality of Lisbon, together with several voluntary associations, coordinated various events such as Festival ImigrArte’s 2nd edition and held the conference *Da Diversidade Cultural à Inclusão: Dar Oportunidades às Diferenças/Qualificar o Diálogo Intercultural*.

In May 2009, a cultural project planned by the CPLP and the Municipality of Lisbon (in partnership with the Portuguese Ministry of Culture, RTP África, Fundação Luso-brasileira, and Missão do Brasil junto a CPLP) linked *lusofonia* and the city’s maritime imaginary under the title ‘Mares: Olhares da Língua Portuguesa’ (La Barre and Vanspauwen 2013: 127). According to the program folder, the goal was to “encorajar as novas gerações de artistas e agentes culturais do mundo da lusofonia a integrar o Mar no seu imaginário.”

A month later, in June 2009, the Municipality of Lisbon published the strategic document ‘Estratégias para a Cultura em Lisboa’. Although this document dedicates a specific section on music (by an unnamed author), it does not name the concept of *lusofonia*. Apart from a reference to Buraka Som Sistema - “que se apropri[a] de sonoridades de fora da Europa, mas que encontr[a] em Lisboa uma primeira paragem europeia” (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2009: 51), lusophone musics are only vaguely referenced as “mutações [que são] muito significativas e pela primeira vez ultrapassam...”

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322 Available at http://www.eurocid.pt/pls/wwsd/wsdwcot0.detalhe_area?p_cot_id=4135
323 RTP and ACIDI produced a “espectáculo com a participação de artistas conceituados e de novos valores das várias comunidades migrantes em Portugal.” http://www.rtp.pt/programa/tv/p24620
325 Available at http://www.lerparaver.com/eventos/conferencia-diversidade-cultural-inclusao-dar
326 Available at http://sapoblogs.do.sapo.pt/mares0921.pdf
327 The project was directed by a team consisting of Dinâmia - Centro de Estudos sobre a Mudança Socioeconómica (ISCTE), Direcção Municipal de Cultura (DMC) and EGEAC - Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural during the preceding eight months, in which artists as well as cultural agents and producers were heard. Carlos Martins (Ass. Sons da Lusofonia) was one of the consultants. In preparation, public discussions (one of which in Cinema São Jorge, January 2009) were also held.
328 Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2009: 51 ; http://cultura.cm-lisboa.pt (site offline at time of writing).
a categoria de música ‘étnica’ e world, um rótulo que os primeiros projectos que Lisboa exportou carregavam” (ibid.). The new generation of fadistas in Lisbon instead gets an explicit mention, performing “pelos palcos de todo o mundo, também conseguindo contribuir para uma imagem diferente da que Lisboa outrora exportava” (ibid.). Perhaps an implicit reference to the existing circuit of resident musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries can be read in the mentioning of a “mercado da música ligeira e popular que, embora com características diferentes do resto do país, é uma área altamente robusta, empregando muitíssimos profissionais (embora nem todos em regime full-time)” (ibid.). In its conclusion, the strategic document points at Lisbon’s contemporary intercultural production as a factor that can be further potentialized in valorizing the city’s representation (ibid.: 93).

Lisboa, numa posição de inevitável centralidade histórica entre Europa, África e América, [tem] um espaço enorme a explorar, de diferenciação e de afirmação externa da sua especificidade. [A] produção cultural da cidade está imbuída destes cruzamentos e destas especificidades que importa potenciar numa lógica [de] afirmação das competências mais cosmopolitas da cidade actual e dos seus actores culturais (ibid.).

To this end, it offers recommendations on three levels: the city’s identities and memories; its diversity and multiculturalism; its capital status and density of its social relations (ibid.: 97). The interrelation between these three levels allows for “fomentar novos e prometedores campos criativos, em áreas como a produção transcultural ou o cruzamento disciplinar”, thus promoting affirmation and external differentiation of the city and its cultural agents (ibid.).

Even though the concept of lusofonia is not explicitly used, it seems to be constitutive as conditio sine qua non for Lisbon’s contemporary intercultural condition. However, as is suggested by an unnamed author in EE1 - Promoção das Competências Cosmopolitas da Cidade, Lisbon’s policies regarding interculturalism are still (too) incipient:

Atendendo à inescapável dimensão intercultural crescente da cidade - mas ainda assim não comparável a outras cidades europeias - Lisboa deverá encontrar formas de promoção das suas competências cosmopolitas[;] a promoção da tolerância, a compreensão da diversidade, o combate à exclusão social, a promoção de políticas de proximidade, o acesso à cultura, etc. (ibid.: 105)

This delay calls for a revision of the city’s cultural governance model (EE4 - Revisão do Modelo de Governança Cultural da Cidade), which should essentially be
“estruturada numa lógica bottom-up, de devolução de poder à sociedade, cidadãos e agentes culturais,” says the document (ibid.: 107). Besides policy makers, research institutions, along with cultural and institutional agents of the city and the rest of civil society, have a key role here (ibid.: 105). To my knowledge, music researchers were however not actively represented.

The idea for Africa.Cont, a new center of contemporary Africa in Lisbon, promoted by the Municipality of Lisbon and the Portuguese government, arose at the end of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. Africa.Cont was effectively created in 2010 by the same EGEAC personnel that organized África Festival between 2005 and 2007 (information retrieved from interview 10). According to the curator Fernandes Dias, Africa.Cont wants to voice the “vontade política de responder à ausência em Portugal de uma plataforma [para] o desenvolvimento de relações de comunicação, cooperação e interacção entre a Europa, os Países Africanos e as suas diásporas”, equally promoting the “integração e o ‘empowerment’ (empoderamento) das comunidades africanas em Portugal” (Dias 2010).

In September 2010, the Municipality of Lisbon and the Lisbon Tourism Association then opened the Memórias da Cidade - Lisboa Story Centre, at Terreiro do Paço, in part referring to the era of Portugal’s maritime expansion, reinforced by the use of a caravel image on its site). The Municipality also made landscape interventions in the city for tourism purposes: first the remodeling of the Terreiro do Paço square itself in 2012 - the location of the former royal palace, rebuilt after the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, and the rehabilitation of Ribeira das Naus in 2014 - the ship docks between Terreiro do Paço and Cais do Sodré - from where the maritime expeditions left in the 1500s.

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329 On December 4-5, 2009, a public debate and conference were held at Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian to discuss the project’s objectives. Available at http://www.africacont.org/africacont_pt.pdf
330 Available at http://www.lisboastorycentre.pt/en/content/lisboa-story-centre#sthash.HX6J77AL.dpuf
331 Available at http://cvc.instituto-camoes.pt/navegaport/e17.html
332 In July 2014, the opening of Ribeira das Naus was accompanied by the exposition ‘Maresias - Lisboa e o Tejo, 1850-2014’ at Terreiro do Paço. Information retrieved from http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/noticias/detalhe/article/lisboetas-ganham-a-ribeira-das-naus-exposicao-maresias
To celebrate this requalification, then-major António Costa launched the idea of having a pole of the Museu da Marinha (Belém) at the site, specifically dedicated to the discoveries era. Information retrieved from http://www.publico.pt/local/noticia/a-nova-ribeira-das-naus-quer-ser-um-local-de-reencontro-com-o-tejo-e-com-a-historia-1662767
Stressing the place of fado in the lusophone soundscapes of the city, I point out that still in 2010, the Municipality of Lisbon (through EGEAC and Museu do Fado) and the Instituto de Etnomusicologia of Universidade Nova de Lisboa (represented by Rui Vieira Nery and Salwa Castelo-Branco) submitted the application of fado to the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (UNESCO). Mariza and Carlos do Carmo were chosen as ambassadors to the genre. Fado’s actual recognition by UNESCO in 2011 confirmed its status as Portugal’s musical narrative *par excellence*, a narrative that was also one of discoveries (La Barre e Vanspauwen 2013: 127), and in part represented interaction with other genres of the lusophone world.

Meanwhile, the Municipality of Lisbon signed a protocol with the European Council to adhere to the Rede de Cidades Interculturais in September 2011, and organized FMINT - Fórum Municipal de Interculturalidade in May 2014 and 2015. The *Music and Migration* volume by ACIDI and INET in 2010, launched in 2011 in Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, also made reference to music expression in the lusophone domain.


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333 Available at http://www.candidaturadofado.com
334 Available at http://www.vimeo.com/28868052
336 Musical evocations onstage included “nomes representantes da cultura lusófona” such as Carlos do Carmo (P), Carminho (P), Lura (CV-P), and Mart’Nália (B) (daughter of Martinho da Vila) (ibid.). In 2012, *Festas de Lisboa* featured a concert by Milton Nascimento (B) and the fadistas Ana Moura (P), Carminho (P) and António Zambujo (P), accompanied by the Orquestra Metropolitana de Lisboa. Information retrieved from http://www.vousair.com/musica/3920-festas-de-lisboa-terminam-com-musica-lusofona.html
338 Organised by Celina Pereira (CV). Invited musicians: Bana (CV), Batucadeiras Voz-d’África (CV), Cristina Nóbrega (P), Dany Silva (CV), Duarte (P), Maria Alice (CV), Vilma Vieira (CV), and Cao Bei (China). Other partners: RTP África, ACIDI, Embaixada de Cabo Verde em Lisboa, Associação Cabo Verde, Enclave, RDP África, a.o. Information retrieved from http://celinapereira.blogs.sapo.cv
and Festival da Lusofonia de Lisboa 2015 a.o.\textsuperscript{339} I deal with these music events in greater detail below.

2.2. Practices of musical lusofonia in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

À mistura estão as pessoas - que são as margens da cultura, e os destinos da língua revistos por aqueles que a manejam como utensílio quotidiano. Que esta linguagem seja, pois, ferramenta e prazer, veículo seguro mas maleável; que as gerações vindouras nela vejam molde aberto para memória e labor criativo (Ondjaki)\textsuperscript{340}.

Musical lusofonia has been constructed in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area since the turn of the millennium. To document it, I briefly analyze specific music festivals, live music venues and associations that host musical fusions and collaborations within a lusophone perspective. I take into consideration the discourse, concerts and recordings of particular musicians. My aim is to connect the ideological foundations for musical lusofonia to its effective practice, thus contextualizing the changing cultural landscape in which Musidanças has been organized.

2.2.1. Music festivals

The concept of festival, from festa, has been studied in democratic Portugal in the anthropological and ethnomusicological contexts since the 1980s (Sanchis 1983; Oliveira and Carvalho 1985). César et al. (2010: 492-7) define a festival as an event or set of events where musical performances are presented, and which may also include other performing arts such as dance, as well as diverse activities. Amidst the Lisbon-based festivals, a dozen have dedicated themselves to a varying extent to musical interpretations of lusofonia: (1) Festival dos Oceanos (since 1999), (2) Festa da Diversidade (since 1999), (3) Maio Mês da África em Lisboa (2004), (4) África Festival (since 2005), (5) Lisboa Mistura (since 2006), (6) ImigrArte (since 2007), (7) Festival Delta Tejo (since 2007), (8) Rotas e Rituais (since 2007), (9) Festival TODOS -

\textsuperscript{339} Since 2010, it has also supported FEST\textsuperscript{in} - Festival Itinerante de Cinema da Língua Portuguesa.
\textsuperscript{340} See http://www.ciberduvidas.com/antologia.php?rid=726
Caminhada de Culturas (since 2009), (10) Misty Fest (since 2010), (11) Lisboa que Amanhece (2011), (12) África Mostra-se - Mostra de Cinema e Cultura Africana (since 2011) and (13) Festival Conexão Lusofona (since 2012). I present below information gathered from past editions, retrieved online in a somehow virtual ethnography, and complemented with interviews to some of its organizers. For a detailed map of music events in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area inspired by the notion of lusofonia, except Musidanças, in the time stretch 1998-2015, I refer to map 2 in annex 12.

(1) The first edition of Festival dos Oceanos was held in 1999 to continue the spirit of Expo’98. The festival, using the image of a sea star (see annex 10, fig. 10), was organized by the Municipality of Lisbon, the Portuguese Tourism Association, and the companies Casino Lisboa and Parque EXPO - Gestão Urbana do Parque das Nações. It has three objectives: to increase the flow of tourists to the city; to offer cultural entertainment at the city’s riverside (historic center, Belém and Parque das Nações); and to sustain the foreign interest aroused during Expo’98. The festival is in line with Lisbon’s Strategic Tourism Plan, which recommends pursuing initiatives that favor increased notoriety of the Portuguese capital, as well with the National Strategic Tourism Plan for the development and innovation of traditional Portuguese content as a differentiating tourist factor. A relevant example for the argument on the building of musical lusofonia is the festival’s fifth edition (August 2-16, 2008) under the theme “10th Anniversary Expo’98,” with a concert entitled “Ráizes do Atlântico” of the band Ethnos, bringing “um projecto original de carácter lusófono que cruza influências de músicos de Cabo Verde, Angola, Brasil, Portugal, Moçambique e Guiné-Bissau”.

Another example is the Noites do Fado during the festival’s eighth edition (July 30-August 13, 2011), in support of fado’s candidature for the UNESCO’s World Cultural Heritage contest that same year, entailing four evening concerts during which four Portuguese fado singers invited several international musicians, at Pátio da Galé, Terreiro do Paço.

341 Available at http://img.rtp.pt/icm/antena1/docs/91/91f0500c141dc7e605af7bc568aa71b_d7a7437ff73ed905de6d32bea198174.pdf
342 Available at http://www.festivaldosoceanos.lpmcom.pt/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=259&Itemid=92
343 “Do not miss the crossover of this musical genre with the music of Brazil, Angola and India,” featuring the following collaborations: António Zambujo (P) invites Roberta Sá (B); Ana Sofia Varela (P) invites Yami (A) and Ritinha Lobo (CV); Ana Moura (Portugal) invites Ray Lema (Congo); Ana Maria Bobone (P) invites Sonia Shirsat (India). Information retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/user/FestivalOceanos
The Festa da Diversidade (1999-2003, 2006-2007, 2015-2016), organized by SOS Racismo and inserted in the Festas de Lisboa, in 2015 operated under the slogan “Lisboa é todas as vozes” and “Lisboa não é só da Sardinha” on June 6-7 at Arco do Cego (as can be seen in annex 10, fig. 15). SOS Racismo is a non-profit association that “combate o racismo e a xenofobia na sociedade portuguesa.” The 2015 event in part evoked lusofonia musical through acts as Tocá Rufar (P), Ginga Brasil (B), MOZ - Grupo Dança Moçambique (M), Djumbai Jazz (GB), Batuque Olho Vivo (CV), Grupo Percussão Brasil (B), Elsa Noronha (M), Ana Semedo (CV), NBC (P, STP), Guto Pires (GB), Braima Galissá (GB) and Irmãos Makossa (Italy, A). An earlier edition, in 2007, took place over three days at Terreiro do Paço with a similar program.

RDP’s Maio Mês da África em Lisboa is a festival which has already been partially discussed above as a mediatic initiative. As pointed out by Maciel (2010: 219-228), between 1997 and 2004, RDP and local African associations increasingly worked together to yearly commemorate the ‘Dia da Libertação Africana’ on May 25, resulting in the ‘Dia das Culturas Africanas’. In 1997, 30.000 people were present for the first festival at Torre de Belém (they had only been notified 2 days before via a radio spot). In 1998, with support of the Municipality of Oeiras, 50.000 attendees were present at the Passeio Marítimo de Algés, and in 1999, the festival received an equal amount of people at the former Expo’98 site. This eventually resulted into the pioneering idea to dedicate the whole month of May 2004 to Africa and the African communities residing in Portugal (ibid.: 222). During that year’s edition, music and dance were offered on 4 locations (Campo Grande, Pavilhão de Portugal in Parque das Nações, Jardins de Belém and Praça da Figueira) on Saturdays under the slogan ‘Sábados de Cultura Africana em Lisboa’. As Maciel indicates, participating musicians included Bonga (A), Gilyto (CV), Melo D (A, P), Boy G. Mendes (Senegal-CV, P), Nancy Vieira (GB-CV), Sara Tavares (CV-P), Lura (CV-P), Bana (CV), Maio Coopé (GB), Eneida Marta (CV), Celina Pereira (CV), Galissa (GB), José Afonso (P), Manecas Costa (GB), Tonecas (STP), Djumbai Djaz (GB), Batucadeiras de Cabo Verde (CV), Ferro Gaita (CV) and Timbila Muzimba (M), a.o (2010: 382). In 2004, other locations included FNAC, Auditório RDP and Culturgest where musicians Ferro Gaita (CV), Zé Manel (GB, USA), Mercado Negro (A), Mário Lúcio Sousa (Simentera) (CV), Vadu (CV), Nancy Vieira (GB-CV), Zenaïda Chantre (CV) and Weeleni, L’appel (Burkina Faso) performed. Information retrieved from http://www.acidi.gov.pt/noticias/visualizar-noticia/4cdbf801442e3/maio---mes-de-africa-em-lisboa%3A-parte-i
activities still included Festival B.Leza in club B.Leza on May 12-15; Espectáculo de Dança tradicional da África do Sul in Culturgest on May 26-27; 24 horas da Kizomba in Discoteca Convento on May 27-28; and Festa Africana in Monsanto Auditório Keil do Amaral (Monsanto), organized by RDP África on May 29 (ibid.). Finally, on May 23, the Gala dos Prémios da Música Africana was organized by Discoteca Luanda/Praça das Flores in Fórum Lisboa, to award those “personalidades que mais se destacaram no último ano na área da música e do espectáculo nos PALOP” (ibid.). Together with Maciel (2010: 225), I argue that Mês da África em Lisboa “parece concorrer para uma progressiva transformação na ‘infra-estrutura urbana’ lisboeta, que já não é só alfacinha, mas também, e em já não despicienda medida, africana e lusófona”, asserting itself as the African part of Lisbon’s lusofonia (ibid.: 228).

(4) África Festival was another festival that focused on the importance of Africa in lusofonia. It took place over three editions (2005, 2006 and 2007), all as part of Festas de Lisboa, organized by Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultura (EGEAC), the cultural company headed by the Municipality of Lisbon, in the Anfiteatro Keil do Amaral (Ajuda); Torre de Belém; and Torre de Belém/Cinema São Jorge, respectively. According to cultural manager, programmer and director Paula Nascimento, África Festival was the result of the political will to dedicate a part of Festas de Lisboa to Africa:

Foi uma homenagem a uma faceta importante da identidade portuguesa e lisboeta, [e] revestiu-se de uma enorme importância para Portugal enquanto plataforma de interculturalidade, apoiando a divulgação das culturas africanas no mundo através do apoio à circulação dos artistas, e colocou Portugal no circuito internacional de festivais de músicas do mundo (onde se integram as músicas africanas) (Nascimento 2010: 265-266).

Still according to Nascimento, the objective of staging musical performances related to Africa 347 was to educate a poorly informed audience. After all, “the African universe is not only lusophone, but also exists outside of this context; lusofonia is just the background that we know that in Portugal” (interview 10). In this manner, África

347 First edition (22-24 July 2005), performing musicians: Manecas Costa (A), Tito Paris (CV), Lura (CV-P), Ali Farka Touré (Mali), Waldemar Bastos (A), Ray Lema (Congo) & Chico César (B); Second edition (6-9 July 2006): Cheikh Lô (Senegal), Bonga (A), Tcheka (CV), Oumou Sangaré (Mali), Maio Coope and Djumbai Jazz (GB), Tiken Jah Fakoly (Ivory Coast), Stella Chiweshe (Zimbabwe), Eyuphuro (M); Third edition (28 June-8 July 2007): Mayra Andrade (Cuba-CV), Tinariwen (Mali), Baaba Maal (Senegal), Paulo Flores (A), The Musicians Of The Nile (Egypt), Sally Nyolo (Cameroon), Victor Gama (A), Nancy Vieira (GB-CV), Kalaf (Buraka Som Sistema) (A). 2-8 July 2007: African DJ sessions, Cinema São Jorge.
Festival considered “a participação de todos os países africanos (e não apenas dos países africanos de expressão portuguesa), bem como a de todos os africanos: os que vivem em África, os que vivem na diáspora, os afro-descendentes e a mestiçagem” (Nascimento 2010: ibid.).

(5) Despite its name, the Associação Sons da Lusofonia’s festival Lisboa Mistura - yearly organized at the Cinema São Jorge or the Teatro São Luiz in Lisbon (since 2006) - does not explicitly evoke the concept of lusofonia in its propaganda materials, even though it features many migrant musicians from lusophone countries. The jazz saxophone player Carlos Martins, director and founder of the festival, affirms in this sense that the association develops a 

[trabalho] de enriquecimento do património comum aos povos de língua portuguesa, fomentando o multiculturalismo e a interculturalidade, promovendo a diversidade em todas as suas áreas de actividade e, inclusivamente, no que respeita à sua implementação junto das várias comunidades residentes na área da Grande Lisboa (Martins 2010).

One main goal of the Associação Sons da Lusofonia is “contribuir para a cooperação cultural entre Portugal e os países de expressão portuguesa, promovendo o desenvolvimento de uma identidade cultural baseada nas tradições comuns, mas orientada para o futuro” (ibid.).

According to Martins, lusofonia forms the basis for interculturalism in Lisbon (interview 8). This is evoked by the interconnection between the words ‘Lisbon’ and ‘Mistura’ in its logo (see annex 10, fig. 11). Lisboa Mistura works with this same notion for at least 15 years since the association’s earlier evocations of lusofonia, as evident from the rhetoric used at the time of Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia (1995), also founded and directed by Carlos Martins. This temporary project united African, Brazilian and Portuguese musicians to give “expressão organizada e visível à riqueza cultural e musical dos povos de língua portuguesa.” A similar idea emerged in Lisboa Mistura, for example in its third edition (November 28-29, 2008), which announced a project called ‘Lis-Nave’, which mainly counted on the participation of migrant musicians from

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348 Sons da Lusofonia is supported by the Municipality of Lisbon through EGEAC - Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural, ACIDI - Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural, CIG - Comissão para a Cidadania e Igualdade de Gênero, and New Time Recursos Humanos. In the past, it also received support of CNC - Centro Nacional de Cultura, SIC Notícias, Subfilmes Creative Network, and Castanheira Só Música.
Portuguese-speaking countries; ‘Festa Intercultural’, that brought music, dance and performative arts from Portuguese-speaking countries and others; and ‘Novos Sons’, a pedagogical project of cultural intervention through music for youngsters living in Lisbon’s poorer neighborhoods, mostly bringing hip-hop. During Lisboa Mistura’s fourth edition (November 28-29, 2009), ‘Lis-Nave’ brought together 18 musicians, of Portuguese, Mozambican and Angolan provenance under the name Kota Cool Afrobeat Orkestra. During the same edition, ‘Festa Cultural’ continued; and ‘Novos Sons’ merged into Oficina Portátil de Artes (OPA).

In several moments, Lisboa Mistura indeed discursively mentioned a musical interculturalism based on *lusofonia*, for example, at the first edition at the Parque Mayer (November 17, 26, 28, 29, 30 and December 1-2, 2006). In 2008, the festival presented a series of 13 video-documentaries and a book, both under the title *Lisboa Mistura*. The festival’s organization was also involved in the Gala Intercultural (December 18, 2008), in co-organization with ACIDI, broadcasted by RTP and recorded on the CD *Juntos na Diversidade*, closing the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in Lisbon. The seventh edition (November 1-2, 2012) was announced online as the “reflexo da celebração da vida multicultural com projectos de

349 NBC (P, STP), Bob the Rage Sense (A), Cacique ’97 (M, P), Kimi Djabate (GB), Galissá (GB), Buba Djabate (GB), Makongo (A), Orelha Negra (P), André Fernandes Quinteto (P), Marta Hugon (P), Couple Coffee (P-GB-B, B), a.o. Information retrieved from the billboard.
350 Dimitry Bogomolov (Russia), Miguel Sermão (A), Dança do Leão (China), Batucadeiras (CV), Galissá (GB), Awaaz (India), Muzenza (B), Batoto Yetu (P), and Ana Marta, António Jorge and Gilberto Silva (P).
352 The group united members of local Lisbon bands Cool Hipnoise (P, A), Terrakota (A, P, Italia) and Cacique ’97 (M, P), with a guest performance of Carlos Martins on saxophone. In 1995, Martins had already purposely created another collective, Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia, to promote lusophone musical mixtures. During Lisboa Mistura 2016, the latter gave a reunion concert, reiterating the importance given to it by its organizer.
353 Performances of André Cabaço Quintet (A, M), Carmen Souza (CV-P), Batida (A, P), Dhoad Gypsies from Rajasthan (India), Ciganos d’Ouro (gypsy community of Portugal), a.o.
354 According to the association’s blog, the objective is allowing them to voice themselves through music, offering tools and ways to create a proper identity inside the city’s culture. Information retrieved from http://sonsdalusofonia.blogspot.com
356 Available at http://www.subfilmes.pt (separate link to Lisboa Mistura TV, excerpt available online)
358 Ibid.
grande nível performativo e de produção. Projectos como os que trazemos mostram a
transversalidade de influências da cultura portuguesa e a riqueza que daí advém.” In
2013, part of the festival was organized at the Martim Moniz square under the name
Lisboa Mistura - Músicas do Mundo, as part of Festas de Lisboa359. In 2014, this
participation in Festas de Lisboa was repeated at Castelo de São Jorge and Largo do
Intendente, with a special project 20/40 - 20 Anos do Hip Hop em Portugal/40 anos do
25 de Abril360. In 2015, the festival featured a debate entitled “Ritmos pós-coloniais e a
lusofonia”361.

(6) ImigrArte (since 2007) is a festival organized by the Associação
Solidariedade Imigrante. Through the slogan “o poder de uma mão cheio de culturas,”
the festival fosters the “promoção da interculturalidade e cidadania, a valorização dos
imigrantes e resgate dos seus direitos, a divulgação das suas culturas e artes em
solidariedade com o povo português”362. Another objective is the “afirmação do
transculturalismo através do diálogo entre cidadãos portugueses e imigrantes,
estabelecendo pontes de relação entre as várias comunidades estrangeiras” and the
“envolvimento dos imigrantes na sua organização, com o intuito de fomentar a
consciência de uma cidadania activa [e] o sentimento de pertença ao nosso país” (ibid.).
To this end, Associação Solidariedade Imigrante’s director Timóteo Macedo says it
creates an intercultural space that attempts “to build another idea of citizenship from the
immense resource of cultural diversity of all the people who today constitute the
Portuguese society”. Though it is in sintony, there is no explicit link to the concept of
lusofonia (transcribed from interview 11). Festival ImigrArte was organized at Lisbon’s
downtown Martim Moniz square until 2012, when it moved to Mercado da Ribeira at
the historic center’s riverside, in collaboration with Mercado da Fusão. In 2013, it was
organized in Ateneu Comercial de Lisboa, co-produced with EGEAC and with
sponsorship of Fundação Oriente. Residents from Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, China,
Congo, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, India, Mali, Mozambique, Moldavia, Nepal,
Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romenia, Russia, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal and Ukraine

359 Available at http://www.festasdelisboa.com/festas2013evento/lisboa-mistura-festival-musicas-do-
mundo/
360 Available at http://www.sonsdalousofonia.com/projectos.php?cd_projecto=1
361 Available at http://www.festasdelisboa.com/events/event/ritmos-pos-coloniais-e-a-lusofonia/
362 Available at http://www.festival-imigrarte.com

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participated\(^{363}\). It is curious to note that for its 2014 edition billboard, the festival enumerated the CPLP countries first (see annex 10, fig. 12).

(7) The *Festival Delta Tejo*\(^{364}\) (2007-2011) hosted musicians from coffee bean producing countries. The festival, organized by Música No Coração and sponsored by Delta Cafés, was branded the “A CPLP da música”\(^{365}\) by local media because of its strong representation of Brazilian and other lusophone musicians, such as during the 2010\(^{366}\) and 2011\(^{367}\) editions at the Pólo Universitário do Alto da Ajuda, in Lisbon’s Monsanto Park. Its logo evoked the 25 de Abril bridge, Christo Rei and the river Tejo (see annex 10, fig. 13).

(8) The *Festival Rotas e Rituais* (since 2007), organized by the Municipality of Lisbon’s cultural company EGEAC in Lisbon’s Cinema São Jorge, has repeatedly invited musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries as well as Portuguese musicians on stage. In its first edition (June 8-30, 2007), the event was part of Festas de Lisboa under the name ‘Festa do Fado’, with each Friday evening reserved for collaborations between musicians of Portuguese-speaking countries\(^{368}\). The festival’s fourth edition (November 17-20, 2010), which in part took place at the Monument to the Discoveries (Padrão dos Descobrimentos) in Belém/Lisbon, offered “uma reflexão sobre os

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\(^{363}\) Performing musicians and bands with links to Portuguese-speaking countries included Khapaz – Assoc. Cultural de Jovens Afrodescendentes (with music categories such as “Hip-Hop”, “Dança Marrabenta”, “Dança Urbana/Tradicional”, “Samba e bossa nova”, “Balé Brasil de Portugal & Tambores do Tejo”); Projeto EnvolvêTE nesta Oportunidade (with category “Dança Afrohouse, Decalé e Fununá”); Assoc. de Jovens de Intervenção Multicultural (with categories “Música Kuduro”, “Música Afrohouse”, “Música Kizomba”). Other performers evoked the idea of *lusofonia* through their origins: Vozes da Diáspora Cabo Verde (CV), Max Lisboa e os Super Heróis Brasileiros (B), Doçuras e Morabeza (CV), Raboita (CV), Trio Chalo Correia (A), Djangui D’jazz (GB).

Information retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/events/611475745578110/


\(^{365}\) Available at http://cotonete.clix.pt/noticias,body.aspx?id=43137

\(^{366}\) Performing artists of the fourth edition (2-4 July 2010): Shaggy (USA), Buraka Som Sistema (A, P), Carlinhos Brown (B), Natiruts (B), Nação Zumbi (B), Roda de Choro de Lisboa (B, P), Expensive Soul (P), Nneka (Germany-Nigeria), Ana Carolina (B), Ana Moura (P), Susana Félix (GB-CV), Danae (Cuba-CV), Emmy Curl (P), Ska Cubano (Cuba/UK), Asa de Água (B), Grupo Revelação (B), Martinho da Vila (B), Paulo Flores (A), Quantic and His Como Bárbaro (UK), Cacique’97 (M, P), Puto Prata (A), Batida (A, P), a.o. Information retrieved from billboard.

\(^{367}\) Fifth edition (1-3 July 2011): Sean Paul (USA), Yuri da Cunha (A), Nouvelle Vague com Pregal da Cunha (P), GNR com Banda Sinfónica (P), Amor Electro (P), Zeca Sempre (P), Maya Cool (A), Paulo Praça (P), Peté tha Zouk with Pedro Cazanova (P), Nelly Furtado (Canada-P), Aurea (P), Clai (P), Orquestra Contemporânea de Olinda (B), Rodrigo Maranhão (B), Isilda Sanches (P), Parangolé (B), Ney Matogrosso (B), Maria Gadú (B), Expensive Soul (P), Matias Damásio (A), Ferro Gaita (CV), Virgen Suta com Manuela Azevedo (P), Puto Português (A), a.o. Information retrieved from billboard.

\(^{368}\) Pedro Moutinho (P) and Teresa Salgueiro (P); Maria Ana Bobone (P) and Tévtocal (P); Ana Maria (P) and Maria Alice (CV); Ana Moura (P) and Amélia Muge (M-P); Raquel Tavares (P) and Tito Paris (CV); Paulo Parreira (P) and Ramon Mascio (Argentina) invite Beatriz da Conceição (P); António Zambujo (P) and Luís Represas (P), a.o. Information retrieved from billboard.
movimentos migratórios globais e a diversidade cultural das sociedades contemporâneas através de várias manifestações artísticas,” under the slogan “Imigrantes, os Emigrantes que somos”. The fifth edition (November 16-20, 2011) was dedicated to the United Nations’ International Year of Peoples of African Descents, paying musical homage to the various cultural expressions of the PALOP in dialogue with Portuguese musicians. The sixth edition (November 9-17, 2012) paid homage to local Brazilian musicians with its slogan “O samba também mora aqui” (see annex 10, fig. 14). The ninth edition (May 22-29, 2015) used the slogan “Labanta braço, grita bô liberdadi” (Levanta o braço, grita a tua liberdade), and reflected on how the colonial past could be represented in the construction of a common future, inviting Rádio AfroLis to broadcast related content.

(9) The Festival TODOs - Caminhada de Culturas (since 2009) was imported as a cultural device announced through Lisbon’s oldest neighborhoods, such as “Saô Domingos, Martim Moniz, Intendente, Mouraria, Anjos, and Poço dos Negros”, to get to know its music, religions, food, commerce and people. With the slogan “viajar pelo mundo sem sair de Lisboa”, TODOs aims to promote Lisbon as a “capital intercultural,” “abrindo-se cada vez mais a toda a cidade”. The festival, which logo can be found in annex 10, fig. 16, constitutes a stage for a considerable number of musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries, though not exclusively. During the opening of the 2011 edition, an agreement between the Municipality of Lisbon and the European Council was signed to formalize Lisbon’s membership of the Network of Intercultural Cities. The Festival TODOs gave rise to the Orquestra TODOs, an ensemble consisting of migrant musicians of Portuguese-speaking countries (Brazil, Lusophone influences can be found, for example, in the third edition (September 8-11, 2011), with performing musicians Celina Pereira (CV), Guto Pires (GB), Tonecas Prazeres (STP), José Fanha e Estúdio 8 (P). Information retrieved from billboard.

370 Tcheka (CV) invites Mário Laginha (P); Nancy Vieira (GB-CV) invites Camané (P); Mirri Lobo (CV) invites Rui Veloso (P); Waldemar Bastos (A) invites Mingo Rangel (M). Information retrieved from billboard.
371 Available at http://www.egeac.pt/page.php?id=953
Portugal, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Mozambique) as well as other countries (Germany, Italy, Turkey, Spain and Romania).  

(10) Misty Fest (since 2010) was founded in Sintra and extended first to Lisbon and Porto (2012 edition), then Coimbra, Vila do Conde and Espinho (2013), and then Caldas da Rainha (2014). It aims to represent “campos menos explorados por outros festivais, como são os casos dos mais notáveis singer-songwriters da atualidade ou de música oriunda do universo da lusofonia” After an initial programming that largely included non-lusophone musicians, it has effectively increased its focus on musicians from or with links to lusophone countries in 2013 and 2014. In 2015, it featured a homage to Cesária Évora, as can been seen from annex 10, fig. 17.

(11) The musical project Lisboa que Amanhece was organized by the Instituto de Criatividade, Artes e Novas Tecnologias - RESTART on July 18, 2011 in Lisbon’s Cinema São Jorge. The event, which used the image of a nau against the rising sun (see annex 10, fig. 18) was part of the final project of the Institute’s class of 2011 on (musical) event production and marketing, intending to “prestar tributo à língua portuguesa através de linguagens musicais que a ela estão intrinsecamente ligadas e que são também um elemento unificador de diversas e diferentes culturas” (anonymous author on the project’s Facebook page). The project’s name refers to the title of a Sérgio Godinho song, interpreted with Caetano Veloso, that “muito simbolicamente apresenta Lisboa como capital de um movimento multicultural onde a miscigenação é patente e demonstrativa deste intercâmbio de linguagens e culturas” (ibid.). As happened with myself, the organizers of Lisboa que Amanhece were particularly interested in the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução, which they exhibited; a debate entitled ‘Lusofonia, Potencialidades e Futuro’, the launching of the CD Lisboa - Coletânea de

377 Directed by Miguel Abreu (Academia de Produtores Culturais), and supported by the Municipality of Lisbon (specifically its department GLEM - Gabinete Lisboa Encruzilhada de Mundos), Academia de Produtores Culturais, and the Gulbenkian Human Development Program. Raquel Pereira (ISCTE) completed a MA thesis on the orchestra’s multicultural narrative in 2012.

378 Available at http://www.misty-fest.com/festival

379 November 1-23, 2013. Performing musicians included: Samuel Úria (P), JP Simões (P), Gaiteiros de Lisboa & Deolinda (P), Anamar (P), Manuel Fúria (P), Danças Ocultas & Dom La Nena (P), Valter Lobo (P), Waldemar Bastos & Orquestra Gulbenkian (A, P), Aline Frazão (A, Spain), Cat Freitas (P), a.o. Information retrieved from billboard.

380 November 4-14, 2014. Performing musicians: Maria de Medeiros (P), Celina Piedade (P), Patxi Andion (Spain), Jorge Palma (P), Gisela João (P), Patrícia Bastos (B), Sona Jobarteh (UK-Gambia), Olavo Bilac (CV-M), Rodrigo Léão (P), Gisela João (P), Lura canta Cesária Évora (CV-P), Couple Coffee (P-GB-B, B), Buika (Equatorial Guinea-Spain), Rui Massena (P), Kronos Quartet (USA), Pierre Aderne (P-B, F). Information retrieved from billboard.

381 Available at https://www.facebook.com/pages/Lisboa-Que-Amanhece/212879422081334?sk=info

382 RESTART is a professional multimedia training center in Alcântara, Lisbon. http://www.restart.pt
Artistas de Países Lusófonos\textsuperscript{383} (released through Nó Cego, a net label without commercial aims that promotes and disseminates ‘artistas lusófonos’\textsuperscript{384}); and concerts of Portuguese-speaking musicians\textsuperscript{385}. In a personal interview, Alex Cortez Pinto, program director of Musicbox\textsuperscript{386} and pedagogic director of the event Lisboa que Amanhece, makes explicit reference to the documentary \textit{Lusofonia, a (R)evolução} as being its point of departure: “a ideia que esteve na genesis do projecto foi tentar mostrar precisamente que, não que Portugal ou a portugalidade concretamente influenciaram as culturas de outros países, mas sim esta mistura, esta miscigenização” (interview 7).

(12) The event África Mostra-se - Mostra de Cinema e Cultura Africana was first organized on July 21-24, 2011 by Instituto de Solidariedade e Cooperação Universitária (ISU) - an NGO in the Bairro da Cruz Vermelha neighborhood dedicated to education, development and social inclusion - to “criar espaço e dar a conhecer criações artísticas provindas de África ou relacionadas, de alguma forma, com as culturas africanas”\textsuperscript{387}.

Pretendeu-se essencialmente criar uma mostra anual que promovesse o contacto entre o público e manifestações artísticas e culturais oriundas de todos os países africanos (e não apenas dos PALOP), a fim de dar a conhecer novas imagens e novas linguagens do continente. Interessou-nos, e continua a interessar-nos, o desenvolvimento de uma reflexão partilhada sobre o modo como o continente africano é percecionado, de forma a combater a tendência, ainda generalizada, para a sua uniformização. (ibid.)

This reference to the African continent is telling in that it suggests that Africa not only transcends \textit{lusofonia} language-wise, but also gives it a diasporic and artistic autonomy. In 2014, hosting locations included B.Leza, Chapitô, Sagrada Familia (former Arte & Manha) and Institut Français du Portugal\textsuperscript{388}. Besides cinema (evoked in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Available at http://pt-br.facebook.com/NoCegoNetlabel\?sk=info
  \item Available at https://www.facebook.com/NoCegoNetlabel\?info
  \item Ana Lains (P), Cabace (GB, P, A), Chullage (CV), Circo das Atrocidades (P), Couple Coffee (P-GB-B, B), JP Simões (P), Mixtafari (B), Richtay y Keky (CV).
  \item The club Musicbox hosted the Festival Musidanças in 2010 and 2011.
  \item Information retrieved from https://africamostrase.wordpress.com
  \item Performing musicians:
    - Jul 21-24, 2011: Costa Neto (M) and Dj Cajokolo (A) at Arte & Manha.
    - Jun 14-17, 2012: Braima Galissá (GB) at Institut Français du Portugal, Zuul Nation (P) and Djumbai Jazz (GB) at Arte & Manha, Grupo de Batuque Finka Pé (CV) at ATLA – Ass. de Tempos Livres de Alfama.
    - May 23-Jun 1, 2014. Opening party at B.Leza. Performing musicians: Tony Osvaldo (GB) Bambarick - Badju di Tina (GB), Congo Stars Vibrations (A, Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo) and Irmãos Makossa (Italia, A) at Sagrada Familia (former Arte & Manha), Julinho da Concertina (CV) and Toni Tavares (CV) at Bartô (Chapitô).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
its billboard in annex 10, fig. 19), music concerts, dance and theater performances, painting and sculpture exhibitions, and presentations of literary works were promoted. ISU claimed that, “dado o compromisso que assumimos com o público, a cidade de Lisboa e os criadores e agentes culturais africanos, necessitamos de apostar, todos os anos, numa oferta cultural e artística, renovada e actual” (ibid).

(13) The Festival Conexão Lusofona was first organized on May 12, 2012 at the Mercado da Ribeira by the juvenile association Conexão Lusofona (CL, of which the fluid and colorful logo can be found in annex 10, fig. 20), with support from the CPLP, Missão de Angola junto à CPLP, UCCLA, the European Union (program ‘Juventude em Ação’), the Municipality of Lisbon and Grupo LeYa, in the realm of the 5th edition of the Semana Cultural da CPLP. The festival featured several nationalities and generations of Portuguese-speaking musicians, many of whom of migrant background, and then continued into an afterparty in the venue B.Leza, that had reopened on the same day. Like Lisboa que Amanhece, Conexão Lusófona also exhibited the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução during the festival. Later that year, on August 23, 2012, Conexão Lusófona returned to B.Leza to organize the event Gira Disk Conexão that, “em formato de baile, revisitará clássicos dos anos 60 e 70 interpretados por uma nova geração de lusófonos”. On May 4, 2013, the second edition of the Festival Conexão Lusófona took place at Pátio da Galé, Terreiro do Paço, coinciding with the official opening of Semana Cultural da CPLP. On 5 July 2014, the festival’s third edition was organized at Largo do Intendente, coinciding with the Independence day of Cape Verde and showing the FIFA World Cup game in Brazil of that day before the festival. On May 16, 2015, the association organized another Gira Disk concert at the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the independencies of the African colonies, in


389 Available at http://www.cplp.org/id-2425.aspx

390 Performing musicians: Sara Tavares (CV-P), Susana Félix (P), Tito Paris (CV), Yuri da Cunha (A), Pierre Aderne (P-B, F), Couple Coffee (P-GB-B, B), Luiz Caracol (P, son of retornados of A), Tubias Vaiana (STP), Manecas Costa (GB), Costa Neto (M), Kay Limak (T) and Júlio Pereira (P). Information retrieved from billboard.

391 Bob da Rage Sense (A), Dino d’Santiago (CV), Selma Uamusse (M), a.o. Information retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/events/399736666753940

392 Performing musicians: Bena Lobo (B), Bonga (A), Boss AC (P-CV), Dino d’Santiago (CV), Elisa Rodrigues (P), Filipe Mukenga (A), Gapa (STP), Karyna Gomes (GB, B), Kay Limak (T), Micas Cabral (GB), NBC (P, STP), Orlanda Guilande (M-P), Quinteto Luso-Baiano (B-P) e Selma Uamusse (M).

393 Performing musicians: António Zambujo (P), Lura (CV-P), Paulo Flores (A), Stewart Sukuma (M), Paulo de Carvalho (P), Patche di Rima (GB), Projecto Kaya (A, P), Calema (STP, Couple Coffee (P-GB-B, B), Laloram Tasi Timor (T). Support was obtained from RTP África, RDP África, RTP, CPLP, Embaixada de Cabo Verde, Banco BIC, Municipality of Lisbon, Bairro Intendente, Missão de Angola Junto à CPLP, Governo de Portugal, a.o.
Fórum Lisboa, as part of the Semana do Desenvolvimento. And on September 18, 2015, Festival Conexão Lusófona’s fourth edition took place at the Coliseu dos Recreios, through funding from the European Year for Development and from Camões - Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua. CL’s president Laura Filipa Vidal defined its festival as an intergenerational dialogue towards the development of the lusophone civic space, “partindo do princípio que a cultura tem um papel fundamental para o desenvolvimento de uma identidade coletiva, assumindo-se a lusofonia como um valor cultural partilhado” (interview 9). CL particularly affirms to promote interculturalism through a fusion of lusophone musics.

[Trabalhamos a] interculturalidade numa abordagem de proximidade, descontraída e informal junto do público, propondo uma viajem pelos diversos estilos musicais da lusofonia: do semba ao samba, passando pela kizomba e pelo fado, entre muitos outros géneros, dos mais tradicionais aos mais modernos, apostando nos duetos e na fusão de estilos musicais, origens e gerações (ibid.).

In sum, CL explicitly uses lusophone expressive practices to suggest possibilities for intercultural education and dialogue in postcolonial Lisbon as well as in other transnational locations with which the city relates itself.

In addition to the 13 mentioned festivals, others worth mentioning have been organized, dealing with notions including Africa and lusofonia in Lisbon in related ways. For example, the Festival da Lusofonia was organized on April 26, 2014 at TMN ao Vivo, at Lisbon’s Cais do Sodré, with representatives of hip hop, kuduro and kizomba. Similarly, the event Africa em Lisboa on May 27-31, 2015 in Museu da Carris, affirmed to “reavivar sensações aos africanos que moram em Portugal, arrebatar os portugueses que amam África e cativar os inúmeros turistas estrangeiros que visitam Lisboa”, by focusing on music from Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe. Finally in this list, the Festival da

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394 Performing musicians: Aline Frazão (A, Spain), Karyna Gomes (GB,) NBC (P, STP), Luiz Caracol (P, son of retornados of A), Mirosa Paris (CV), Nina Fung (M). Information retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/plataformaongd/photos/gm.799891403460384/10153378443003489/?type=1 &theater

395 Available at https://europa.eu/eyd2015/pt-pt

396 Performing musicians: Deolinda (P), Don Kikas (A, B), Kataleya (B), Elida Almeida (CV), Costa Neto (M), Binhan Quimor (GB), Calema (STP), Benvinda de Jesus (T), Filipe Santos (STP), Marcia Castro (B) and ZukaTuga (P, B). Information retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/events/1650171218539340


398 Performing musicians included Zézé Barbosa (CV) and members of Tabanka Djaz (GB), a.o.
lusofonia em Lisboa, organized on May 20-25, 2015 by EGEAC, UCCLA and Conexão Lusófona on different locations aimed to “valorizar a realidade multicultural e multiétnica da capital”\(^{399}\), aided by local associations of Portuguese-speaking migrant communities. Yearly alternative festivals such as Festa do Avante!, founded in 1976, have continuously addressed the same artistics potential\(^{400}\). To my knowledge, the latter has not specifically addressed its intercultural objectives.

For the organizers of some of these festivals that I have interviewed, the collective experience of lusophone musical expressions in the Portuguese capital, often emically referred to as lusofonia, is an expressive reality. For example, Carlos Martins, founder-director of the festival Lisboa Mistura, is explicit about the fact that lusofonia forms the basis for interculturalism in Lisbon: “nós [portugueses], sem a lusofonia, não tínhamos tido condição nenhuma para encarar questões interculturais” (interview 8). This idea is confirmed by Firmino Pascoal, the founder-director of the festival Musidanças:

Sei da existência de muitas coisas ao nível dos vários países, e para mim sempre foi claro esta questão não só da africanidade, mas também da lusofonia, pronto, essa ideia de mostrar às pessoas – digamos aos portugueses, aos estrangeiros, e até a nós próprios de outros países lusófonos que existem em Portugal – a cultura uns dos outros, porque muitas vezes a questão do racismo vem da falta de conhecimento das outras culturas, não é. (interview 1)

Pascoal wittingly points out how lusofonia does not exclude africanidade, and suggests that its recognition may serve as an antidote to ignorance and xenofobia. Other entrepreneurs in the field state related ideas. Laura Filipa Vidal (CL) argues that

O colonialismo português aconteceu, se foi mal ou se foi bom, aconteceu, e é o quê? Temos que reconhecer que houve uma mistura, miscigenação, tenha ela sido por motivos bons e sinceros, ou motivos maus, e nós estamos aqui com este legado, com esta herança, e temos que trabalhar positivamente em cima disto. Estamos realmente mais interessados em reconhecer esta ligação que existe no presente e trabalhá-la para o futuro (interview 9).

Alex Cortez Pinto, program director of Musicbox and pedagogic director of Lisboa que Amanhece, points out that his students themselves suggested the need to

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\(^{399}\) See [http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/noticias/detalhe/article/festival-da-lusofonia-de-lisboa](http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/noticias/detalhe/article/festival-da-lusofonia-de-lisboa)

\(^{400}\) For example, in 2014, the Festa do Avante! featured Guto Pires (GB), Dany Silva e Maria Alice (CV), Mind da Gap (P) with Sam the Kid (P) and Valete (STP, P), Uxía (Galicia) with Luanda Cozetti (P-GB-B) and Buraka Som Sistema (A,P), a.o., while in 2015, it saw performances of Tabanka Jazz (GB) with Dany Silva (CV), Jon Luz (CV), and Eneida Marta (CV). Previous years repeated this pattern. Information retrieved from [http://www.festivaisverao.com/Festivais-2015/Festa-do-Avante-2015.html#sthash.s1ncxLxP.dpuf](http://www.festivaisverao.com/Festivais-2015/Festa-do-Avante-2015.html#sthash.s1ncxLxP.dpuf)
fazer um evento que demonstrasse precisamente a importância da língua portuguesa no contexto dos países lusófonos e da cultura da lusofonia, ou seja, no fundo a língua portuguesa como um factor unificador de diversas e diferentes linguagens, e diferentes universos e culturas. E pronto, foi a partir daf que a ideia começou a ser trabalhada. Tentámos encontrar um conjunto de artistas que pertencessem a uma segunda ou terceira geração em Lisboa de imigrantes de países lusófonos, [e] com diferentes estilos musicais. A ideia era mostrar que, independentemente do género ou estilo musical, a língua portuguesa funciona como um elemento de ligação entre estes diferentes estilos, e também mostrar que um mesmo público pode sentir-se motivado e interessado por diferentes géneros musicais, precisamente pelo facto de ter esta questão de lusofonia (interview 7).

The documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução’s message continues to be influential, as the number of punctual festive events that feature lusophone musicians above may show. Nevertheless, some entrepreneurs claim that on a daily basis, the lack of instutional support for lusofonia and its musical fusions remains. Vidal argues: “existe esta nova Lisboa que não está sendo devidamente comunicada ao seu público. Lisboa não se assume na sua política e nas suas estratégias de comunicação.” And she even stresses:

Tem aqui um potencial muito interessante que não está sendo explorado. Portanto uma pessoa vindo a Lisboa pode ter sim uma experiência lusófona, mas só vai conseguir tê-la se conhecer pessoas locais, disposto a levá-la a lugares, e mesmo assim podiam ser mais lugares do que são actualmente (interview 9).

Cortez Pinto, in turn, questions the preference of national institutions over fado instead of lusophone music:

Agora temos o fado, património imaterial cultural da humanidade, mas nós deveríamos considerar que o grande património imaterial que nós temos é precisamente a lusofonia, e este património deveria ser protegido, resguardado, fomentado, e desenvolvido (interview 7).

In short, Lisbon’s musical lusofonia is building its historical legitimacy. In this sense, Vidal argues that:

Realmente deveria haver aqui um mix maior entre os jovens da comunidade de países de língua portuguesa, um reconhecimento do potencial identitário deste conjunto de países; isto não impede a sua afirmação individual, mas reconhece a força desse conjunto. Acho que falta essencialmente um trabalho concertado, juntando todas as pecinhas do puzzle, e trabalhando todos a criar esta sinergia (interview 9).

Cortez Pinto links this plea for support to its societal relevance and success:
Lisboa que Amanhece aconteceu numa segunda-feira, um dia pouco apetecível para espectáculos, com um conjunto de artistas -excepto 2 ou 3 eram todos desconhecidos- e foi um sucesso. Ou seja, há um público, o público gosta disso (interview 7).

Cortez Pinto points out that the aforementioned debate ‘Lusofonia, Potencialidades e Futuro,’ organized during Lisboa que Amanhece, had the objective to make this relevance visible: “Porque se não houver, de ponto de vista político-cultural, uma virada para isto, será difícil, através de actos isolados, conseguir ter resultados mais efectivos” (ibid.). An institutional policy to coordinate this kind of activities is thus necessary, he argues:

Creio que são realmente iniciativas isoladas. E se houvesse uma entidade que coordenasse todas estas iniciativas e as potenciasse? Não creio que o investimento financeiro tem que ser uma coisa exagerada, porque não é isso que é necessário, é necessário apoiar um conjunto de iniciativas porque o público existe (ibid).

Lisboa Mistura’s founder-director, Carlos Martins, is in line with these remarks: according to him, Lisbon needs more intercultural spots,

sítios onde pudesse haver actividades interculturais de forma fluida. Há poucos sítios onde isso acontece, havia B.Leza que fechou, pois há clubes, como a Casa da Morna de Tito Paris[,] pois há outros onde se faz misturas e tal, mas na verdade não há sítios. (interview 8)

At the time of his interview, Martins argued that an intercultural forum was necessary to coordinate these musical activities in Lisbon, “um fórum permanente sobre interculturalidade e as relações transculturais, a criar, desenvolver e patrocinar com outros entidades já a trabalhar nessa área” (ibid.). The temporary shutdown of B.Leza’s physical location between 2007 and 2012, as well as the permanent closures of the popular venues Onda Jazz and Bacalhoeiros (February and April 2014, respectively), are telling in this respect. In the same sense, Cortez Pinto pointed to a civic responsibility of cultural institutions:

Acho que é importante, e é isso que queria ressalvar aqui, que não se deixe morrer isto. É importante que haja uma consciência de que é preciso preservar esta ligaçao, de ponto de vista histórico, para as gerações futuras, e só através de uma política cultural que deveria obviamente fomentar este tipo de eventos (interview 9).

401 Cortez repeated the continued validity of these viewpoints during his participation in a roundtable organized by myself during the international conference Music and Human Mobility, June 2016. Firmino Pascoal also actively partipated in this session.
The mentioned festive events inspired by the notion of *lusofonia* demonstrate that cultural entrepreneurs in Lisbon have increasingly relied on the human-artistic potential of lusophone capital to somehow recuperate and incorporate narratives that refer to social, cultural and racial mixture in contemporary society. They point at the continued need of institutional involvement and at an awareness of civil responsibility.

### 2.2.2. Special live music venues and associations

A number of Lisbon-based clubs, bars and associations have already dedicated themselves, to a varying extent, to promoting musical versions of *lusofonia*. Below I deal with some of the most significant examples, such as (1) B.Leza, (2) Centro Interculturacidade, (3) Musicbox, (4) Fábrica Braço de Prata, (5) A Sagrada Família, (6) Chapitô, (7) Mercado da Fusão, (8) Onda Jazz, (9) Bacalhoeiros, (10) Casa da Morna, (11) Poema do Semba, (12) Anos 60, and (13) Lontra.

(1) B.Leza was originally opened in 1987 at the Palácio Almada Carvalhais by José Manuel Saudades e Silva under the name ‘Baile’. Closed in 1994 because of the owner’s death, his daughters reopened it in 1995 with the name B.Leza, inspired by co-owner Alcides Gonçalves (son of the Lisbon-based Cape Verdean singer Bana, who had been close to B.leza - the artistic name of Francisco Xavier da Cruz (1905-1958), an important musician of *morna* (*Cidra* 2010: 93-4). The club hosted the afterparty of the launching event of documentary *Lusofonia, a (R)evolução* in 2006, with the participation of migrant musicians from African Portuguese-speaking countries. Though it closed in 2007, its programming continued through the ‘B.leza itinerante’ initiative in various cultural spaces and nightspots of Lisbon, such as Teatro São Luiz, Teatro do Bairro and Cabaret Maxim’s. On March 2, 2012, B.Leza opened in its new location at the Cais do Sodré docks, where it “(re)encontra agora o Tejo e o seu público para, com nova casa, receber velhos amigos e com eles cantar a poesia e a magia da cultura lusófona”403. Initial events included ‘Noites de lusofonia’ (May 16 and 23, 2012;

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403 See https://www.facebook.com/BLeza-Associa%C3%A7%C3%A3o-%28A%29-156950591020414
June 20, 2012), an “encontro entre amigos luso-africanos que tem a mesma cor, som e sonhos e que, apesar de terem percursos diferentes, encontram-se em verdadeira comunhão no carismático espaço B.Leza, que é o melhor exemplo da Lusotopia [sic] que se vive em Lisboa” (ibid.). This was followed by an intense programming activity, illustrated by a showbill in annex 10, fig. 21, with resident musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries, such as the afterparty of Festival Conexão Lusófona (May 12, 2012), ‘Gira Disk Conexão’ - a DJ session by Conexão Lusófona (August 23, 2012), B.Leza’s 17th anniversary (December 21, 2012)\(^{405}\), ‘Noite solidária’ (January 24, 2013)\(^{406}\) and ‘Galaiza em Lisboa’ (February 21, 2013)\(^{407}\).

(2) Between July 17 and September 14, 2008, the association Etnia organized the event ‘Lusofónias: Culturas em Comunidade’\(^{408}\) in its venue Centro InterculturaCidade, located near B.Leza’s old location – Poço dos Negros, – an area described as “[uma] zona da cidade com profundas ligações à história das diásporas lusófonas em Lisboa e em Portugal” (unnamed author on Etnia’s website)\(^{409}\). The announced objective was to “divulgar as culturas do mundo da língua portuguesa, desde há muito presentes em Lisboa com uma diversidade e um vigor sem paralelo nas restantes metrópoles lusófonas” (ibid.). The cycle ‘Lusofónias’ consisted of 8 thematic weeks dedicated to the various Portuguese-speaking countries, stating that “um dos elementos essenciais da dimensão intercultural que Lisboa tem hoje, é justamente a presença das comunidades oriundas dos países de língua portuguesa” (ibid.). The event was repeated in August 3-31, 2012 (of which the billboard can be found in annex 10, fig. 22) in co-organization with the diplomatic mission of Brazil to the CPLP, from the desire that “lusofonia seja de fato cada vez mais um espaço de culturas em comunidade e em movimento, valorizando e respeitando a diversidade e a cidadania como valores essenciais no conjunto de nações independentes que hoje a integram” (unnamed author

\(^{404}\) ‘Lusotopia’ can refer to geographical places that came in contact with Portuguese culture during a past period of time, now sharing an “an undetermined but significant number of cultural codes, or even the sharing of a series of civic institutions and policies” (Pina-Cabral 2010: 5).

\(^{405}\) Ana Firmino (CV), Bonga (A), Calu Moreira (CV), Carla Correia (P-CV), Cau Paris (CV), Celina Pereira (CV), Celso Evora (CV), Costa Neto (M), Dany Silva (CV), Don Kikas (A), Gerson Marta (A), Guto Pires (GB), Ivo Costa (P), Jair Pina (CV), João Cabeleira (P), Jon Luz (CV), Kalu Ferreira (P), Kimi Djabaté (GB), Luiz Caracol (P, son of retornados of A), Maria Alice (CV), Nancy Vieira (GB-CV), Selma Uamusse (M), Vaiss (CV), Stephan Almeida (CV).

\(^{406}\) Maria Alice (CV), Dany Silva (CV), Celina Pereira (CV), Calu Moreira (CV), Carla Correia (CV-P), Ana Firmino (CV), Vaiss (CV), Nancy Vieira (GB-CV), Batucaderas Netas di Bibinha Cabra (CV).

\(^{407}\) Narf (Galicia), Uxía (Galicia), Budiño (Galicia), Filipa Pais (P), Carlos Branco (Galicia); Aline Frazão (A, Spain), João Afonso (P), Rui Veloso (Portugal), Paulo Borges (P), António Zambujo (P); Couple Coffee (P-GB-B, B), Sérgio Tannus (B), Fred Martins (B), Paulo Silva (B).

\(^{408}\) Available at http://lusofonias2008.blogspot.pt

\(^{409}\) Available at http://lusofonias2008.blogspot.pt
on Etnia’s website). Etnia has also organized ‘Noites criolas’ and ‘Noites interculturais’, for which it has regularly - but not exclusively - given the stage to resident musicians from lusophone countries.

(3) Musicbox, inaugurated in 2006, has announced the promotion of “partnerships with renowned events, cultural agents and publishers, resulting in programmatic areas that are witnesses of the most relevant cultural and artistic movements of the city”. In a personal interview, Alex Cortez Pinto, program director of Musicbox and pedagogic director of Lisboa que Amanhece, explained that he tries to include his interpretation of musical lusofonia in Musicbox’s weekly programmation:

410 Available at http://lusofonias2008.blogspot.pt
411 Available at https://www.facebook.com/events/925251000868970/
412 Available at https://www.facebook.com/events/116773308654731/
413 Available at http://www.musicboxlisboa.com/about-mb/
414 Available at http://www.bracodeprata.com
415 Available at http://pt-br.facebook.com/arteemanha?sk=info; also see Guerreiro 2012 for a more extensive ethnography of this venue.

(4) The Fábrica Braço de Prata, a cultural space located in the old military factory location in the city where guns for the colonial war were made, was inaugurated in 2007. From November 2010 through July 2011, it organized four ‘Noites da Lusofonia’, one of which focusing on candombé (see annex 10, fig. 23), and inviting the public “a viajar pelo arco-íris de aromas e sons de países como Brasil, Moçambique, Cabo-Verde, Angola, S. Tomé e Guiné Bissau”. In 2011, it also hosted the event ‘Fados na Fábrica de Braço de Prata’ as part of the Festa do Fado (Festas de Lisboa), already having organized the afternoon sessions ‘Fados ao Entardecer’ in 2008.

(5) The former Arte e Manha café, a now extinct friends project located near Marquês de Pombal, was inaugurated in 2011, and booked considerable success programming lusophone musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries. Arte e Manha called itself a “espaço cultural lusófono”, and “um projecto cultural sério e necessário para a sociedade de hoje, [para] promover o reencontro das culturas que das naus partiram e pelo mundo se afirmaram” (unknown author on the project’s website). It announced to do so by “cruzar o fado com a morna. O samba com alfama e as avenidas
novas com as velhas estradas que a arte lusófona percorreu até hoje” (ibid.). After a period of inactivity, the venue reopened in March 2013 under the name *A Sagrada Família*\(^{416}\), with Thursdays reserved for “sons da lusofonia” (retrieved from website).

(6) Bartô\(^ {417}\), a music program by Marta Lança located at Chapitô in Alfama (itself founded over 30 years ago), also featured various lusophone musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries\(^ {418}\). Chapitô hosted the event ‘Noites do Fado’ in 2011, including a fado competition. It has focused on traditional music and world fusion. The project received support from the Portuguese Government’s cultural and educational department, the Municipality Of Lisbon, and several commercial institutions.

(7) The Mercado de Fusão\(^ {419}\), a project of the Outjazz Festival mentor José Filipe Rebelo Pinto, brings a month long weekend program to Martim Moniz square (ImigrArte’s old location). It offers DJs and live musicians (from Portuguese-speaking countries but not exclusively), workshops and debates “centrados no multiculturalismo” in the “coração cosmopolita da cidade, onde cabem todas as culturas do mundo[,] Cidade da Tolerância[,] da modernidade e da tradição, da identidade nacional e da total mistura de costumes e culturas” (unnamed author on website).

(8) Onda Jazz, which closed in February 2014\(^ {420}\), was a venue in Alfama were interaction between lusophone musicians occurred on stage. The club, created in October 2004 by Victor Felizardo and Thierry & Corinne Riou, expanded jazz to other genres such as “as músicas do mundo, as sonoridades africanas e orientais ou os ritmos latinos” (ibid.)\(^ {421}\). The owners declared to “fechar as suas portas por não conseguir mais fazer face a uma política agressiva que despreza a cultura” (ibid.). Onda Jazz, close to Casa de Linhares (Bacalhau de Molho), Clube de Fado and Lusitano Clube\(^ {422}\), was probable to be converted into a new fado club, according local media at the time (ibid.).

\(^ {416}\) Available at http://timeout.sapo.pt/artigo.aspx?id=3906
\(^ {417}\) Available at http://chapito.org/?s=page&p=37
\(^ {418}\) Marta Lança is also editor of BUALA, a Lisbon-based website that offers critical reflections on African contemporary culture. http://www.buala.org
\(^ {419}\) Available at https://www.facebook.com/MercadoFusao
\(^ {420}\) Available at http://fugas.publico.pt/Noticias/331163_ondajazz-feira-portas-em-lisboa
\(^ {421}\) Nationally acclaimed musicians such as Mário Laginha (P), Maria João (P), Bernardo Sassetti (P), Júlio Resende (P), Carlos Barretto (P), Carlos Bica (P), Jacinta (P), Fernando Girão (P-B), Rao Kyao (P), Vitorino (P), Luanda Cozetti (P-GB-B), Paulo de Carvalho (P), Sara Tavares (CV-P), Viviane (P), Carmen Souza (CV), João Afonso (M-P) and Laurent Filipe (B) performed in Onda Jazz.
\(^ {422}\) Clube de Choro, playing the Brazilian genre chorinho, moved here in June 2013. http://rodadechoro.blogspot.pt
Bacalhoeiro\footnote{Available at http://bacalhoeiro.blogspot.pt}, also in Alfama, was another venue for alternative musics, which closed in April 2014. For its closing event, it featured Irmãos Makossa (Italy, A), Kid Selecta (P), Selma Uamusse (M), Hugo Santos e o Groove Manifesto (P), and Ian Carlo Mendonza (Mexico).

Despite these closures, other venues meanwhile reopened, such as Discoteca Lontra\footnote{Available at https://www.facebook.com/lontradiscotecaficana/info}, a pioneer of African musics in the Rua de São Bento in Lisbon that was originally founded in 1976, in September 2013. In December 2014, Paulo Flores (A) opened his restaurant/venue Poema do Semba\footnote{Available at http://www.verangola.net/Artigos/Poema-do-Semba-novo-restaurant-de-Paulo-Flores-e-hino-a-cultura-angolana=004766#.VHkLCjwsHMo.facebook} in Santos, while Tito Paris’ Casa da Morna in Alcântara, founded in 2004, changed its name to Casa da Morna e Semba in the same year\footnote{Available at http://casadamorna.blogspot.pt}. Anos 60 in Anjos is another venue that reserves space for African musics\footnote{Available at http://baranos60.blogspot.pt}.

Although there are for sure far more places offering a mixture of lusophone sounds in Lisbon, the venues mentioned above relate a shared difficulty in implementing sustainable and/or visible places to promote musical collaborations in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. By way of internet sites and social networks, these cultural entrepreneurs in some cases have been able to get acknowledged, albeit mental preconceptions of the mainstream public and the cultural battles with touristically promoted fado continue to set them apart from the mainstream.

### 2.2.3. Musicians

A number of individual musicians have also been responsible for producing instances of musical \textit{lusofonia}. This is exemplified through fusion practice as well as collaborations between musicians. Below, I briefly illustrate situations in which these people implicitly or explicitly refer to \textit{lusofonia}: in their discourse, during concerts with special guests, or in their recordings. My aim is to partially reconstruct a network of lusophone musicians.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[423] Available at http://bacalhoeiro.blogspot.pt
\item[424] Available at https://www.facebook.com/lontradiscotecaficana/info
\item[425] Available at http://www.verangola.net/Artigos/Poema-do-Semba-novo-restaurant-de-Paulo-Flores-e-hino-a-cultura-angolana=004766#.VHkLCjwsHMo.facebook
\item[426] Available at http://casadamorna.blogspot.pt
\item[427] Available at http://baranos60.blogspot.pt
\end{footnotes}
I have particularly worked to verify how music mediates their social networking, and to
determine whether these social spheres in turn create new musical identities.\textsuperscript{428}

\subsection{2.2.3.1. Discourse details on lusofonia}

My MA ethnography on migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries
residing in Lisbon (Vanspauwen 2010) has pointed out that their presence is important.
The lusophone musicians that I interviewed point out that local cultural promoters are
largely absent, and ask political action. Despite the political connotations of the proper
concept of \textit{lusofonia}, all interviewees do witness interaction between the Portuguese-
speaking communities in Lisbon on a daily basis, and for that assign future potential and
relevance to the notion. In particular, they argue that transnational cultural recognition,
financial and symbolic support, as well as music preservation strategies are needed.

Musicians with mixed origins that reside in Lisbon are also explicit in using their
personal biography in defending the term \textit{lusofonia}. For example, fado icon Mariza (M-
P) contends that her African roots affectively connect her to this notion:

\begin{quote}
Eu sou essa africanidade que Portugal tem, essa lusofonia que Portugal tem, e eu sei que
faço parte dela, porque sou africana, nasci em Africa mas cresci em Portugal, portanto há
uma grande parte de mim que absorveu tudo da Mouraria, de Lisboa, de Portugal, de
cultura, mas depois tenho um lado da minha mãe, os meus avós, ainda tenho a minha
família toda em Moçambique, e acho que isto é tão importante não é, esta partilha\textsuperscript{429}.
\end{quote}

At the occasion of the launch of his CD \textit{Kudihohola}, Chalo Correia (A)
portrayed Lisbon as a hub for musical influences that transcends family ties:

\begin{quote}
[Journalist: [Está em Portugal há muitos anos. Estas canções já não refletem só a memória
e a raiz angolana?]]

Correia: Não. Lisboa deu-me muita coisa e o disco tem muito disso: as vivências, os
becos onde passei, as relações … mas também as minhas influências da música
portuguesa, do Brasil, das influências latina-americanas [… ] As coisas congregam-se
naturalmente\textsuperscript{430}.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{428} I am grateful to Salwa Castelo-Branco for pointing this out during my presentation “Música
descolonizando Lusofonia?”, Doctoral Forum of INET-MD/FCSH, on October 2, 2014.
\textsuperscript{429} Transcribed from video at http://sicnoticias.sapo.pt/cultura/2014-10-27-Mariza-ganha-premio-de-
artista-do-ano-
\textsuperscript{430} Retrieved from Bruno Martins (2015), http://www.pressreader.com/portugal/metro-portugal-
lisbon/20151007
Olavo Bilac (CV-M), a member of the band Santos e Pecadores which recently started a solo career, argues along similar lines.

Como qualquer africano a música lusófona está muito presente em mim. Os meus pais são cabo-verdianos, eu nasci em Moçambique e vim pra cá muito novo. Sempre ouvi também muita música angolana e brasileira e esta lusofonia musical esteve sempre muito presente no meu crescimento apesar de eu fazer aquele pop rock que as pessoas conhecem⁴³¹.

Sara Tavares (CV-P) relates to the notion of lusofonia because her audience does so too:

Com muita insistência minha, e do meu management, quisemos investir mais na lusofonia, porque é dali que vem a música toda. É ali que está o público-alvo da minha musical. E também tem tudo a ver com os músicos que escolho para tocar comigo: um baixista da Guiné-Bissau, um percussionista de Cabo Verde, um guitarrista português que tem muito a ver com a música portuguesa e de Angola⁴³².

During the presentation of her album Terra in the NYC Town Hall, in February 2009, Mariza defended that for Portugal, fado is central to lusofonia, and to understand it, “one has to look back at traditions that go beyond national borders” (in NY Daily News)⁴³³. Defining lusofonia as the “triangle of Portuguese-speaking countries formed by Portugal, Brazil and some nations in Africa,” Mariza also points at spontaneous cultural fusions in Lisbon: “It’s easy to go to a restaurant and listen to music from Cape Verde, and see people from Africa and Brazil together having a good time. ... The fado, I believe, is definitely at the center of this tradition” (ibid.).

Sara Tavares also points to a shared culture between some lusophone countries:

Sim, posso constatar até que ponto é que a minha música faz sentido na diáspora africana. A música que faço pretende representar-me a mim, mas já sinto que os mais jovens identificam-se muito com o que faço, porque, de facto, há uma cultura comum entre quem vem de Angola e do Brasil, por exemplo. No Brasil foi engraçado saber que já houve cantoras que regravaram a minha música. É interessante, porque tomam aquilo como se fosse deles⁴³⁴.

The same argument is taken up by Olavo Bilac:

Cabo Verde, Angola, Brasil, Portugal – o Atlântico e a Lusofonia são ideias, sons, rotas que eu quero explorar. O plano é poder misturar tudo, trazer alguma mestiçagem para a música, pegar num tema como “O meu primeiro beijo” de Rui Veloso e dar-lhe um tom de morna. A verdade é que me tem estado a dar um enorme gozo explorar esta nova linguagem musical. Sinto isto como um passo natural.435

Media journalist João Moço, denominating Buraka Som Sistema’s (A, P) as “Lusofonia moderna”, uses a similar discourse436:

Porque os Buraka são os herdeiros assumidos dos mais de quinhentos anos de história de Portugal, no triângulo que se estende entre a Europa o Brasil e África. Da mesma maneira que os bairros à volta de Lisboa, como a Buraca, na Amadora, são a face mais moderna dessa história, através da imigração africana e brasileira em Portugal. Se existe forma de caracterizar Lisboa, hoje, é ouvindo uma música dos Buraka Som Sistema. A música que respira essa lusofonia do século xxi, moderna (ibid.).

In fact, Kalaf Epalanga, exponent of Buraka Som Sistema, cross-references to Alex Cortez Pinto’s argument when he suggests that Lisbon deserves not only a fado museum, but also a kizomba one:

Para aliviar as tensões entre Angola e Portugal, venho aqui propor, a quem cabe o direito de pensar, promover e investir nesse tipo de projectos, a criação do Museu da Kizomba na cidade de Lisboa. Está aqui uma oportunidade única para tarraxarmos os valores culturais que unem os diferentes povos da comunidade que fala, canta e sonha em português. Lisboa é uma cidade mestiça, é moura, é africana, é mundo, lugar economicamente falhado, mas culturalmente rico, com um péssimo plano de marketing, mas com conteúdo e uma história para contar. Porque não começarmos com um passinho de dança?437

This awakening of the lusophone musics in the world is patent in Chalo Correia’s discourse.

[Journalist: Amanhã dará um concerto no Lux, numa noite de Afrobeile [.]. É curioso o lugar onde vai apresentar estas suas canções, mas também é a prova que há cada vez mais interesse por esta música afro-lusófona?]
Correia: Temos que quebrar barreiras. A música, independentemente da sua origem, faz parte de nós e não está circunscrita a A, B, ou C. Vai ser num espaço diferente, mas é

From the above, it has become clear that lusophone musicians in Lisbon, even the ones active in fado or pop-rock, are aware of their African heritage as well as the ideological and mercantile potential of *lusofonia*. When talking to music journalists, some hidden tensions seem to arise, leading to the defense of lusophone musics as legitimate and modern face of global Lisbon, ideal to overcome racial, cultural and social stereotypes.

### 2.2.3.2. Individual concerts with special guests

Parallel to the concerts that have been listed above, individual musicians from different lusophone countries that are residing or performing in Lisbon have organized concerts in which they have invited one another on stage. Historically, this may be explained through the initial entrepreneurship of lusophone musicians in Lisbon-based venues such as Bana’s Monte Cara (in the 1970s and 1980s) and B.Lea (since the 1990s), and the resulting links in the world music circuit. Below, I give some significant examples since 2010. The lists below in this and the next subsection are particularly telling in my research.

As highlighted in social media and other sources, Cesária Evora (CV) and Bonga (A) met on stage in *Encontro das Vozes*, at the Coliseu dos Recreios, on 8 April 2010. Two days later, *Festi Angola 2010* brought together various Angolan musicians, some of which residing in Lisbon, with Tito Paris (CV), Grace Évora (CV), Sam the Kid (P) and Paulo de Carvalho (P) at the Pavilhão Atlântico (at the former Expo‘98 site). On April 15, 2010, Celina Pereira hosted the show *Entre Mornas e Fados* in the Teatro São Luiz, inviting Bana (CV), Batucadeiras Voz-d’África (CV), Cristina Nóbrega (P), Dany Silva (CV), Duarte (P), Maria Alice (CV), Vilma Vieira (CV), and Cao Bei (China). On July 30, 2010, Yuri da Cunha (A) hosted his show *Sou Lusófono* at Campo Pequeno, inviting Boss AC (CV-P), Bonga (A), Rui Veloso (P), Jorge Neto

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439 Available at http://www.rtp.pt/programa/tv/p27328
441 Available at http://celinapereira.blogs.sapo.cv
(Livity, CV) and Os Lambas (A) on stage. On October 26, 2010, Paulo Flores (A) invited Tito Paris (P) on stage during his show Raiz da Alma at the Centro Cultural de Belém. On October 12, 2012, Paulo Gonzo (P) celebrated his 35 year career with Jorge Palma (P), Tito Paris (CV) and others at the Coliseus dos Recreios. On December 14, 2012, Tito Paris (CV) celebrated 30 years at the same venue with Dany Silva (CV), Paulo Flores (A), Paulo Gonzo (P), Rui Veloso (P) and Vitorino (P). On January 25, 2013, Zé Ricardo (B) played together with Rui Veloso (P). On April 5, 2013, Daniela Mercury (B) invited Teresa Salgueiro (ex-Madredeus, P), Luís Represas (P), Camané (P), and Batida (A, P) on stage during her show in the Coliseu dos Recreios. On May 1, 2013, Luiz Caracol (P, son of retornados of A) played with Sara Tavares (CV-P) and Fernanda Abreu (B) in the Cinema São Jorge. On October 3, 2013, Tcheka (CV) and Mário Laginha (P) jointly performed at B.Leza. On October 26, 2013, Milton Nacimento (B) celebrated 50 years of career with Carminho (P) and António Zambujo (P) at the Coliseus dos Recreios. On February 1, 2014, Paulo de Carvalho (P) invited Boss AC (CV-P) and others on stage at the same venue. On March 27, 2014, Matias Damásio (A) invited Carminho (P), Paulo Gonzo (P) and Tito Paris (CV) on stage during his show in the Centro Cultural de Belém. On July 19, 2014, Yuri da Cunha (A) celebrated 20 years of career in the Meo Arena (formerly called Pavilhão Atlântico) with Anselmo Ralph (A) and Nelson Freitas (The Netherlands-CV). On October 30, 2014, Sara Tavares (CV-P) also celebrated 20 years in the Teatro São Luiz with Carlão (Pacman, ex-Da Weasel), Luiz Caracol (P, son

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443 Available at http://www.rtp.pt/programa/tv/p27922
444 Available at http://musica.sapo.pt/noticias/concertos/paulo-gonzo-celebra-35-anos-de-carreira-no-porto-e-em-lisboa
445 Available at http://musica.sapo.pt/noticias/concertos/tito-paris-comemora-30-anos-de-carreira-no-coliseu-dos-recreios-e-ja-amanha
446 Available at http://www.agendalx.pt/evento/ze-ricardo-convida-tim-e-rui-veloso#.VEeV-PldVhY
448 Available at http://musica.sapo.pt/noticias/especiais/o-samba-de-luiz-caracol-chegou-devagar
449 Available at https://www.facebook.com/events/436457763140398/?ref_newsfeed_story_type=regular
451 Available at http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/noticias/detalhe/article/paulo-de-carvalho-no-coliseu-voz-operario-130o-aniversario
452 Available at http://ticketline.sapo.pt/evento/matias-damasio-8200
of retornados of A), Aline Frazão (A, Spain) and Dino d’Santiago (CV), a.o.\textsuperscript{454}. On November 8, 2014, Stewart Sukuma (M), performed his show \textit{Boleia Africana} at the Coliseu dos Recreios, inviting Luís Represas (P), Cuca Roseta (P), Selma Uamusse (M) and Costa Neto (M) and others on stage\textsuperscript{455}. Finally, on November 28, 2014, Nelson Freitas (The Netherlands-CV) invited Anselmo Ralph (A), Yuri da Cunha (A), Boss AC (CV-P), Dino d’Santiago (CV), Mika Mendes (France-CV), Sara Tavares (CV-P) and Tito Paris (CV) on stage at the Meo Arena\textsuperscript{456}. After this date, I observed similar collaborations in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

The density and complexity of the web of interest of musical collaborations between lusophone musicians in Lisbon clearly emerges from the examples above. Beyond genre categories or difference in audience, musicians that either reside in Lisbon or traveled to it on tour use their claimed provenance to link with musicians from other lusophone destinations. As such, they inscribe themselves into the new narrative, ideological and mercantile, of musical \textit{lusofonia}, using the idea of musical collaboration as a way to recuperate lusophone memories and to instigate civil inclusion of the population groups they have come to represent.

\section*{2.2.3.3. Recordings}

The musical partnerships that I have pointed to above are also evoked through discographic collaborations. In this section, I note names of some musicians involved as well as their claimed provenance, and visually represent some of the mentioned record covers in annex 10, figs. 24-27.

Rui Veloso and Dany Silva performed the song “Sodade” for the 1996 record \textit{Pensa Nisto! Todos diferentes todos iguais}, which also featured collaborations between Boss AC (P-CV), Bonga (A), Carlos Martins (P), Costa Neto (M), Celina Pereira (CV, A), Guto Pires (GB), Maria João and Mário Laginha (P), Mingo Rangel (M), Netos de N´Gumbé (GB), Paulo de Carvalho (P), Rão Kyao (P), Tito Paris (CV) and Tonecas Prazeres (STP), among others. In 2000, Maria João and Mário Laginha released

\textsuperscript{454} Available at http://www.conexaolusofona.org/sara-tavares-comemora-20-anos-de-carreira-com-concerto-em-lisboa/#.VEbRvPlDvY
\textsuperscript{455} Available at http://www.conexaolusofona.org/stewart-sukuma-reune-convidados-para-apresentar-boleia-africana-em-lisboa/#.VEbRvldVhY
\textsuperscript{456} Available at http://rfm.sapo.pt/content/1374/37464/nelson_freitas_ao_vivo
Chorinho Feliz on behalf of the NCCPD, musically celebrating the 500th anniversary of the Portuguese ‘discovery’ of Brazil. Brazilian musicians such as Gilberto Gil, Lenine and Edu Miranda participated in this record (Cidra et al. 2010: 181)\(^{457}\). Rão Kyao’s (P) recordings *Goa* (1979), *Canção do mar* (1983), *Navegantes* (1997) and *Porto Interior* (2008) as well as António Chainho’s (P) *A guitarra e outras mulheres* (1998), *Lisboa-Rio* (2000) and *LisGoa* (2010) established musical connections between lusophone regions. In 2003, Sérgio Godinho (P) invited Teresa Salgueiro (P), Caetano Veloso (B), Jorge Palma (P), Da Weasel (P, CV), Gabriel o Pensador (B), Rui Veloso (P), Vitorino (P), Zeca Baleiro (B), Carlos do Carmo (P), Camané (P), Milton Nascimento (B), Gaitieros de Lisboa (P), Tito Paris (CV), José Mário Branco (P) a.o. to perform together on his record *O Irmão do Meio*. In 2005, Kátia Guerreiro (P) worked together with Ney Matogrosso (B) for part of her record *Tudo ou Nada*. Matogrosso also appeared in Carlos Martins’s (Ass. Sons da Lusofonia) 2006 release *Do Outro Lado*, featuring Camané (P), Mayra Andrade (Cuba-CV) and Carlos do Carmo (P)\(^{458}\). In 2009, Boss AC recorded the song “Break U”\(^{459}\) with Olavo Bilac (CV-M) e Valete (STP, P), while in 2012, he collaborated with Gabriel o Pensador (B) for the song “Um brinde à amizade”\(^{460}\). In 2010, Banda Maravilha (A) released *As nossas palmas*, featuring Tito Paris (CV), Emílio Santiago (B), Daniel Nascimento (A) and Mimito (of Tabanka Jazz, GB)\(^{461}\). Carminho (P) recorded with Ney Matogrosso (B) in 2009, with Chico Buarque (B), Milton Nascimento (B) and Nana Caymmi (B) in 2012, and with Marisa Monte (B), Carlinhos Brown (B) and Naná Vasconcelos (B) in 2013, for her first three records\(^{462}\). Pedro Moutinho recorded Amália Rodrigues’ song “Alfama” in 2010 with Mayra Andrade (Cuba-CV)\(^{463}\). In 2012, Paulo de Carvalho (P) recorded *Duetos de Lisboa* with Orlanda Guilande (M-P), Yami (A), Ritinha Lobo (CV), Camané (P), Gisela João (P) and Ivan Lins (B), a.o. \(^{464}\). In 2013, Paulo Gonzo (P) similarly released *Duetos* with Ana Carolina (B), Anselmo Ralph (A), Jorge Palma (P), Matias Damásio...
(A), Tito Paris (CV), and Fafá de Belém (B), a.o.

That same year, Dorival Caymmi (B), Rui Veloso (P) and Paulo Gonzo (P) featured on Olavo Bilac’s (CV-M) solo effort *Músicas do Meu Mundo*. Still in 2013, Nelo de Carvalho (A) recorded his *Encontros* with Rui Mingas (A), Waldemar Bastos (A), Tito Paris (CV), Manecas Costa (GB) and Rão Kyao (P). In 2014 Júlio Pereira (P) worked together with Uxía (Galicia), Sara Tavares (CV-P) and Luanda Cozetti (P-GB-B) for his record *Cavaquinho.pt*, while the saxophone player Otis (M) invited Bonga (A), Manecas Costa (GB) and Jaco Maria (M) for his release *Caminhos*. In the same year, Pérola (A) edited the record *Mais de Mim* with guest appearances of Ivete Sangalo (B), C4 Pedro (A) and Djodje (CV).

In 2014 Júlio Pereira (P) worked together with Uxía (Galicia), Sara Tavares (CV-P) and Luanda Cozetti (P-GB-B) for his record *Cavaquinho.pt*, while the saxophone player Otis (M) invited Bonga (A), Manecas Costa (GB) and Jaco Maria (M) for his release *Caminhos*. In the same year, Pérola (A) edited the record *Mais de Mim* with guest appearances of Ivete Sangalo (B), C4 Pedro (A) and Djodje (CV). Still in 2014, Kátia Guerreiro sang a song by Anselmo Ralph (A) (“Não me toca”) and previously sang the Martinho da Vila (B) song “Dar e Receber” in 2005, and sang two duets with Ney Matogrosso (B) in 2006.

In 2015, the tribute record *Amália: As Vozes do Fado* featured collaborations between Caetano Veloso (B) and Carminho (P), Bonga (P) and Ana Moura (P), and Mayra Andrade (Cuba-CV) and António Zambujo (P), a.o. In the same year, Cuca Roseta released her record *Riû*, featuring collaborations of Jorge Palma (P), Sara Tavares (CV-P), Júlio Resende (P), Mário Pacheco (P), João Gil (P), Jorge Drexler (Uruguay), Ivan Lins (B) and Nelson Motta (B). Still in 2015, Yuri da Cunha (A) collaborated with Alexandre Pires (B), Nelson Freitas (CV), Suzanna Lubrano (CV), Ary (A) and C4 Pedro (A) for his record *O intérprete*; Carlão (CV) invited Sara Tavares (CV-P) and Dino d’Santiago (CV) for his record *Quarenta*; and Tonecas (STP) edited the recording *Afrovungo Project* with participations of Costa Neto (M), Don Kikas (A), Filipe Santos (STP), Luís

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465 Available at http://www.sonymusic.pt/news/paulo-gonzo-novo-%C3%A1lbum-duetos-chega-%C3%A0s-lojas-esta-quarta-feira-4-de-dez
466 Available at http://cidade.iol.pt/agenda/body.aspx?id=3086
467 Available at http://www.rtp.pt/antena1/?t=Disco-A1-Nelo--Carvalho---Encontros.rtp&article=6749&visual=10&tm=2&headline=14
468 Available at http://www.mysound-mag.com/2014/11/perola-mais-de-mim-album.html
470 Available at http://www.rtp.pt/noticias/cultura/martinho-da-vila-faz-parceria-com-a-fadista-portuguesa-katia-guerreiro-n153446
471 Available at http://www.rtp.pt/antena1/discos/amalia-as-vozes-do-fado_-8864
472 The record label Universal’s music description of Riû as the “encontro entre a canção portuguesa e a música popular brasileira ou entre a pop e a morna”, or “world fado”, is interesting to note.
474 Available at https://www.facebook.com/pages/Carl%C3%A3o/322869091255650?sk=info&tab=page_info
475 Available at http://www.telanon.info/cultura/2015/09/02/20002/agenda-de-apresentacao-do-album-tonecas-prazeress-afrovungo-project/
Represas (P), João Pedro Martins (P) and Otis (M). I have found other, punctual collaborations over the years\textsuperscript{476}, these are however the ones that I find most meaningful.

The trajectories of selected session musicians show mobility as well\textsuperscript{477}. For example, Yuri Daniel (B) collaborated in performances and records of Rui Veloso (P), Sérgio Godinho (P), Maria João and Mário Laginha (P), Bonga (A), Kusssondolola (A), Dany Silva (CV) and Tito Paris (CV) (Cidra et al. 2010: 179). Jefferson Negreiros (B) played with Calema (STP), Lenine (B), Dona Canô (P-B), and the Portuguese Eurovision representation, Suzy (P), in 2014. Múcio Sá (B), my colleague in ethnomusicology, played with Filipe Mukenga (A), Waldemar Bastos (A), Tito Paris (CV), Carlos Lopes (A), Banda Maravilha (A), Dany Silva (CV), and Kussundulola (A). He also partook in joint projects that referenced \textit{lusofonia} such as Sons da Fala, Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia, Orquestra Todos (since 2011) and Festival Conexão Lusófona in 2014. Finally in my selection, Francesco Valente (Italy), another INET colleague, played in the band Terrakota, Orquestra Todos, and with Aline Frazão (A-Spain), a.o.

Finally, to finish my notes regarding partnerships, some specific events of efforts also evoke a circuit of lusophone musicians. For example, in May 2014, Costa Neto (M), Piki Pereira (T), Tonecas Prazeres (STP), José Barros (P), Ammy Injai (GB), Nancy Vieira (GB-CV), Elizah Rodrigues (B) and Bonga (A) jointly recorded a hymn against hunger in Africa\textsuperscript{478}. In June 2014, Anselmo Ralph (A) was elected Melhor Cantor da Lusofonia, in a contest in which Yuri da Cunha (A) and Nelson Freitas (The Netherlands-CV) were also nominated\textsuperscript{479}. Surely, other situations happened that are meaningful for this, needless to say, unfinished account for the soundscapes of \textit{lusofonia} in Lisbon.

\textsuperscript{477} For musical collaborations between Portuguese and Brazilian musicians in particular, see Sardo et al. 2012.
\textsuperscript{478} Available at http://www.plataformamacau.com/seccoes/cultura/musicos-unem-se-contra-a-fome-nacplp
\textsuperscript{479} Available at http://www.conexaolusofona.org/anselmo-ralph-e-eleito-o-melhor-cantor-da-lusofonia-no-mtv-africa-music-awards/#.VEEJHrlfdVhY
2.3. Musidanças (2001-2015) into play: basic characteristics

The heart of contemporary ethnographic analysis is not in the reclamation of some previous cultural state or its subtle preservation despite changes, but rather in the new cultural forms to which changes in colonial subaltern situations have given rise (Marcus 1995: 79).

Not so soon then, the Musidanças festival enters into play in this study. I first describe its structure and objectives as well as side projects Noites Mestiças and Feira do Fado. Then, I note the consecutive editions of these projects, paying attention to production and sponsorship as well as locations and programming, to display its basic characteristics of structure and calendar. I thus prepare the way to deal with the specific aspects of my thesis: the governance, discourse and performance of *lusofonia* in Musidanças, which I develop in chapter 3, the central one in this dissertation.

2.3.1. Structure and objectives

Recalling my introductory reflections regarding the meaning of the notion of festa and its relevance in the context of *lusofonia* in Lisbon, I now finally present the central festival of this study. Musidanças is the name of the festival created by the Portuguese-Angolan musician Firmino Pascoal in 2001. It was the first Lisbon-based festival after Expo’98 to mobilize musicians and their audiences with explicit reference to the idea of musical *lusofonia*. Under varying subnames such as “Festival das Comunidades Lusófonas” and “Festival de Artes do Mundo Lusófono,” mainly but not exclusively in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, and with dispersed financial support, the festival has promoted music, dance, poetry, and art of Portuguese-speaking artists every year since...

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480 The listing of musicians, their appearances and their background was carried out collaboratively with Firmino Pascoal in the course of this dissertation. Billboards were also retrieved during this period.

481 The information regarding the various editions of the festival is disperse. Although the names of the musicians and bands were advertised through several posters, it has not always been possible to retrieve accurate details vis-à-vis their actual performance and repertoire.

482 FNACs of Chiado, Cascais, Colombo, Almada, Vasco da Gama; Auditório da RDP África, Lisbon; Moinho de Maré, Barreiro; Santiago Alquimista, Lisbon; Auditório Municipal de Almada; Onda Jazz, Lisbon; Instituto Franco Português, Lisbon; Cabaret Maxime, Lisbon; Paio Pires, Seixal; DIBox, Vila Franca de Xira; Musicbox, Lisbon; Hampstead Heath and Guildhall Yard, London; Teatro do Bairro, Lisbon; Feira de São Mateus, Viseu; and São Pedro do Sul are other localities where Musidanças was held.

483 According to its billboard, at its 10th anniversary in 2010, the festival received financial support from over 50 institutions, including the Municipalities of Lisbon, Cascais and Loures, Metropolitano de Lisboa, Turismo de Lisboa, FNAC, Fundação Oriente, Casa de Goa, RTP 2, and RDP África.
2001. In Firmino Pascoal’s words, it has tried to “estimular e apoiar a criação de arte lusófona, desenvolver a consciência lusófona e proporcionar atracções de qualidade que possam manter vivas as origens do público estrangeiro-lusófono residente em Portugal”484. Musidanças announces the aim to “criar um elo entre o trabalho dos artistas participantes,” promoting transnational cultural exchanges between Portugal, Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea-Bissau and East Timor (ibid.). The festival positions itself as a link between different populations and cultures, “acreditando que o segredo está na mistura e na qualidade dos artistas selecionados” (ibid.). To do so, Firmino Pascoal has generally informed the claimed provenance and indicative music categories on physical and virtual billboards. Musidanças also deems itself responsible for the recognition of many artists on the national music scene and beyond. It claims to be the largest festival of lusophone arts in Portugal, intending to constitute “uma vitrine coesa de comunidades lusófonas e as suas culturas em Portugal e no mundo” (ibid.).

In the Musidanças logo, three connected circles in yellow, green and red can be observed, perhaps referring to the Portuguese national flag and suggesting elements of interconnection.

Besides Musidanças, Firmino Pascoal has also organized two complementary events, Noites Mestiças (NM) and Feira do Fado (FF). These initiatives were held in parallel with Musidanças during a number of years in which the festival was organized: Noites Mestiças in 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011 and 2015, and Feira do Fado in 2009.

Musidanças’ organization has also been active as independent music publisher under the name Zoomúsica, and a cultural association - initially called Associação de Artes BAZA, afterwards Jungleplanet - which have a discourse that is very similar if not

484 Retrieved from http://www.festivalmusidancas.com
identical to that of the festival. Zoomúsica is “uma entidade vocacionada para a criação de eventos artísticos e para a produção, edição e distribuição de trabalhos discográficos. [Ela] capta valores do espectro da música do mundo lusófono, [fazendo] tudo pela arte do mundo lusófono.” In turn, the cultural association Jungleplanet “pretende ser uma montra coesa da música das comunidades lusófonas que evoluem em Portugal e no Mundo”. I deal with these structures in more detail in 3.1.2. The creator of them all, Firmino Pascoal, makes ample use of social media to disseminate his ideas. In my research, I have verified and complemented these sources with personal interviews, journal articles as well as other documental information that was made available to me.

A complete outline of performing musicians, number and years of participation, as well as more detailed information such as place(s) of origin and residence, can be found in annex 17. Finally, a limited number of selected images of Musidanças’ yearly editions are available under annex 14.

2.3.2. Editions

Musidanças’ first edition took place on November 1-5, 2001 in FNAC Chiado, Lisbon with the slogan “Música da África Lusófona”, as can be read from its scanned showbill in annex 10, fig. 29. The event was produced by the Associação de Artes BAZA, a group of friends of which Firmino Pascoal was a founding member, and sponsored by FNAC. In its publicity, the festival defended that “o carácter periódico destes ciclos” aimed to “implementar a acção, o contributo e o intercâmbio de autores Lusófonos no panorama actual da cultura no mundo, entendida como cruzamento de referências culturais afectas aos diferentes países da expressão lusa.” Performing musicians were Tonecas (STP), Zé Vidigal (M), Eleutério Sanches (A), Terranaçom (CV), Guto Pires (GB) and Yami (A).

Musidanças’ second edition took place on March 1-11, 2002 in FNAC Cascais. Produced by BAZA and sponsored by FNAC, it featured musicians Kalema (A), Guto Pires (GB), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Eleutério Sanches (A), Twapandula (A, B), Teté Alhinho (CV) and Braima Galissá (GB, P). Poetry, painting and cinema were also included.

Musidanças’ third edition took place on March 5, 12, 19 and 26, 2003, with two live broadcasted concerts on each day in the Auditório da RDP África, then located at
Amoreiras in Lisbon. With the slogans “Música Lusófona ao vivo na RDP África” and “Ciclo de Música Lusófona”, the event was produced by BAZA and sponsored by RDP África. At the time, Musidanças presented itself with the following discourse:

O Musidanças é um ciclo musical que reúne autores de expressão artística Lusófona residente em Portugal. Na edição deste ano, o auditório da RDP África será o palco desta iniciativa, com transmissão directa para todo o continente africano. Com esta iniciativa, a Associação BAZA procura levar ao grande público vários cenários de criação musical alternativos - apostando em projectos da música de raiz tradicional de vários países lusófonos como é o caso de Cabo-Verde, Timor, Angola, S. Tomé e Príncipe, Brasil, Moçambique, Guiné Bissau e Portugal.485

Bita Nascimento (CV), Furkutundada (GB), Lalatak (T), Genito Raça (M), Vungo (STP), Raça Brasil (B), Gui-Destino (A), Coral Benção (A), and Attambur (P) performed at the occasion (ibid.).

Musidanças’ fourth edition took place on March 26, 27 and 28, 2004 at Moinho de Maré in Alhos Vedros (Moita), Barreiro. It was produced by Zoomúsica and BAZA and sponsored by Instituto Camões, Região de Turismo de Setúbal, and Círculo de Animação Cultural de Alhos Vedros (CACA). a.o. Tó Pinheiro da Silva, RDP África, and Câmara Municipal de Moita are also mentioned as collaborators in the event. With the slogan “Música Lusófona. Portugal, S. Tomé, Brasil, Guiné, Cabo Verde, Angola” against a painted background (see annex 10, fig. 30), the festival announced the aim to “através da música, da dança, da poesia e do artesanato, proporcionar alguns momentos de animação cultural a um concelho em que coabitam gentes oriundas de diversas paragens.” Performing musicians and groups were Conversa Fiada (A, P), Tonecas (STP), Terranaçon (CV), Jacaré & Cia (B), Lindu Mora (A-P, P) and Guto Pires (GB).

Still in 2004, an extension of Musidanças was organized under the name Ciclo Musidanças on October 1-17, 2004 in the Fórum FNAC Colombo (Lisbon). Produced by Zoomúsica and sponsored by FNAC, it featured musicians and groups such as Mshao (M), Jorge Rosa (A), Serões do Alentejo (P), Grupo do Batuque Juntamó (CV), Lundum Ensemble (CV), Ekvat (Goa), Kayawaka (M), Mussá Ibrahimo (M), Bartolomeu Dutra (Açores, P), Nação Groove (P), Grupo União na Capoeira (B), Celina Pereira (CV), Projecto Lusiada (P), Kulurimar (A, P, GB), Tonecas (STP), Braima Galissá (GB, P), Aldo Milá (A, P), Elsa Noronha (M), Sidó (GB), Grupo Coral Vozes

da África (A), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), and Jovens do Hungu (A). And promoted a debate entitled “O estado da música actual”.

Musidanças’ fifth edition took place on September 16-29, 2005 in two separate locations: the cultural venues Santiago Alquimista, in Lisbon, and the Auditório Municipal de Almada, in Almada, as can be read from its showbill in annex 10, fig. 31. It was produced by Zoomúsica and sponsored by Santiago Alquimista and FNAC, as well as the Municipalities of Lisbon, Cascais, and Loures, Metropolitano de Lisboa, Turismo de Lisboa, ACIME, Fundação Oriente, Casa de Goa and RDP Africa. With the slogan “Festival das Comunidades Lusófonas”, the event featured both regular performances and a specific “Lusofonia” cycle, dedicating one day to each Portuguese-speaking country. As to the regular performances, Nancy Vieira (GB-CV), Fernando Terra (B), Melo D (A, P), Sara Tavares (CV-P), Dama Bete (M, P), Theo Pascal (P), Gaita Folia (P), Rafael Greyck (B), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Tonecas (STP), Barafunda (P, GB), Celina Pereira (CV, A), Terrakota (Italia, P, A), À Bolina (A, B, CV, M, P, Austria), and Mercedes Soza (CV) were announced. Under the “Lusofonia” label, the Angola day included Raúl Ouro Negro, Daniel Martinho, Coral Benção, Jovens do Hungu; the Brazil day featured Pedro Moreno and Arte Pura Capoeira; the Cape Verde day: Gilyto, Batuque Voz África, and Jay; the Guinea-Bissau day: Guto Pires, Maio Coope, and Braima Galissá; the Goa/Macau day: Ekvat and a workshop of Chinese musical instruments; the Mozambique day: Elsa de Noronha, Mshao, Xipane Pane, Costa Neto, Mingo Rangel; and finally, the Portugal day: Dazkarieh, Raízes, and Mare Nostrum486. On April 25 of that same year, an extension of Musidanças had already been organized in the Auditório Municipal de Almada, produced by Zoomúsica and sponsored by Fórum Almada and the Almada Municipality. Under the slogan “25 Abril. Espectáculo comemorativo”, it featured Ekvat (Goa), Lindu Mona (A-P, P) and Guto Pires (GB).

Musidanças’ sixth edition took place between October 3 and December 12, 2006 in Onda Jazz, Lisbon. Its showbill, using a similar image to the edited record Musidanças ’06, can be found in annex 10, fig. 32. It was produced by Zoomúsica and sponsored by RDP África, CPLP, the Brazilian consulate, ACIME, and Onda Jazz. Under the slogan “Música do mundo lusófono”, it featured Boy G. Mendes (Senegal-CV, P), Pedro Moreno (B), Tonecas (STP), Paulinho Soares (A), Alberto Mvundi (A, 486 Available at http://festivalmusidancas.blogspot.pt
Galicia), Canela & Mingo Rangel (M), Dama Bete (M, P), Refilon (CV), André Cabaço (M, A), Terranaçom (CV), Guto Pires (GB), Wadada & Kibanguí Band (P), Fernando Terra (B), Jay (CV), Maria Alice (CV), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Francisco Naia (P), Ngoma Nakamba (A, P), Ébano (A, P, M, CV), and Sara Tavares (CV-P). A record entitled Musidanças 06. Música do mundo lusófono, featuring a selection of the above musicians, was also launched. I discuss this record in 3.1.2.2. and its selected songs in 3.2.3.1.)

Musidanças’ seventh edition took place between November 22 and December 1, 2007 at the Instituto Franco Português in Lisbon. It was sponsored by ACIDI, Instituto Franco-Português and Alliance Française Lisboitne, a.o. Under the slogans “Festival de artes do mundo lusófono,” “Música da África Lusófona,” and the logo “O sucesso está na mistura”, Braima Galissá (GB, P); Terrakota (Italy, P, A), Pascoal Silva (CV), Fernando Terra (B), Dazkarieh (P), André Cabaço (M, A), Guto Pires (GB), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Francisco Naia (P), Tonecas (STP), Puzzle (P), Melo D (A, P), Jorge Dissonnancia (B) and Uxia (Spain (Galicia)) were announced to take the stage.

Pascoal dedicated and prescribed the event “às artistas que contribuiram com os seus talentos para que o festival crescesse e tornasse grande como é hoje. Graças ao nosso trabalho em conjunto, hoje o Festival Musidanças é um dos principais festivais de cultura e arte lusófona de Portugal.” Still in 2007, the first edition of Noites Mestiças took place on Thursdays in August and September in the Cabaret Maxime in Lisbon (where B.Leza would have part of its shows after it closed at its original location). Produced by Zoomúsica and sponsored by DI Box, its announced purpose was to show “alguma da música do mundo feita em Portugal.” Performing musicians were Melo D (A, P), Bob da Rage Sense (A), Mundo Complexo (P, A, CV), Canela (M), Teresa Gabriel (P), Guto Pires (GB), André Cabaço (M, A), Lindu Mona (A-P, P) and Yohanes Krieger (Germany).

Musidanças’ eigth edition took place on November 6, 7 and 8, 2008 at Espaço Tambor Que Fala, the Tocá Rufar basis, in parque industrial Paio Pires, in Seixal. As

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487 The CD included At Tambur (P), Canela (M), Dama Bete (M, P), Fernando Terra (B), Francisco Naia (P), Guto Pires (GB), Jay (CV), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Márcio Catunda (A), Paulo Soares (A), Pedro Moreno (B), Prince Wadada (CV), Sara Tavares (CV-P), Tonecas (STP), and André Cabaço (M, A). Information retrieved from http://festivalmusidancas.blogspot.pt

488 Workshops in poetry (with Elsa de Noronha), personal management (Rosana Antonio), theater and dance (Robson Vieira) and sonorization (Cláudio Silva), as well as a conference on “As Máscaras Africanas Tradicionais” (Livio Morais).

489 Retrieved from http://www.festivalmusidancas.com

490 Retrieved from http://www.festivalmusidancas.com
the showbill in annex 10, fig. 33 shows, Tocá Rufar’s logo featured prominently, as the group co-produced and sponsored the festival. Under the slogan “Musidanças. Festival de Artes do Mundo Lusófono”, it featured Mingo Rangel (M), Batuque Finka Pé (CV), Supa (P), Bandoodjah (B), Katharsis (P), Chaparro & Banda (P, A), Guto Pires (GB), Balet Brasil (B), Baboza (CV, P, M), Zuul Nation (P), Black Bombaim (P), Dama Bete (M, P), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Wonderfull’s Kova M (CV, P), Atma (P), Kaja Bucalho (P), Mundo Complexo (P, A, CV), and Manif3stos (P)491. Still in 2008, the second edition of Noites Mestiças took place from April to October 2008 at the Instituto Franco Português, Lisbon (see annex 10, fig. 34). It was produced by Zoomúsica and Só Hip Hop and it was sponsored by DI Box. Under the slogan “eventos dedicados ao Hip Hop,” it announced Royalistick (P), NBC & Os Funks (P, STP), Skunk (P), Xeg (P), Raptor (P), Sanrise (P), Vucabulo (P), Dengas (P), Inastereo (P), Mundo Complexo (P, A, CV), Bob Da Rage Sense (A), Dama Bete (M, P), Black Mastah (?) and Dino (CV)492.

Musidanças’ ninth edition took place on November 26, 27, 28 and 29, 2009, again at Espaço Tambor Que Fala in Seixal (see annex 10, fig. 35 for its in part painted billboard). It was produced by Zoomúsica and sponsored by Tocá Rufar. Under the same slogan as two years earlier, “Musidanças. Festival de Artes do Mundo Lusófono”, it announced Sons da Gente (P), Twins (A), Tocá Rufar (P), Tutinmick’s (A, CV, STP, P), Cansons de Liberdade (GB, P, A, CV), Wok (A, P), Yami (A), Rui Júnior (P), Luis e a Lata (P-A), Carlota Joaquina (CV), Paulo Kaiymã (B), and Ponkies (P)493. In that same year, a unique edition of Feira do Fado had come to life on October 4-5-6-7-8-9-10, 2009, in DIBox, in Arruda dos Vinhos (Vila Franca de Xira). Produced by Zoomúsica and sponsored by DI Box, it announced a fado night by “Fadista Negra” Ana Maria (A, P), a presentation of the “fado folk electrónico” project M PEX (P), the record Amália Secreta by José Moças494, and the exhibition of the film Fados by Carlos Saura495. Finally, the third edition of Noites Mestiças was organized on June 26, July 24, August 28, September 25 and October 30, 2009 in DI Box, Vila Franca de Xira. Produced by Zoomúsica and sponsored by DI Box, it announced Ana Firmino (CV),

491 There were also workshops (traditional Portuguese percussion, construction of blogs and personal expression; conferences about traditional Portuguese percussion, Amnesty Internacional, GAS Africa, SOS Racismo); and the launches of Revista Nova Águia and Movimento Internacional Lusófono were announced. Information retrieved from http://festivalmusidancas.blogspot.pt
492 Available at http://noitesmesticas.blogspot.pt
493 Available at http://festivalmusidancas.blogspot.pt
494 Released on the Tradisom label. http://www.tradisom.com
495 Available at http://feiradofado.blogspot.pt
Musidanças’ tenth edition took place on November 3, November 19-20, and November 24-25-26-27, 2010 in two separate locations: Musicbox in Lisbon, and Espaço Tambor Que Fala in Seixal. It featured the Musidanças logo for the first time (see annex 10, fig. 36). The festival was produced by Zoomúsica, Tocá Rufar and Musicbox, and sponsored by Instituto Português de Juventude, Tocá Rufar, Musicbox, Grande Manhã da RDP África and RTP África, a.o. Under the slogan “Festa 10 anos Musidanças”, it announced Family (CV), Francisco Naia (P), Guto Pires (GB), André Cabaço (M, A), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Natércia Pintor (M) & Dama Bete (M, P), Tutim di Giralda (STP-CV), Tonecas (STP), Hélder Moutinho (P) and Melo D (A, P), who also hosted the show. Specifically at Tambor Que Fala in Seixal, a concert series under the name “Música Étnica Portuguesa” featured Grupo de Cavaquinhos (P), Grupo de Bandolins (P), RF Casa do Povo de Cinfães (P), Uxukalhus (P), Tocá Rufar (P), Cantaderas de Alma Alentejana (P), Pauliteiros de Miranda (P), Discantus (P), Bando à Margem (P), and Bidonmania (P, A). Regular performances included Catarina dos Santos (P, A, CV), Challage (CV), Macaco Simão (M), Aline Frazão (A, Spain), La Dupla (P, Macau), Dj Crennwick (P), Katharsis (P), Gingongo (A-P), Djs Soul Movement (CV), Dj Nunchuck (P), Semente (P), Cabace (GB, P, A), SWCK (P, CV, A), and Dj Infestus (P). A music contest was also organized under the name “Novos Talentos Musidanças” on the sponsored festival stage “Sapo/Instituto Português da Juventude/Palco Principal do Festival.” Of a total of five bands that played, three were finalists: Uxukalhus (P), Amarelo Manga (B, P) and HMB (P, A) were prized with their finalist title. Still in 2010, an extension of Musidanças was integrated into the City Festival of London, which took place on June 27 in Hampstead Heath and Guildhall Yard, London, UK. It was produced by Zoomúsica and sponsored by the municipality of London, a.o. Tutinmicks (A, CV, STP, P), Tonecas (STP), Sons da Gente (P) and Lindu Mona (A-P, P) were announced. Firmino Pascoal later commented on the event as follows:

496 Each date was also dedicated to an exhibition of the painters António Firmino, Flaviano Mindela, Estanislau Neto, Mané do Café, Sibila Aguiar, and Firmino Pascoal himself. Information retrieved from http://noitesmesticas.blogspot.pt
497 Available at http://palcoprincipal.sapo.pt/grupo/passatempo_novos_talentos_musidanças and http://festivalmusidanças.blogspot.pt
No Festival houve oportunidade dos Artistas conviverem, trocarem ideias, combinarem novas formas de fazerem música em conjunto e de encetar formas conjuntas de luta por uma classe mais unida, por uma política cultural mais aberta e interventiva, por uma lusofonia cada vez maior, mais revelada, mais abrangente.498

The first decade of activity for Musidanças and its related events showed how various sponsors, collaborators and performing musicians helped to give life to Firmino Pascoal’s vision of Portugal’s lusophone music community. For this reason, the 10th edition was celebrated as an anniversary that marked the consolidation of a desired mentality change, chrestalized in the phrase “são 10 anos de história”499. In addition, the organization managed to reach diverse publics in both central and marginal spaces of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area in different times of the year.

Musidanças’ eleventh edition took place from December 28 to 30, 2011 in Musicbox, Lisbon, and again used the 2010 logo (see annex 10, fig. 37). It was produced by Zoomúsica and cultural association Jungle Planet and co-produced by Musicbox.500 Sponsorship was given by Comboios de Portugal (CP) a.o. Under the slogan “Festival das Artes do Mundo Lusófono”, musicians were announced to take the stage under three separate categories: “Étnico”: Guto Pires (GB), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Tocá Rufar (P); “Reggae”: Samdavies (P), Urbanvibsz (P, A); “Místico”: Projecto Rurouni (P), Atma (P) and Emmy Curl (P). Tocá Rufar (P), Arte Pura Capoeira (B), and Cantadeiras da Alma Alentejana (P) also played live at the Cais do Sodré train station, one for each day of the festival.501 In addition, Noites Mestiças fourth edition was organized on January 7, February 10 and March 17, 2011 in Musicbox, Lisbon, produced by Zoomúsica and sponsored by DI Box. Under the slogan “A aposta continua numa nova geração lusófona que mistura músicas do mundo de uma forma fresca e única,” Urbanvibsz (P, A), Soundsytem Mwamba Lost (A), Agir (P), Mr. Isaac Live act Dj Set (A, P), and Uxukalhus (P) were announced to take the stage.502

Musidanças’ twelfth edition took place on November 1-2-3, 2012 in FNAC Chiado and Teatro do Bairro in Lisbon, and reintroduced a painting in its showbill (see annex 10, fig. 38). It was produced by Zoomúsica and Jungleplanet, and sponsored by FNAC, Teatro do Bairro, and CP, a.o. Under the slogan “Festival de artes do mundo

498 Retrieved from http://www.festivalmusidancas.com
499 Available at http://festivalmusidancas.blogspot.pt
500 Artistically directed by Alex Cortez Pinto, also pedagogic director of Lisboa que Amanhece. It was Pinto that initially pointed me to Musidanças, during a personal interview in December 2011.
501 Available at https://www.facebook.com/festivalmusidancas
lusófono”, musicians Tutim di Giralda (STP-CV), Cabace (GB, P, A), DJ Quiné (A), Native Sun (M, UK, Caribbean), DJ Eliza Sparks vs Marcus Veiga feat Greyss (M, P), Atma (P), and DJ Bob Figurante feat Dublota Sound (M, P) were announced to perform.

Musidanças’ thirteenth edition took place on September 10-11, 2013 as part of the Feira de São Mateus, in Viseu. It was co-produced with Cadeira Amarela and Expovis and received sponsorship from Expovis, Câmara Municipal de Viseu, Feira de São Mateus and Cadeira Amarela. Its showbill both used the Musidanças logo and the Feira’s graphic style (see annex 10, fig. 39). Under the same heading “Festival de artes do mundo lusófono” and “Abre as portas à lusofonia!,” it announced the following musicians to perform under two categories; “tradicional”: Batuque Finka Pê (CV), No Mazurka Band (P), Karrossel (P), Girafoles (P), Recanto (P) and Gira Sol (P); and “world music”: Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Atma (P), Cabace (GB, P, A)504, Recanto (P), Nação Vira Lata (P, B) and Gira Sol (P). Several regional vocal and instrumental collectives - Grupo de cantares da Associação Amigos de Levides (P), Grupo de cantares de Cambra (P), Grupo de cantares de Castelo de Penalva (P), Grupo de cantares de Crasto de Campia (P) and Grupo de cantares de Paredes Velhas (P) - were seen at the site, where dance workshops were offered as well.

Musidanças’s fourteenth edition took place on August 1-3, 2014 in São Pedro do Sul, announcing Trio Porteño (P), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Braima Galissá (GB, P), Till Sunday Pirate (P), String Fling (P), Fogo do Ar (P), Dunya (P), Alafum (P), Smoking Beer (P), Monte Real (A-P-P), Samuel Albuquerque (P) and Vortex (P) on its showbill (see annex 10, fig. 40). Street animation, workshops and exhibitions (paintings, sculptures, photographs) were also programmed. Still in 2014, an extension of Musidanças was organized at the showcase stages of FNACs of Almada, Colombo and Vasco da Gama (Lisbon) as Festival Musidanças Internacional, aiming to share the “arte da lusofonia nos seus mais variados aspectos” with “artistas de outros países internacionais” and to “misturar de forma a enriquecerno-nos mutuamente e a evoluirmos.” The festival’s logo featured prominently (see annex 10, fig. 41). The festival announced Timeold (A-P-P)505, Francisco Naia (P), Tutim di Giralda (STP-CV),

503 Available at http://jungleplanet.net/festivalmusidanças
504 This band arrived too late to the event due to a wrong train connection and did not perform. However, since it was not a cancelation in the strict sense and they performed at Musidanças before, I have opted for listing them anyway.
505 The individual hip hop project of one of Firmino Pascoal’s sons (also active in the group Monte Real).
Espírito Nativo (P), Joaquim Paulo (A), Awake (P), Ricardo Fonseca (P), Ad Leabe (P), Ex-Votos (P), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Dama Bete (M, P), and Zuul Nation (P). Finally, on June 17, 2015, another Noite Mestiça was organized in Musicbox with Alain Nkossi Konda (R. D. Congo).

Finally, Musidanças fifteenth edition happened on October 1, 7, 9 and 10, 2015 in 3 separate locations (MusicBox, B.Lexa, and Fábrica do Braço de Prata), as can be seen on its showbill in annex 10, fig. 42. It announced musicians Rock Enlatado (P), Urbanvibs (P, A), Estrelas Alentejanas da Damaia (P), Monte Real (A-P, P), Soraya Morais (A), Guto Pires (GB), Tanira (P), Crónicas do Inverno (Carlos Clara Gomes) (P), Tutim di Giralda (STP-CV), Sax on the Road (P) and Lindu Mona (A-P, P).

“Regressamos a Lisboa para celebrar os 15 anos onde tudo começou! Vamos reunir a família e fazer um grande Musidanças, uma grande festa da lusofonia”506.

2.4. Concluding remarks

The Western metropole must confront its postcolonial history, told by its influx of postwar migrant and refugees, as an indigenous or native narrative internal to its national identity (Bhabha 2003:6, cited by Dias 2006: 22)

Musidanças 15 studied editions as well as the other events mentioned show that roughly since the turn of the millennium, cultural entrepreneurs engaged in disseminating the musical heritage of their countries have emerged in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, as well as other locations in Portugal, Portuguese-speaking countries or among locations with Portuguese-speaking migrant communities. The entry of lusophone musics to the world music market during the 1990s extended the scope of performances to music festivals and international concerts, enabling interaction and complicity between lusophone populations in a transnational framework (Cidra 2010: 784). In this context, the creation of political institutions such as CPLP (1996), the proliferation of international cultural events such as Expo‘98, the online dissemination of critical content such as the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução (2006), as well as national and municipal cultural policies have come to strengthen a vision of cultural promotion

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within the Portuguese-speaking world in which the idea of a “brown”, musically mixed or at least interactive, “Atlantic” (Almeida 2004) is being developed507. This observation is congruent with the opening citation of this section.

In fact, this collected information indicates that the Lisbon Metropolitan area has increasingly been promoted as a transnational capital that both unites and reflects musical expressions of Portugal’s former colonies in South America, Africa and Asia. More and more, annual intercultural festivals are being organized in and outside the city, while specialized venues constitute fixed spaces where migrant musicians or people that are relating to them organize encounters and perform. This happens at a time when the idea of lusofonia has become increasingly utilized, apart or in combination to related categories such as africanidade or interculturalidade, to connect Lisbon’s postcolonial condition to a contemporary, cosmopolitan understanding of diversity. Interculturalism is a political idea, promoted in the context of the European Community, which has been increasingly used by political and governmental instances, which might explain its use by the cultural agents above. In any case, lusofonia is necessarily intercultural due to the heterogeneous nature of the cultures that it comprises.

Much like the scriptwriters of Lusofonia, a (R)evolução, the cultural agents that have been sketched in the preceding pages have represented the variety of musical proposal of individuals, groups, associations, and communities within the Portuguese-speaking world in order to legitimize contemporary musical tastes and choices, experimenting mixtures508. Their cultural entrepreneurship is necessarily linked to matters of representation: cultural interpretations are not always predetermined by class or other social categories, but may also be the outcome of negotiations of different interests (Grossberg 1992). As we have seen in the case of musical lusofonia, these interests may be ideological or mercantile. In this sense, Hall (1997, 2003) stresses that

the embodying of concepts, ideas and emotions in a symbolic form which can be transmitted and meaningfully interpreted is what we mean by the practices of representation. Meaning must enter the domain of these practices, if it is to circulate effectively within a culture (Hall 1997: 10).

507 Inspired by the conceptualization of “Black Atlantic” by Paul Gilroy (1994).
508 An example of these contemporary musical mixtures is observable in the work of Buraka Som Sistema (A, P), a band operating from the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, famous for its mix of the Angolan kuduro genre, techno and electronic music. Two of the band members, MC Kalaf (Kalaf Ângelo) and Conductor (André Carvalho), have Angolan origins and the band has performed in Angola on various occasions.
This understanding is very much congruent with what Grenier and Guilbault have called “discourses of inscription” in their discussion of creolité and francophonie, thus referring not to these notions’ lexical but semantic meanings, which contain “prescriptive discourses on identity, locality and history” (1997: 220-1). As my ethnography suggests, new cultural productions tend to reflect old historical connections through official discourses that are linked to central and not so central historical power structures. The rhetoric of deep historical and cultural ties between lusophone countries, recurrent in the speeches of government officials and often revealing lusotropicalist traits, has gone beyond the limits of the intellectual elite, and has increasingly mattered for grassroots movements. The individual initiatives of selected musicians and cultural entrepreneurs in the 1970s and 1980s laid the foundations for musical collaborations between musicians of the PALOP and Portugal in the context of the canção de intervenção, música popular portuguesa and, later on, world music – which made them aware of their interconnected social, cultural and political roles within a transnational, lusophone perspective. During the 1980s and 1990s, lusophone African musicians defied colonial perceptions in musical practice, commercializing their music in diaspora centers outside Portugal. Paradoxically, at the turn of the millennium, this transnational positioning drew global attention to Portugal, increasingly connoting the idea of musical lusofonia or lusophone musics to new configurations of race, social class and nation in the emerging Portuguese postcolonial context. This multidimensional reconfiguration called both for a “right to difference in equality” (Balibar 1994: 56, cited in Cidra 2010: 792), similar to Maciel’s notion of “positive ethnization” (2010: 232) and an institutional opening for social incorporation of lusophone residents in Lisbon, trying to musically overcome, or at least mediate, colonial traumas (ibid.: 213-4).

The trajectories of fado, both in terms of production and reception, are noteworthy here. In 2002, Sieber, at the time investigating the cultural aftermath of Expo‘98, characterized the musical relation between Portugal and its ex-colonies as a “one-way street”, “affirming essentialized notions of a bounded national culture [fado]”, but at the same time “excluding local migrant expressions”, and showing a “strong aversion” of definitions that cast Portuguese national culture “as a creole or

509 Curiously, in April 2014, the monthly publication Follow Me Lisboa by Turismo de Lisboa still advertised fado as “o melhor de world music”, without paying attention to other lusophone musics present. I found another example in the guide ‘Lisbon. A personal experience’: “Quando se fala em manifestações culturais, é indispensável falar de Fado. Em Lisboa, abundam as casas de Fado, principalmente nos Bairros populares como Alfama ou Bairro Alto.” Information retrieved from http://www.visitlisboa.com/Publications_UK.aspx
hybrid product” (2002, cited in Sanches 2004: 133-4). This persistent essentialism has been explained by Côrte-Real (2001) and others (Valente 2008, Elliot 2010) since the early 1990s: fado, marketed as an emblem of Portugueseness by late romanticism literature and governance, served as a main tool for Portuguese identity building efforts of the national dictatorship. The dictatorial government, she stresses, promoted and implemented the reconstruction of fado as a music symbol “in order to reinforce nostalgic, uncritical, uncomplaining and longsuffering submissive feelings in the spirits of the Portuguese citizens, also to be recognized as marks of their own identity” (Côrte-Real 2013: 6-7). These procedures made fado emerge as a central symbol of Portuguese identity in the first three quarters of the 20th century. In utilizing fado as well as other musical categories for nationalistic purposes, Portuguese central cultural policies were consciously promoted to monocultural configurations through diverse pragmatic strategies throughout the country (Carvalho 1996: np; Côrte-Real 2011: 74). However, with the advent of democratic processes in Portugal, the increasing presence of migrant populations from the former overseas territories, as well as the encounter of lusophone musicians and genres on the world music market, fado was recognized as a product of hybridization. Viewing fado in this way provides a window into colonial relationships between social agents that are manifested and produced through performative modes of expression.

For most organizers of contemporary music and culture manifestations that I have interviewed, the music mixing idea as well as the valorization of non-Portuguese lusophone musics lie at the basis of their work. Simultaneously, the claim of a sustained institutional interest in musical lusofonia grows stronger, as a new generation of lusophone citizens wants to affirm itself against portugalidade as unilateral, outward cultural traffic, by focusing on the historical miscigenação in music and other expressive domains that characterizes new readings of lusofonia (or nova lusofonia)\textsuperscript{510}. The intervenients that I interviewed contend that this idea of lusophone mixture ought to be structurally supported to achieve a necessary turning point from a political, social and cultural point of view. Despite the signaled lack of continued institutional support to perform, a number of clubs, bars and associations have already dedicated themselves to promoting intercultural musical versions of lusofonia. Here as well as on the occasion of individual concerts and recordings, Portuguese musicians and musicians from other

Portuguese-speaking countries (both residents and international artists on tour) have increasingly performed together, occasionally mixing their musics through recorded or live collaborations.

A detail of genre should be addressed briefly at this point. Fado has especially been performed in events that are organized or sponsored by governmental institutions, while other events, mainly put together by cultural associations and entrepreneurs, have focused more on traditional genres from other Portuguese-speaking countries (samba, morna, semba) as well as transnational musical expressions (MPB, kizomba, kuduro, funaná, música popular portuguesa and hip hop), occasionally incorporating fado into their programming. The complementarity of lusophone music events may enhance artistic, cultural and social integration within the Portuguese society, bringing forward intangible heritage memories and re-negotiating identity narratives. Conversely, the recognition of fado by UNESCO also implies the recognition and sustainability of lusophone musics. Portugal may miss out by neglecting its historical ties (Vanspauwen 2012). Gradually, Lisbon-based institutions are getting aware of this, as both the CPLP and some other Portuguese state institutions (such as Presidência da República, Assembleia da República, or ACM) and associations (Centro Nacional de Cultura) have increasingly sponsored lusophone music fusion events, and many of the festive events listed above are co-organized by EGEAC.

Intercultural encounters as those mentioned question stereotypical musical perceptions as markers of national identity, undoing monocultural configurations associated to nationalism, such as those linked to fado, on the one hand, while they promote cultural fusions and collaborations based on diasporic and linguistic relations, on the other. In this respect, Lisbon seems to promote itself currently as a city that contains unique sets of lusophone musics to mix Brazil, Portuguese influenced experiences, and Africa, including fado. A resultant “diasporic imagination” (Dunn 2002, quoted in La Barre 2010) both reflects and reinvents cultural manifestations on the local, national and transnational levels. Thus, musical lusofonia eventually becomes a tool for promoting Lisbon as an open, inclusive, and intercultural city that builds on representations of the Other (La Barre 2011: 154-7).

Multicultural music festivals and lusophone music festivals in particular can help to decolonize the notion of lusofonia by constructing a transnational lusophone image that is supported by the idea of ‘positive ethnicization’ (Maciel 2010: 232) against social, cultural and racial dichotomization. This perspective has promoted
lusophone musics that are out of the mainstream circuit, thus democratizing patrimonialization. With Delanty et al. (2011), I have pointed out that these festivals may function as platforms for the appropriation of certain musical and social environments, thereby creating new opportunities for sharing experiences, promoting and revitalizing musical and cultural legacies, on the one hand, and contributing to the revision of stereotyped perceptions of music as national identity markers, on the other. Festivals are “cosmopolitan spaces” instead of mere economic or tourist attractions “where the performance dimension of culture is emphasised more directly than in other situations” (Chalcraft et al. 2011: 25-36; European community 2011: 7). Signaling the strengthening of cultural diversity promoted through such venues, an EC report of 2011 states that:

> As many such festivals are conceived of [as a] means for revitalising a city and/or advancing or re-discovering its identity, the question must be posed as to the cultural significance of festivals in themselves, and for the cities that ‘author’ them. It is easier to provide an answer to the question about the economic impacts of festivals – directly in terms of, say, tourist turnover or, indirectly, in terms of the extent to which they contribute to the city brand – than it is to measure their cultural significance (ibid.: 8-9)

As the rural festivities that for decades have animated the seasonal coming back of Portuguese emigrants throughout the country, representing “potlatch moments” (Sanchis 1983, Oliveira and Carvalho 1985 and 1986), these mainly urban festivals also give a stage to freedom of expression, usually out of the daily experiences of both producers and receivers of music involved. The music community involving *lusafonia*, as I have evoked, can be interpreted as an open, multicultural reading of Portugal’s past and present. It does not only aim at freeing Lisbon’s former national constrains (Côrte-Real 2013: 69) by reaffirming historical heterogenousness, as it also makes a plea for valorizing policies on the social and cultural levels by integrating migrant communities through music. This is congruent with what Chalcraft *et al.* have called “aesthetic cosmopolitanism”, defined as “the ways in which local cultures get expressed using other cultures” or the “reshaping [of] one’s own culture in light of the culture of ‘others’ or the ‘outside”, based on processes of “hybridisation, cross-fertilisation and mutual borrowing” (2011: 25-36). The cultural entrepreneurs mentioned above advocate, as La Barre states, a “mode of managing cultural and political multiplicities,” thus contradicting the process of cosmopolitanism as a mere “nationally defined and nationally determined construction” (2011: 150), thus transcending the contradictions.
that are blatant in the concept of *lusofonia*. They expand postcolonial viewpoints to a global understanding of “cultural cosmopolitanism”, as understood by Vertovec and Cohen (2002), Sanches *et al.* (2004), Stokes (2007) and de La Barre (2011): a type of cosmopolitanism that simultaneously

(a) transcends [the] nation-state model; (b) is able to mediate actions [towards] the global and the local; c) is culturally anti-essentialist; and (d) is capable of representing variously complex repertoires of allegiance, identity and interest (Vertovec and Cohen 2002: 4).

In short, the transnational musical movement as evoked, and in me awakened through the documentary narrative of *Lusofonia, a (R)evolução*, is actually being forged in the field. Musidanças is Lisbon’s oldest but perhaps least known intercultural music festival. It has prescribed the city’s role as a stage for traditional, popular and alternative musics of the Portuguese-speaking world, by promoting musical hybridizations and collaborations. At a first glance, the festival’s governance, discourse and performance seem to suggest that an inclusive understanding of lusophone musics may foster integration and tolerance in detriment of social exclusion and artistic marginalization. My ensuing analysis will thoroughly test this hypothesis on the three proposed levels.
3. **LUSOFONIA IN MUSIDANÇAS: THE POLITICS OF A FESTIVAL**

The excerpt of the poem ‘Monólogo luso’, written by Firmino Pascoal and António Cabós, to all participants of the 2007 edition of the festival Musidanças, highlights expression, history, song and friendship. The first-person speaks up and claims a common history of cultural exchange between Portugal and its former colonial territories that – so he argues – remains relevant today.

This chapter finally concentrates on the festival Musidanças. As my contextualization of *lusofonia* and its soundscapes in Lisbon has pointed out, lusophone musics have increasingly connoted new configurations of identity supported on emerging notions of belonging, rebuilding memories and testing negotiations of different sorts in the emerging Portuguese postcolonial era. Here, I analyze the ways in which the concept of *lusofonia* has been used by this particular festival in its organizational conception, in particular through its public rhetoric and performing actions. Did Musidanças’ representation of the ambiguous notion of *lusofonia* change over the years, and if so, how did it reflect in the choice of promoted musicians and music categories? In a broader sense, to what extent did the festival affirm, negotiate or critique existing cultural politics?

I discuss these questions by studying the festival’s governance, by deepening discourse and performance dimensions. By shedding some light on instrumental, rhetorical and performed aspects of Musidanças, I aim to better comprehend its interests and eventual advantages in using emic notions of *lusofonia*. First, I look for hints of governance emerging from biographical and musical career details of its director-founder Firmino Pascoal; his activities through his record label, cultural association, blogs and social networks; and eventual trends in the festival programming. Second, I analyze emic programmatic texts, such as manifesto, poem, blog posts and publicity,

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discursively interpret field interviews and select song texts of musicians that either directly relate to Musidanças or have approached *lusofonia* through musical collaborations and lyrical content. Third, I investigate into the musical performance of Musidanças and its *spin offs* through an analysis of the festival’s tendencies and trajectory, as appreciated by its organizers, some of its musicians and its audiences.

My ethnographic approach envolves both sides of music production and reception. I carried out semi-structured interviews with Firmino Pascoal⁵¹². We also met occasionally, either at the festival itself or during performances of Pascoal’s band Lindu Mona, and kept regular contact through Facebook. Through this social network, Pascoal not only invited me to his events but also shared historical photos about his diverse musical career, from the 1970s till present. We also reconstructed and documented Musidanças’ first 15 years of existence with video footage and pictures. Finally, an interview guide was used to map the biographies of organizers, musicians and public of one particular Musidanças edition, in 2013 (see annex 8).

I am fully aware of my privileges and limitations as a researcher-ethnographer, both in writing and in action (as mentioned in 0.4.). Indeed, as Clifford and Marcus point out, ethnographers “cannot avoid expressive tropes, figures, and allegories that select and impose meaning” in their construction of “truths [that] are made possible by powerful ‘lies’ of exclusion and rhetoric” (1986: 6-7). Thus, this “mask[ed] subversion” of rhetoric in ethnographic descriptions may lead to “cultural fictions” that involve “silencing incongruent voices or deploying a consistent manner [of] translating the reality of others” (ibid., citing Crapanzano 1986: 51). Conversely, a “rigorous sense of partiality can be a source of representational tact,” thus validating and enriching ethnographies. In this respect, I would like to thank Firmino Pascoal for this sense of collaboration and complicity in reviewing our interviews, retrieving historical data, and facilitating contacts with musicians that have performed at his festival. Much like Guilbault’s collaboration with musician Roy Cape (Guilbault and Cape 2014), Pascoal’s testimony has given me rare insights into his repeated efforts of turning the hard labor of bringing about musical careers into something truly constructive and fruitful.

⁵¹² These interviews took place at FNAC Chiado, Lisbon, on December 15, 2011; in Pascoal’s car, parked in front of Sintra’s National Palace, on May 20, 2012; again in Pascoal’s car, in front of Praia das Maçãs, Sintra, on February 16, 2013; and again at FNAC Chiado, Lisbon, on September 17, 2013). All meeting points, including the rather touristic locations in Sintra, were proposed by Pascoal.
3.1. Governance: Musidanças administering *lusofonia*

Por mais quente que saia a água da fonte, não é ela que coze o teu arroz (African proverb, cited by Albuquerque 2008: 303).

In this section, I study Musidanças’ governance dimension. I analyze how the festival has administered the image and emic idea of *lusofonia* through hints revealed in the promoter’s biography and musical career; event structure; promotion in social networks and publicity channels; and other strategies of contact with potential audiences.

3.1.1. Firmino Pascoal: biography and musical career

Over the course of 15 years, the governance strategies of Musidanças were often solely determined by one person: the festival’s founder and artistic director, Firmino Pascoal. For this reason, I below reconstruct his biography and musical career in order to look for the deeper, human and artistic, motivations for this festival. To this end, I use material from personal interviews, blog descriptions by Pascoal, and press interviews.

José Firmino Pascoal Pereira was born in Luanda, Angola, in August 1954, under Portuguese colonial rule. His father was a white Portuguese navy merchant and his mother a black woman from the north of Angola. In 1961, the Angolan War of Independence initiated, and soon, the 6 year old boy and his parents moved to Ovar, and later Viseu, in the north of Portugal. In 1964, when Pascoal was 10, his father passed away, and he ended up in a school in Tomar. Regarding this period, Pascoal describes himself as “autodidact” that started making music as a small boy and teenager, first through chant in the Adventist Church and at the college choirs, and later through percussion. In 1969, Pascoal took part in the musical group Quinteto Académico Sinónimo Tomar, playing in adjacent cities as well as in the 1º Festival de Música.

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513 Lisbon-based hip hop musician Dama Bete also had a coordinating role in the organization of Musidanças. Since 2013, Nuno Correia of Viseu-based creative agency *Cadeira Amarela* has chosen part of the performing musicians as well.

514 Pascoal’s relatives in Viseu were active in the Mercado de São Mateus, where Pascoal hosted Musidanças’ 2013 edition. See part 3.3.1., p. 164 ff.

515 In 1960, Pascoal attended the Colégio D. Maria in Luanda, in 1961 the Colégio D. Diniz in Ovar, in 1962 in the Colégio Santo Agostinho in Viseu, and in 1964 in the Colégio Nuno Álvares in Tomar. In my perspective, these changes made him aware of the possibilities of intercultural education.
Moderna de Coimbra. For Pascoal, “era o tempo do idealismo e assim [iniciei] a [minha] actividade profissional como cantor pop liderando grupos de dança. Nessa época, Portugal e Europa ainda não tinham despertado para a música africana.” In 1972, Pascoal returned to Luanda for 3 years to “reabsorver as raízes da sua música, reviver o quotidiano das suas gentes e reaprender o sentido da africanidade”. During this period, he also co-authored songs with Rolando “Tó” Pinheiro da Silva. Back in Portugal in 1975, Pascoal then took part in the boom of symphonic rock as a percussionist and backing vocals in the bands Tantra and Perspectiva which, he argues, “estiveram na gênese da actual música moderna portuguesa”. According to Pascoal, Tantra’s live debut in the Pavilhão da Académica da Amadora in 1976 led to over 40 concerts across Portugal. In 1979 and 1980, he then collaborated with Duo Ouro Negro and played with Raúl Indipwo (A) and fadista Jorge Fernando (P) in pubs, concert cafés and nightclubs. In 1982, Pascoal participated in the Festival da Canção with Jorge Fernando in the song “Umbadá”, and in 1984, some 80 concerts emerged from this collaboration.

In 1990, at the age of 36, Pascoal started his own project Lindu Mona, featuring his future wife Ritta Tristany on backing vocals, as well as a changing set of befriended musicians. In 1991, the band represented Angola at the Mestiçagens festival at O Baile (at Conde Barão’s, later renamed into the venue B.Leza). This stage is characterized by Pascoal as a “verdadeiro Salão de Festas de África em Lisboa” (ibid.).

In 1992, Lindu Monda partook in the Festas de Alhos Vedros and Festas da Cidade do Barreiro, at the invitation of local associations of African immigrants, and regularly played at Lisbon’s Teatro A Comuna. In 1993, Lindu Mona participated in then president Mário Soares’ Presidência Aberta initiative during the Festas de Lisboa, and participated in the first edition of the Sete Sóis - Sete Luas festival. In 1994, the band played at NGO Oikos’s Festival das Comunidades Estrangeiras em Portugal, while in 1995 it participated in an unnamed anti-racism festival in Barreiro. In 1996, Lindu Mona performed in Ritz Club, Centro Cultural de Belém’s Espaço 7 às 9 and the Palco das Comunidades in Loures; and in 1997, it performed at the Músicas do Mundo festival in Évora, the Festas de Paio Pires in Figueira da Foz and the Maré de Agosto festival in Santa Maria (Azores). In May 1999, Lindu Mona was one of the acts of the

516 Lindu Mona means ‘beautiful boy’ (‘lindo menino’). According to Pascoal, this was how his mother called him when he was a boy back in Angola. More info is available at http://lindu-mona.webnode.pt and https://www.facebook.com/lindumona
517 Available at http://www.festival7sois.eu/pt-pt
518 Available at http://www.oikos.pt
Dia da Cultura Africana organized by RDP Africa in Parque das Nações. In 2000, 10 years after its inception, the band promoted its first single in the Forums of FNAC Chiado and Colombo, with live presentations also at RDP África and Terreiro do Paço (for RTP Internacional) and at the CCB.

Still in 2000, Pascoal founded the cultural association BAZA, inviting longtime friends from the college of Tomar, some also with racially and culturally mixed life stories, and an interest in music production, as emerges from the following excerpt:

Um amigo meu, Rolando Pinheiro, também músico, nasceu em Amarante, no norte de Portugal, mas com o pai, desde muito miúdo, viveu em Moçambique, e ele depois voltou pra Portugal, estudar, entretanto a guerra de Portugal travava-se com as ex-colonias, ele foi com a tropa para Luanda, num destacamento de fotografia e cinema, tinha uma vida de certa maneira privilegiada, acesso aos estúdios de gravação. Eu beneficiei também disso, pois fomos para o estúdio, queríamos ouvir os músicos, gravámos e tal, tornamo-nos grandes amigos, portanto o Rolando também ia sempre bebendo da cultura local. Depois veio a Portugal outra vez depois de 25 de Abril, e depois foi pra India, foi para América do Sul, pronto, viajou um bocado e tinha essa riqueza dentro dele (interview 2).

Finally, in 2001, Pascoal founded the festival Musidanças with support of BAZA, which initially allowed for paying cachet. Another personal friend, the producer and sound technician Tó Pinheiro da Silva, took care of the production of the festival. The idea to create Musidanças arose from the practical difficulties that Pascoal experienced in fidelizing an audience for his music in Portugal. Pascoal, whom had wanted to study ethnology after high school, effectively self-conducted ethnographic research on “traditional” and “ethnic” musics from Angola, while he made himself more knowledgeable about musics in a transnational, lusophone perspective:

Desde os anos 1990, senti grande dificuldade em conseguir “furar”, digamos. Antes toquei rock sinfônico, toquei com Jorge Fernando, também toquei canção nacional, com Raul do Duo Ouro Negro, são coisas que estavam mais firmadas no universo português, agora a música tradicional de Angola era mais difícil e assim pensei de uma forma para poder mostrar as minhas coisas (interview 6).

519 The name BAZA is Angolan slang for “go away”. “Tinha um nome do calágo que usavámos em Angola e que era Baza, bazar é “anda daí, baza baza! Vai te embora!” Em Angola usava-se muito e aqui em Portugal também” (interview 2).

520 Pascoal emphasizes both his personal link to Pinheiro da Silva and his professional fame. “É um dos gurus do som em Portugal, já como músico era um certo gênio, e como técnico de som gravou muitos [ênfase] dos grupos em Portugal, alguns fizeram discos de ouro - os GNR, os Madredeus, Camané, Fausto, muita gente que não possas pensar - e ele já gravou com eles. Tó Pinheiro da Silva, toda gente o conhece” (interview 2).
Pascoal indicates that in the 1990s, he was aware of the fact that postcolonial musical mixtures such as *zouk* were slowly conquering Portugal.

Na altura, a música que os africanos que estavam em Portugal - de Cabo Verde e outros - faziam, era muito misturada com o *zouk*, e depois começaram introduzir algo que deu origem ao *kizomba*, e ao *kuduro*, também aqui em Lisboa. Porque em Luanda dizem que o *kuduro* foi criado em Luanda, mas também foi aqui em Lisboa, porque essas pessoas vieram para aqui, e aqui gravaram (interview 1).

Despite the popularity of *zouk* in African discotheques in Lisbon and the emerging world music market (see Cidra 2010: 1357-9), there was a notable lack of visibility for new projects focusing on musical roots and mixtures, Pascoal argues.

O meu projeto era o chamado world music, não tinha muito aqui em Lisboa onde tocar, haviam pessoas que gostavam deste tipo de música, mas não havia propriamente esse trabalho, essa amostra porque essa música não estava muito visível. Tal como acontece com a Musidanças, a minha paixão é a evolução na música, mas sempre com as raízes por base (interview 1).

Pascoal contends that he felt a social need for having this type of “ethnic” festival for both residents and newcomers from Portugal’s former African colonies in Portugal. In this sense, Musidanças constituted a test case that got formalized by an almost spontaneous selection of musicians, largely without experience on how to reach publics:

Tem sido bastante trabalho porque têm passado por aqui bastante artistas graças a disponibilidade para um projecto que se pensou [com base na] solidariedade entre os próprios artistas. Havia uma necessidade de mostrarmos pessoas que chegaram entretanto de Angola, Moçambique, refugiados, artistas que vieram pra cá, e que não tinham tanta possibilidade de mostrar os seus trabalhos (interview 6).

Pascoal took advantage of Musidanças to give a stage for his personal project Lindu Mona, which played at various editions of the festival (see below) as well as in various clubs and associations in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. In 2003, the band edited its first video clip, participated in the collective effort *Mother Africa* (Editora Musica Alternativa)\(^\text{521}\), and had its song “Mukuatutoma” remixed by Afrikool Rekords’ Alain Konda Nkossi. It also appeared on national television in the programs *Às 2 por 3* and *Etnias* (SIC).

\(^{521}\) Other participants from lusophone Africa included Costa Neto (M), Eyuphuro (M), Bidinte (GB), Princezito (CV), Herminia (CV), Terrero (CV), Lilly Tchiumba (A), and Silita (M). Other entries were made by Baaba Maal (Senegal), Papa Wemba (Congo), and Miriam Makeba (South Africa), a.o. Information retrieved from [http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/cultura/detalhe/a-musica-comecou-aqui.html](http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/cultura/detalhe/a-musica-comecou-aqui.html)
Pascoal, whose main professional occupation was office clerk at Caminhos de Ferro Portugueses (CP), thus had a number of musical side projects over the years. For example, in 2008, he made the record *Bem-te-vi*[^522] with CPLP secretary Márcio Catunda, who had challenged him to put sounds to his poems. Other collaborations included Baobab (recording *Imbondeiro*, with Dama Bete, 2012)[^523] and Manga di Ronco Orquestra (live performances with Guto Pires a.o, 2014)[^524]. While, on an intimate level, Pascoal has aimed to develop his career “como músico e autor de música de raiz étnica africana, cruzando as sonoridades da sua infância africana com as da sua adolescência europeia”[^525], on a public level, his socio-cultural governance has sought to reconcile diluted African provenances with European ones, in cosmopolitan experiences of music and citizenship.

### 3.1.2. Areas of governance

In chapter 2.3, I have briefly mentioned the consecutive editions of Musidanças and its *spin offs* Noites Mestiças and Feira do Fado, all in the time stretch 2001-2015. Below, I specifically trace governance elements in the organization, location and programming of these music events. By governance areas in Musidanças, I mean particularities of the music events itself, their relation with the record label Zoomúsica and cultural association Jungleplanet, their publicity and networking, their festival programmings and respective funding partners. In order to better interpret them, I consider not only the editions of the festival, but also my knowledge on Zoomúsica; Jungleplanet; and Pascoal’s posts on blogs and social networks.

#### 3.1.2.1. Music events

A blog post by Firmino Pascoal in September 2007 reveals some of his strategies for the public projection of his festival: the artistic counseling of musicians, the development of technical skills, and the insertion into a wider social community, among others.

[^522]: Available at [http://cdbemtevi.blogspot.pt](http://cdbemtevi.blogspot.pt)
[^523]: Available at [https://www.facebook.com/baobabmusic](https://www.facebook.com/baobabmusic)
[^524]: Available at [https://soundcloud.com/manga-di-ronco](https://soundcloud.com/manga-di-ronco)
[^525]: Available at [http://www.artistas.angoladigital.net/Firmino_Pascoal/bio.htm](http://www.artistas.angoladigital.net/Firmino_Pascoal/bio.htm)
[Musidanças tem] como objectivo interno desenvolver entre os Artistas um espírito solidário na defesa de problemas que lhes são comuns tais como: organização do projecto individual; criação de informação e saber divulgá-la; formação em design, web design, som, software áudio, para total independência nas necessidades referentes a estes itens^526.^526 Available at http://jungleplanet.net

Through Musidanças, Pascoal directly calls on the musicians to create “laços de confiança entre si e o Musidanças, entidade que o poderá representar e ajudar num futuro a nível de agenciamento, promoção, edição áudio e imagem, design, etc” (taken from blog post, September 2007)^527.^527 Available at http://festivalmusidancasblogs.sapo.pt/2007/09. In the end, the aim is that the bond between the festival and its performing musicians “possa ser naturalmente reconhecido pelos outros agentes e pelo público (ibid.).

In terms of branding, Pascoal promotes “música étnica e tradicional” of representatives of Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon:

Quando criámos Musidanças, a grande ideia era apresentar um festival [de música] étnica dos países lusófonos. Em Portugal, existe uma manifestação cultural das pessoas que são destes países e que têm saudades da terra e que se juntam nas comunidades e depois fazem estes grupos folóricos (interview 5).

A lack of financial support and places to perform, however, caused Pascoal to implement a more fusion-oriented approach in Musidanças. “Dificilmente poder-se-á pôr na FNAC um grupo étnico, e comecei a apresentar propostas, músicas com instrumentos mais modernos, música pop” (interview 3).

The concept of *lusofonia*, politically in vogue at the moment of Musidanças’ inception, was appropriated by Pascoal to both represent and market fusions of traditional and modern musics. This lusophone perspective of transnational mobility and community is evident in the administration of Musidanças:

Na altura em 2001, eu tinha conhecimento de muitos grupos. O Guto Pires é o meu amigo de muitos anos, sempre me apoia desde a primeira, se eu quisesse falava com ele, sempre está presente no festival, pronto ele é de Guiné-Bissau, depois também conheço muito bem o Mingo Rangel, que é de Moçambique, também está cá há muitos anos, pronto. [Sou] metade português metade angolano, o meu pai era português, a minha mãe angolana, sou fruto dessa relação, e tanto gosto muito do *fado*, que é uma música popular portuguesa, como sinto a música angolana. […] Uxía, que teve no Musidanças, disse-me, ‘Firmino, não faz sentido de haver tão pouco eventos de *lusofonia*, somos parceiros que se calhar deviam apoiar-se’ (interview 1).

^526^ Available at http://jungleplanet.net
^527^ Available at http://festivalmusidancasblogs.sapo.pt/2007/09
In addition to his role as intercultural educator, Pascoal also wanted to introduce a change in how “lusophone musics” were perceived, promoted and performed. According to Pascoal, alochtone musicians from lusophone countries did not get the same treatment or acceptance as their autochtone colleagues.

As as coisas não acontecem. Por exemplo, fui há duas semanas assistir a um concerto do Yami, o meu amigo também de muitos anos. Ele tem conseguido subir um pouquinho mas mesmo ele tem queixas, ‘Pá, em Portugal não me querem ouvir’ (interview 2).

From his experience, Pascoal withholds a troublesome relation with both concert promoters and record labels in Portugal, who - he argues - have privileged fado’s international acclaim over other local forms of musical expression.

Em Portugal, as agências de espectáculos não sabem trabalhar a música do mundo lusófobo, sabem trabalhar o fado [que], de certa maneira, entrou no conhecimento e na moda ao nível europeu e mundial. Nós queremos difundir a nossa música e devíamos [também] ter uma coisa institucionalizada! (interview 2).

In this respect, Pascoal acuses media institutions such as RTP to have isolated lusophone musicians from mainstream society.

A promoção dos media para qualquer trabalho de uma artista que tenha conotações com outros países lusófonos, sobretudo africanos, aqui em Portugal, é remetido para RDP e RTP África. É verdade. Chamo isto o ghetto (interview 2).

Pascoal recounts how, in the past, he and his fellow musicians also experienced difficulties in getting airplay on other commercial radio stations, arguably based on arbitrary and blurry divisions between Portugal and Africa:

Havia a rádio comercial, e íamos tentando, mas quase todos eles [falaram] ‘ah, porreiro e tal, mas vocês têm a RDP/RTP África’! Depois também outra coisa que quero perguntar: o que faz com que a Sara Tavares seja considerada uma cantora portuguesa e eu, Firmino Pacoal, seja considerado um músico angolano? Sempre fui português, o meu bilhete de identidade diz nascido em Luanda, sob a bandeira portuguesa! Sou português desde sempre (interview 2).

Similarly, Pascoal recounts the sometimes complicated relations of Musidanças with other, state-funded festivals in Lisbon with a similar musical offer.

Não faz sentido uma instituição que tem possibilidades, a estar a querer matar uma outra pobreza, que faz as suas coisas de baixo, e ela de cima, que esteja a programada a mesma data! E pa, porque os públicos podiam ser - mas acho que até nem são - os mesmos (interview 2).
Pascoal also refers their interest to incorporate Musidanças.

Lá está, enquanto o Musidanças tem [15] anos e realizou coisas, não tem tido um grande impacto no público, este África Festival em 2-3 anos, no primeiro ano teve algo, sei lá, 15.000, 20.000, 30.000 pessoas a assistir, porquê será? Tu sabes! Presumo que tem a ver com dinheiro. Com marketing, saber o que as pessoas querem e gostam, e levá-las a determinados sítios (interview 3).

Pascoal contends that the Portuguese government could be more supportive. To this end, he cites the example of French subsidies for José da Silva’s label for lusophone African musics, based in Paris.

Lusáfrica recebe apoio financeiro do estado francês, mas é uma entidade que está a trabalhar com produtos que não são da francofonia! (interview 3).

In this respect, Pascoal remembers how the transnational institution CPLP, headquarted in Lisbon, gave financial support for the record Musidanças ’06. Músicas do Mundo Lusófono.

Eles deram-nos dinheiro para editarmos este disco, uma parte, e nós devolvemos em discos. Digamos que apoiaram comprando os discos de Musidanças, o que tornou possível a edição dos discos por eles e pelo ACIDI (interview 1).

On the level of tourism - one of the main fields of economic growth in 21st century Lisbon - Pascoal again critiques the seemingly unilateral focus on fado which, he argues, should include issues of intercultural respect and education. In his view, Lisbon’s lusophone background bears a strong potential for cultural promotion abroad.

Não tem só fado! Não deveria ter só fado. Sei que existiria essa possibilidade de agentes musicais ou agentes de turismo que se calhar iam ao festival com turistas que na época visitassem Lisboa. Será porque aqueles povos já têm uma educação que dá grande ênfase a, ou que respeita muito, aquilo que é cultural? Acho que os portugueses não têm essa preparação cultural que lhes faz dar apreço para aquilo que é transmitido culturalmente e não propriamente pela capacidade de marketing (interview 3).

Pascoal argues that there is a lack of disclosure points of knowledge on what is musically available in Lisbon, which could put visiting culture lovers in contact with local music practitioners. He imagines a foreign or even Portuguese visitor to Lisbon that wants to attend concerts of the various lusophone resident communities he or she knows that the city has:
Qual é a organização ou entidade que vou contactar para saber o que eles estão a fazer, se tem uma agenda, ou se tem discos pra vender, ou se tem roupas ou se tem comida? Está tudo muito disperso! Não tens uma coisa que centralize, tal como um portal. Em relação ao fado já há mais salvaguarda, e mesmo em termos de espaço, além dos particulares, já há coisas mais instituídas, agora ao nível de música do mundo lusófono, isto não existe! (interview 3).

Throughout the interviews, Pascoal repeats that his governance ideal – to safeguard and promote lusophone musics in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area through a particular festival, Musidanças – has largely happened with the support of the participating musicians, without cachet.

Às vezes não temos aquelas condições necessárias, mas mesmo assim muitos [com ênfase] artistas têm dado o seu contributo, eu considero que este festival tem acontecido muito também pelo investimento que os artistas têm feito (interview 1).

This participation involves not only first generation migrant musicians, but also the younger generations, often born in Portugal and/or of mixed descent.

Teve um ano que fiz uma selecção de bandas [jovens]. Fiquei até bastante admirado, porque lhes dizia que lutariamos para haver alimentação e transporte – e a malta nova identificava-se logo com o ideal do festival (interview 1).

This governance ideal was copied into Musidanças’ spin offs and side projects over the years. For example, Pascoal promoted Noites Mestiças - organized in 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2011 - as an event that “homenageia a boa música mestiça feita em português”528. When I asked him about the differences between Noites Mestiças and Musidanças, Pascoal clarified that

enquanto no Musidanças não há propriamente um estilo musical, mas pode haver produtos de fusão, Noites Mestiças dedica-se mais aos produtos de fusão portugueses (interview 4).

The common goal with Musidanças is to open appetite for new music projects and to change conservative mentalities.

O objectivo é sempre de mostrar os novos projectos, os novos trabalhos, e dar continuidade, [porque] Portugal tem estado sempre numa situação em que só se liga às coisas que estão no top (interview 4).

528 Available at https://www.facebook.com/jungleplanetjungle
To emphasize this necessity, many musicians have had numerous reappearances in Musidanças (for a list, see part 3.1.2.1., p. 168 ff.), and some of them have also performed collaboratively in Noites Mestiças:

O Guto Pires tocou nas Noites Mestiças juntamente com os Lindu Mona e o André Cabaço, ficamos os 3 juntos, não individualmente com os seus projectos (interview 4).

Interestingly, after Musidanças’ excursions to Viseu (2013) and São Pedro do Sul (2014), Pascoal increased his event governance in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area through the spin off Musidanças Internacional, at local FNAC stores, and the Tardes Lusofonas529, in cooperation with the Amadora municipality, at Recreios da Amadora, both in 2014. In 2015, Pascoal was also involved in the organization of Amadora Fest Comunidades, also at Recreios da Amadora, wanting to “apoiar e promover o encontro entre culturas em Portugal”530. He also founded the Manga di Rônco Orquestra, which presented the project Lusofonando – a lusofonia num só palco531 as the

espaço (música, artes plásticas, literatura, gastronomia, cultura) dos que ‘sentem português’ e [onde] qualquer pessoa sem distinção e que respire o português faça parte 532.

According to Pascoal, this inclusion of other artistic expressions than music has been marginally present in Musidanças:

temos tentado sempre que possível um envolvimento com as outras artes, porque muitos de nós não são só músicos, também são pintores, artistas plásticas, sculptores, escritores, poetas. Portanto, há aqui artes do mundo lusófono (interview 5).

529 Organized by Guto Pires, João Silva, Firmino Pascoal, Zeca Canango e Sanhá, bringing fado and poetry, together with a talk of MIL about the importance of lusofonia.
530 Available at https://m.facebook.com/Fest-Comunidades-352623601583687
531 In 2013, Musidanças announced the project Lusofonando on Facebook. In co-production with Cadeira Amarela, this was envisioned as a “community” that represents “o espaço dos que ‘sentem português’ e não pode ser pensada simplesmente como um espaço de usuários do português[,] Daremos grande enfoque a cantautores da Lusofonia!” Information retrieved from http://jungleplanet.net/lusofonando and https://www.facebook.com/MANGADIRONCO/photos/a.716204961798994.1073741827.716203565132467/759696117449878/?type=1&fref=nf
532 This event was supported by Associação 8 Séculos da Língua Portuguesa, MIL (Movimento Internacional Lusofono), RDP África and Associação Jungleplanet.
3.1.2.2. Record label Zoomúsica

Zoomúsica is a small-scale record label conceived by Firmino Pascoal in 1999, defined as “uma entidade vocacionada para a criação de eventos artísticos e para produção, edição de trabalhos discográficos, [...] dedicada à música do mundo lusófono”\textsuperscript{533}. In practice, Zoomúsica is Pascoal’s home studio where he has produced and managed his own recordings as well as those of befriended musicians. For example, the label edited and produced Lindu Mona’s albums \textit{Rosa Afra} (2002) and \textit{Bantu} (2010), as well as Pascoal’s wife and Lindu Mona member Ritta Tristany’s \textit{A Selva da Amizade} (2010) - a collection of children’s stories. In 2005, Zoomúsica also launched the hip hop musician Dama Bete - who performed at Musidanças, took part in the festival’s organization for a while and recorded the record \textit{Imbondeiro}, at Zoomúsica in 2012, sharing vocal duties with Firmino Pascoal. Furthermore, since 2014 Zoomúsica has managed and produced Tristany Time Old (pseudonym of the older one of Pascoal’s two sons, João Tristany) and hip hop band Monte Real - resulting in the EP \textit{Monte Real} (launched in March 2015); a participation in in the festival Lisboa Mistura (June 2015)\textsuperscript{534}; and the production of video clips posted on YouTube such as the song \textit{Futilidades (Bounds)}\textsuperscript{535}. Finally, in 2015 Zoomúsica inserted bands Xipane Pane (M) and Kilandukilu (A) into the Festival Internacional de Folclore (Viseu).

Since 2004, Zoomúsica has produced Musidanças, Noites Mestiças and Feira do Fado. In some cases, it co-produced these events with other cultural agents, for example Tocá Rufar (Musidanças 2009 and 2010), Musicbox (Musidanças 2010 and 2011), or Cadeira Amarela (Musidanças 2013, 2014 and 2015). Of special importance is the record \textit{Musidanças ’06. Músicas do Mundo Lusófono} (for a full discussion, see part 3.2.3.1, p. 208 ff.), edited by Zoomúsica in 2006 after a suggestion of Sara Tavares, whom participated in that year’s edition. In Pascoal’s words:

\begin{quote}
A Sara Tavares um dia lançou-me o desafio: porque não fazer uma compilação com a participação de artistas que actuariam no Festival Musidanças desse ano. Desafio feito, desafio aceite e assim em 2006 surge este CD, que mostra a música de alguns dos muitos projectos da música do mundo lusófono que proliferam em Portugal [.]. Tratando-se de uma proposta de carácter necessariamente restrito, procurara [...] representar algumas das proposta criativas cujo investimento cultural se encontra, de algum modo, exterior aos
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{533} Available at https://www.facebook.com/Zoomusica-550737778270609/
\textsuperscript{534} Available at https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=1089015267776188&id=550737778270609&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22O%22%7D
\textsuperscript{535} Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bKqDl6VpxO4
The record included songs by At Tambur (P), Canela (M), Dama Bete (M, P), Fernando Terra (B), Francisco Naia (P), Guto Pires (GB), Jay (CV), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Márcio Catunda (A), Paulo Soares (A), Pedro Moreno (B), Prince Wadada (CV), Sara Tavares (CV-P), Tonecas (STP), and André Cabaço (M, A). These musicians and groups graciously conceded published work to support future productions of Musidanças. Pascoal points out how they collaborated:

Disponibilizaram cada um uma canção dos seus discos para edição do disco, que ajude a promover o evento, os artistas e com o dinheiro realizado fazer face a algumas despesas que se prendem com a produção […] Numa primeira fase os artistas participaram doando sempre o que de melhor têm em si. A sua solidariedade artística. Nós queremos lutar por cada vez lhes darmos melhores condições de participação neste evento (interview 5).

Later on, the album was posted in its entirety on the digital music platform SoundCloud\(^\text{537}\). External studio recordings for songs that were performed by musicians during Musidanças 2005, as well as a short speech by Raúl Indipwo, from the old Duo Ouro Negro, on the festival’s importance for *lusafonia*, were also made available through this platform. Recently, Zoomúsica has used SoundCloud for disseminating the work of Lindu Mona, Elisa Sparks, Melo D, Dama Bete featuring Terrakota, and Imbondeiro, all own productions\(^\text{538}\).

Finally, Zoomúsica has also compiled and contextualized music anthologies\(^\text{539}\). In this respect, the label was responsible for the selection, line up and sleeve notes of the compilations *Memórias de África* (2008)\(^\text{540}\), *Angola Saudade 60*-*70* (2009)\(^\text{541}\), and *Duo Ouro Negro, o essencial*\(^\text{542}\) (2010, re-edited by Valentim de Carvalho).

Zoomúsica’s set of governance details shows how Pascoal has managed to self-produce his records, also helping befriended or family musicians with their recording efforts or concert promotions. Pascoal has also (co-)produced his own festive events, launching an authorized music compilation to promote one specific festival edition. In
addition, he has increasingly used digital platforms to reach out, and has gained critical acclaim for his work in commercial compilations that are compatible with the domain of musical lusofonia.

3.1.2.3. Cultural association Jungleplanet

The cultural association Jungleplanet\(^{543}\) is the follow-up to Associação de Artes BAZA, which laid at the basis of the festival Musidanças and took care of its production during the first four editions. Jungleplanet was first mentioned during Musidanças 2005, and received support over the years from media institutions FNAC, RDP and RTP África; government bodies CPLP, ACM, the Brazilian Consulate, Institut Franco-Portugais, Alliance Française Lisboa, Instituto Português de Juventude, local municipalities; or the related venues that hosted the festival.

Jungleplanet’s objectives are closely connected to, and sometimes intermingable with, those of Zoomúsica. Intending to overcome boundaries, the association fosters a spirit of solidarity and confidence in defense of common representation issues, through specific assistance in terms of agency, promotion, recording and design.

The association honors musicians that have participated as “beneméritos [por] serviços prestados em favor da efetivação de eventos organizados por esta associação” (ibid.).

Both BAZA and Jungleplanet seem to have been created for legal purposes. Although generally mentioned on the billboards of Pascoal’s festive events, I did not come across other activities by them during my research.

\(^{543}\) Available at https://www.facebook.com/jungleplanetjungle

\(^{544}\) Available at https://www.facebook.com/jungleplanetjungle
3.1.3. Publicity and networking

As for publicity, the most visible level of governance, Musidanças has largely auto-promoted itself online. To this end, Pascoal has especially relied on self-constructed websites, social networks and blogs[^545], in detriment to physical information carriers such as leaflets, flyers and brochures. Pascoal also created a YouTube channel dedicated to Musidanças with audiovisual recordings of performances as well as an interview with Sara Tavares[^546]. Ocasionally, Pascoal gives interviews in the local media and on national television channels in the days preceding the events, and YouTube fragments of these public appearances are later put online through Facebook. He has also participated in online discussion groups such as Multiculturalismo em Língua Portuguesa[^547]. Since Musidanças’ 10th anniversary, in 2010, Pascoal has increasingly been interviewed for national TV programs that deal with cultural diversity and music, such as Etnias (SIC) and Nós (ACM), as well as local radio stations[^548].

For all musical events organized, there have been physical information carriers (billboard campaigns, posters and leaflets) displayed in the hosting cities, on a limited scale, and very occasionally on public transports (for example, on CP’s suburban trains in Lisbon[^549]), for which the cost was partly supported by private and public sponsors. These carriers, illustrated in annex 10, usually contain the festival name in different logos[^550] and with different slogans, and feature a listing of musicians with an indication of claimed provenances, musical categories, or both[^551].

Curiously, there are little or no printed press reports to be found in newspapers or in magazines. At most, external websites announce upcoming editions but they do not reflect upon them. This is only done by Firmino Pascoal and participating musicians on rare occasions, the 10th edition being a landmark. In terms of publicity by third parties, the majority are cultural blogs or agendas that repeat Firmino’s texts and

[^546]: Available at https://www.youtube.com/user/firminopascoal
[^547]: Available at https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/multiculturais/conversations/messages/186
[^548]: Available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3tr2ZN5jYDY
[^549]: CP was Pascoal’s employer for the greater part of his professional life.
[^550]: The Musidanças logo was consolidated and broadcasted at the time of the 2010 anniversary edition.
[^551]: Sometimes, days or stages are arranged in thematic sessions (for example, one day per Portuguese-speaking country during the 2005 Musidanças edition) (see 2.3.2.)
wordings or mimic them, such as Agenda Cultural Lisboa and Jornal Hardmúsica, a.o.

Pascoal turns his social management public via the internet in particular ways. For example, he copies identical excerpts/texts in different places, on the scope and nature of his projects, interconnecting their general mission to his record label Zoomúsica and association Jungleplanet. Moreover, he regularly refers to participating musicians with visual and sonic material, establishing virtual links between his organized events, its musicians and their publics. In addition, Pascoal posts musics on YouTube and SoundCloud, simultaneously announcing these posts through Facebook pages, groups and individual profiles.

Pascoal’s online activity thus gradually constitutes and reinforces networks of musicians and audiences that actively disseminate discuss and comment on the proposed cultural expressions, musical categories and overarching concepts. This is in line with what Lysloff states about the use of the computer: it “allows for a new kind of performativity, an actualization of multiple and perhaps idealized selves through text and image” (2003: 255). From my ethnographic data, I agree with Lysloff’s contention that internet technology has enabled previously unimaginable communities and social practices, in particular, by providing a new materiality through which social interaction and group formation can take place (ibid.: 236, 255). In a very similar sense, Firmino Pascoal has made use of blogs and social networks to pronounce his ideas to an imagined community of readers and listeners. To my understanding, his ultimate aim is to safeguard, document and promote expressive lusophone culture to a wide public. I deal with the online discourse of Pascoal in more detail in the coming part of this thesis.

3.1.4. Festival programming

Below, I analyse statistical data regarding the claimed provenances and number of participations of each participating musician or band in Musidanças and its spin offs, on the one hand, and music categories employed by Firmino Pascoal to promote them, on the other.

552 Available at http://www.agendalx.pt/evento/festival-musidanças#.V9B7GZgrLIU
3.1.4.1. Claimed provenances

I understand the numeric programming of musical performances as an act of governance, as it entails visualization issues of musical styles and biographical provenances\(^ {554}\). Between 2001 and 2015, a total of 200 musicians or bands performed in Musidanças, Noites Mestiças and Feira do Fado. Many of these currently reside in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, and are first- or second-generation migrants with claimed provenances in Portuguese-speaking countries. Some of them played at several editions: Lindu Mona was programmed 16 times; Guto Pires 13; Tonecas 9; Dama Bete 6; Braima Galissa 5; Atma, Francisco Naia, Tutim di Giralda, André Cabaço, Melo D and Mingo Rangel 4 times; and Arte Pura Capoeira, Ekvat, Fernando Terra, Terranaçom, Tocá Rufar, Cabace, Pedro Moreno, Urbanvibsz and Mundo Complexo 3 times (I refer to table 1 in annex 11)\(^ {555}\). In my view, this recurrence can be seen as mutual symbolic support, as the repeated invitation and effective performance of these musicians implies a - implicit or explicit - promotion of the festival’s objectives.

The fact that Lindu Mona, Firmino Pascoal’s own band, is ranked as the most frequent performers, points both at Pascoal’s involvement and auto-promotion as a musician. Moreover, Lindu Mona often played in spaces where Musidanças was later organized, which may indicate informal networks of performance and a certain fluidity between Pascoal’s roles as a musician and a promotor.

In terms of claimed provenances, the following occurrences apply: Portugal 114 times (45%); Angola 48 (19%); Cape Verde 33 (13%); Mozambique 18 (7%); Brasil 16 (6%); Guiné-Bissau 9 (4%); São Tomé and Príncipe 4 (2%); Galicia (Spain) 2 (1%); and Timor Leste, Goa (India), Macau, Italy, Germany, Austria and Caribbean (undefined country) 1 occurrence (see graph 1 in annex 13). With regard to table 1 (above), data suggests that Pascoal’s programming compensates the large Portuguese input by repeated performances of lusophone migrant musicians: only 3 out of the 20 most frequent acts are strictly Portuguese.

From my fieldwork further emerges that the notion of claimed provenance is bound to a certain fluidity, as musicians and groups may change the representation of

\(^ {554}\) I discuss the inherent performative dimension of these stagings under 3.3.

\(^ {555}\) A complete outline of performing musicians, number and years of participation, as well as more detailed information such as place(s) of provenance and residence, can be found in annex 17.
their national belonging according to the context in which they appear.\textsuperscript{556} For example, in a personal conversation during an Ethnomusicology class at FCSH (Côrte-Real 2016)\textsuperscript{557}, Celina da Piedade pointed out that Sara Tavares grew up identifying as a Portuguese, but for her music career started to claim her Cape Verdian provenance. Meanwhile, in local media, Tavares has been represented at times with the label Portugal and at other with Cape Verde. Similarly, Firmino Pascoal has claimed his Angolan provenance with Lindu Mona and other musical projects, but in discourse projects himself as a Portuguese citizen. These examples show how identities are fluid as they are often chosen by the musicians, event organizers or even media journalists in function of contexts and the desired audiences.\textsuperscript{556}

3.1.4.2. Music categories

My analysis of the governmental procedures of Musidanças unveiled two main strategic trends involving classificatory thinking. One deals with the producers, being musicians or groups, the other deals with the products themselves, the songs or kinds of musics being performed. The classificatory thinking, treated in a systematic way by Firmino Pascoal, is analyzed in this thesis under the aegis of discursive and performative expressive behavior.

Firmino Pascoal’s event promotion seems to have involved the need to define, or at least motivated him to introduce musicians and their musical expression with the support of a classificatory system. Unsurprisingly, music categories of some sort are intensely and fluidly used to describe both the events themselves and the musicians or bands that partake in them. The categories used create distinctions that, directly relating to governance issues, nurture questions whose perception may change over the years. For example, Pascoal categorizes Musidanças under the category world music/étnica, referring to both market and cultural issues, which is sometimes explicitated by varying sublabels/slogans such as música do mundo lusofono.\textsuperscript{558} In the case of his music

\textsuperscript{556} “In this respect, I see analogies with the article by Jorge de Freitas Branco, “A Fluidez dos Limites: Discurso Etnográfico e Processo de Folclorização em Portugal” (2009).

\textsuperscript{557} During the class Música e migração:políticas de Cidadania migrante, given by Maria de São José Côrte-Real in collaboration with myself, on March 2, 2016.

\textsuperscript{558} Available at http://palcoprincipal.sapo.pt/user/festival_musidancas
collective Lindu Mona, auto-definitions range from cantautor, world music and Angola to música tradicional africana, étnico, world music Angola and lusofonia.

In the systematic observation of the music categories emically mentioned in the announcements to denominate what the performing musicians did during the first 15 years of Musidanças, the concept of lusofonia is expressly used over 50 times. The table below lists performing musicians at Musidanças or its spin offs that have been classified under this category by Firmino Pascoal. This overview offers interesting insights into the fluidity and breadth of the notion of (musical) lusofonia, national belonging and musical categories as applied through the years by Pascoal. It also makes us think about the use of such qualifying categories, called genres and/or styles indistinctly, as they are powerful socio-political instruments that can show identity constructions, social quests and national aspirations (Gelbart 2007: 4-5, Sparling 2008: 417-8).

As it shows from table 2 (see annex 11), Pascoal largely perceives lusofonia as world music in Portugal, englobing various music genres and alternative terms for musical mixtures. Generic descriptions that refer to these mixtures include Ritmos Sul Americanos, Multicultural, Som português, galego e francês, Fusão lusófona, and World fusão. Curiously, the category cantautor always refers to migrant musicians with claimed provenances in CPLP countries. In addition, world music refers to musicians that already have a discographic career. Finally, the country or region of provenance is also apparently used as a musical category: Angola (20 occurrences), Mozambique (12), Cape Verde (18), São Tomé and Príncipe (4), Brasil (13), Guinea-Bissau (11), Goa (3), Macau (1) and Açores (1), in the same sample. I refer to annex 17 for a full outline of participating musicians in Musidanças, Noites Mestiças and Feira do Fado in the period 2001-2015, with particular attention for announced number of participations, claimed provenances and music categories used.

Pascoal hints at musical innovation through the use of categories such as novo fado, neo trad, tradicional experimental, fado fusão, fado folk electrónico and música étnica portuguesa. The affix afro is mentioned seperately in many of these mixtures: afro fusão, afro hip hop, afro world, and afro/soul/reggae, which suggests a central position in Pascoal’s programming practice. Fusão is a popular category that Pascoal frequently uses in lexical compositions such as fado fusão, afro fusão, fusão lusófona and world fusão, thus illustrating this term’s semiotic value as an intercultural process.

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559 Categories are listed chronologically in case the musicians participated more than once in the events considered.
that transcends genre boundaries. Finally, in congruence with the data extracted from Pascoal’s written utterances as well as our personal interviews, the categories that he has used most are tradicional, world music and étnico. A detailed ranking for cited music categories, grouping semantically identical wordings, is:

- tradicional (13 occurrences), trad (2), tradicional experimental (1)  
- world music (10), músicas do mundo (2), world (2)  
- música étnica portuguesa (10) or étnico (3)  
- hip hop (10)  
- reggae (8)  
- soul (7)  
- dança (4), danças tradicionais (1)  
- mistico (3)  
- pop (2)  
- novo fado (2)  
- R&B (1)  
- rap (1)  
- neo trad (1)  
- fado fusão (1)  
- fado folk electrónico (1)  
- rock português (1)  
- afro fusão (1)  
- afro hip hop (1)  
- afro world (1)  
- afro/soul/reggae (1)  
- clássico (1)  
- funana dance (1)  
- espírituais negros (1)  
- ambientes electrónicos (1)  

Interestingly, the record *Musidanças ’06. Músicas do Mundo Lusófono* includes a mixed identification of music category (regarding the song) and place of provenance (regarding the singer/banda) to describe each contributing musician (e.g., World Portugal, Hip Hop Tuga, World Guiné, M.P.B., and Reggae Angola), as shows from the image in my discussion below.\(^{560}\)

Asked about music categories, verbalized as genres and labels, Nuno Correia (Cadeira Amarela), co-producer of Musidanças since 2013, shows a preference for three emic ones:

música rock, principalmente as bandas que não estão no mainstream; música de cantautores portugueses; e o trad, que parte de uma recolha, tanto dos instrumentos como de cancioneiros, para repensar aquilo que era música popular (interview 20).

\(^{560}\) I discuss the lyrics of this record in full detail in part 3.2.3.1., p. 208 ff.
These preferences, in many ways complementary to Pascoal’s, were especially visible in Musidanças’ editions in Viseu (2013) and São Pedro do Sul (2014). For editions in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, the presence of resident musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries has been much more explicit.

The combinations of existing music categories into new ones in the festival programming of Musidanças and related events allow us to sense music innovation at the junction of Portuguese, African and finally lusophone musics. The research data show a central place for blendings of African musics and fado, as well as an awareness of music industry processes of world music, as shows from the categories world, neo and fusao used. In addition, African diaspora musics are also somewhat linked through the recurrent categories of hip hop, reggae, soul, and negro spirituals. Furthermore, categories such as étnico and tradicional suggest a desired recuperation and valorization of traditional Portuguese and other lusophone expressions. Finally, the diversity of claimed provenances with a Portuguese residency point at mixture as a constitutive element of Musidanças artistic potential and, to a further extent, the Portuguese population it supposedly represents.

3.1.5. Festival funding

Throughout its editions, Musidanças has obtained fundings from a number of instances, as indicated on the festival’s billboards and orally commented by Firmino Pascoal. Below I elaborate a systematication of these sponsors, which is necessarily tentative and partial, as I did not have the opportunity to discuss it with Pascoal. From the material recollected, I distinguish four groups of attention: politically correct, socially active, commercially appealing as well as minor donors.

Regarding the first group, a number of municipalities (Cascais, Lisbon, London, Loures, Moita, and Viseu) have granted Musidanças their logistical or financial support when hosting it. In the same sense, government institutions working on migrant populations, youngsters and tourism such as RDP África, the currently named ACM (previously called ACIDI and ACIME), Instituto Português de Juventude and Turismo de Lisboa have occasionally supported editions of Musidanças. Sponsors such as Institut Franco-Portugais, Alliance Française Lisboa, the Brazilian Consulate, Casa
de Goa, Fundação Oriente and CPLP show that there have also been other, namely foreign, interests in this respect.

Regarding the second group, local associations or venues in locations in which Musidanças was organized have given their support, next to friends and colleagues of Firmino Pascoal. These socially active helpers include the Círculo de Animação Cultural de Alhos Vedros (CACAV), Amigos do Mar (AdM), Movimento Internacional Lusófono (MIL), music technician Tó Pinheiro da Silva, Tocá Rufar, Musicbox and Cadeira Amarela, a.o.

The venues mentioned above, though connected to social causes, in part overlap with the third, commercially appealing, group, which includes FNAC, Fórum Almada, CP-Comboios, Metropolitano de Lisboa, Guitar Puzzle and Sapo.

Finally, a large group of small sponsors consists of graphic designers and printing houses, free newspapers, restaurants and money transfer businesses: Algomaí Design, Etic, Oásis da Imagem, O Brasileirinho, Destak, Tempero de Minas, and LCC Transenvio, a.o, which have contributed with divulgation and food.

Overall, these instances, probably actively sought after by Firmino Pascoal, have made it possible for Musidanças to exist on a yearly basis, without continued institutional support of EGEAC, such as happened with a number of Lisbon-based festivals that have been discussed above.

3.2. Discourse: Musidanças debating lusofonia

Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity (Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, cited by Coutinho and Baptista 2014: 579)

The discourse dimension addresses rhetorical utterances of Musidanças’s main intervenients, including programmatic texts, blog posts, song lyrics, and interviews.

In linguistics, discourse has been defined as “a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic (oral or written) tokens that belong to specific semiotic types (genres)” (Wodak and Reisigl 2003: 383).
In my study, first motivated by a BA dissertation in discourse analysis at Catholic University of Leuven in Belgium, then helped by my gone co-advisor Fernanda Menendéz at FCSH, and later by the attentive co-supervision of Cornelia Ilie of Zayed University in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, the field of Discourse Analysis appeared as a methodology to uncover cultural inequalities, dominance and ideologies conveyed through public discourses delivered by given value systems (Cortez 2014: 13-14). The discipline sheds light on the language process exclusively through the study of its grammar, thus establishing links between written supports and social practices - texts and contexts. Contexts have been defined as the “mentally represented structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse” (Van Dijk 2003: 356).

In this sense, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), that I use here, is a interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of language that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Van Dijk 2003: 353). Through its premisses that power relations are discursive and that discourse is a form of social action that ideologically and historically constitutes society and culture, CDA addresses, interprets and explains social issues such as cultural hegemonies or biases (ibid.). In this respect, Ilie argues that:

contexts defined as participant definitions - that is, as mental constructs - are able to function at the interface between situational/societal structures and discourse structures, because they subjectively ‘represent’ relevant aspects of situations and society and directly interfere in the mental processes of discourse production and comprehension (2010: 889).

I use the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), which falls under the umbrella of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (El Naggar 2012: 77), as the theoretical framework for my discursive analysis of the festival Musidanças, while also taking rhetorical appeals, argumentative definitions and tropes into account. DHA entails four levels of context analysis: (1) text-internal; (2) intertextual and interdiscursive; (3) extralinguistic - social life and (4) sociopolitical and historical contexts (Wodak and Reisigl 2003: 385).

On the text-internal level (1), I specifically analyze Musidanças programmatic texts and official position-takings, the song lyrics of its edited recording, as well as position-takings in field interviews and in social networks. To this end, I apply the
analytical concepts of genre and register as elaborated by Eggins and Martin (1997, Cortez 2014). According to these authors, the systemic analysis of discursive genres and registers allows for a detailed semiotic analysis of ideology, as it lays bare the power positions, political biases and assumptions that social actors incorporate in their discourse. In other words, ideologically perspectives have functional motivations as they show the interests of the text-producers (Eggins and Martin 1997: 237). Genres in this context are culturally distinctive texts types that aggregate the texts in common formal and culturally organized structures, while register identifies more specific situations (Cortez 2014: 14). This register analysis examines three interrelated dimensions or frameworks: ideational, interactional, and textual, constructing specific types of field, tenor, and mode respectively (Martin 1992: 55, Cortez 2014: 17-20). The field of discourse is concerned with systems of activity, including descriptions of the participants, processes, and circumstances that these activities involve. Field includes six different semiotic spaces each of which having its own prototypical social processes - material, mental, relational, verbal, existential and behavioral – realized through verbs and verbal groups. The tenor of discourse is concerned with social relations, motivating readers to interact through a degree of social distance or proximity. Finally, the mode of discourse is concerned with semiotic distance, using lexical density to render speech formal or informal.

On the intertextuality level (2), one refers topics, events or actors that evoke links to other texts (El Naggar 2012: 81). Moloi and Bojabotseha (2014: 420) point out that register analysis can lay bare orientations of intertextuality, specifically with regard

561 More specifically, genre identifies the context of culture through written instantiations of communication. Some of the most recurrent genres are report (what happened); explanation (why something happened); recount (how something happened); procedure (how to proceed in a certain situation); exposition (point of view or argument); and discussion (negotiating arguments) (Martin 1992: 55, Cortez 2014: 17-20).

562 These six field processes involve experiences and interpretations of the world. They are: (1) material, involving processes of doing (actor-process-goal); (2) mental, involving processes of sensing (sensor-process-phenomenon); (3) relational, involving processes of being (carrier-process-attribute); (4) behavioral, involving psychological processes (behaer-process); (5) verbal, involving processes of saying (sayer-process-receiver); and (6) existential, involving processes of existing and happening.

563 Tenor designates interactional situations in which issues of power, participation and social distance manifest themselves. For example, linguistic devices such as recurrent uses of the passive voice and nominalizations can hide subjectivity/human agency (Martin 1992: 55). Conversely, one can use other linguistic devices to highlight subjectivity: by encoding a personal point of view to include evaluation and attitude, whether affective, judgemental or appreciative; and by introducing a speaker's angle on the facts by means of modal verbs and modal adjuncts like may, should, and sometimes (ibid.).

564 Mode refers to specific lexical choices in textual frameworks. As Cortez shows, this may include evaluative and hierarchical lexical compositions such as “the best known” or “some of the best and most misunderstood songs”, or qualities or value judgements that are ascribed to participants, such as “mind-blowing”, “remarkable”, “beautiful”, “decisive”; and “emblematic” (2014: 75).
to the acceptance of difference. These orientations form the basis for assessing the
degree of dialogue between the voice of a text’s author and other voices.

Interdiscursivity indicates that discourses are potentially interconnected through other
topics or sub-topics (ibid.). To my understanding, intertextuality also emanates from
rhetorical appeals, argumentative definitions and tropes. As pointed out by Ilie (2004: 52),
rhetorical appeals are modes of persuasion that classify the speaker’s appeal to his
audience. Following Aristoteles, these appeals include *logos* (reason), *ethos* (moral
qualities and credibility) and *pathos* (emotions). In turn, a speaker may also re-define,
re-contextualize or re-interpret certain social, historical, cultural and/or political issues
in order to strengthen his or her arguments. Finally, tropes are commonly recurring
literary or rhetorical devices (such as metaphors) that are usually utilized to call into
question the addressee's *ethos*, while attempting to strike a balance between the
speaker’s own logical reasoning and emotion eliciting force (Ilie 2004: 46).

I have already partially evoked the extralinguistic level (3) and broader
sociopolitical and historical contexts (4) that surround Musidanças and its *spin offs* in
1.2/2.1 and 1.3/2.3, respectively.\(^{565}\)

### 3.2.1. In written sources

Below, I comparatively analyze Musidanças’ programmatic and artistic texts, as well as
its blog posts and publicity campaigns. Regarding the first two, I apply the analytical
concepts of genre and register as elaborated by Eggins and Martin (1997)\(^{566}\), also
analyzing rhetorical appeals, argumentative definitions and tropes (Ilie 2004: 52).
Regarding the last two, I construct my argument comparatively. On a whole, I will test
the assumption that this written discourse is concurring with Musidanças’ spoken and
lyrical discursive output.

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565 The latter two are similar to the Mediated Discourse Perspective (MDP) as posited by Scollon and
Scollon (2003: 544). MDP shifts from a focus on the interpersonal /intercultural /interdiscursive relation
between individuals involved in communication, to a focus on mediated action as a kind of social action.
This means that the central concern of this type of discourse analysis is not persons but social change. In
this sense, I understand MDP as similar or complementary to HDA.

566 I discussed my analytic proposal with Alcina Cortez, whose work for her MA dissertation inspired my
theoretic framework in this step. I am grateful for her collaboration.
3.2.1.1. Manifesto: discurso final

I use the etic term manifesto to denote the only programmatic text (to my knowledge) of Musidanças, posted by Firmino Pascoal in his blog in November 2008, entitled *Lusofonia, mestiçagem, som luso e mistura do ser humano*, directed to the participants of the festival’s 2007 edition²⁶⁷. The Oxford dictionary defines the term manifesto as a “public declaration of policy and aims”²⁶⁸. In Portuguese, the same word manifesto is defined as “a (usually written) exposure that manifests what is necessary or what is wanted to be known”²⁶⁹. In this sense, it is a public declaration of principles and intentions, often political in nature. Although *Lusofonia, mestiçagem, som luso e mistura do ser humano* was drafted by Firmino Pascoal with the specific purpose of defining the festival’s objectives and identifying its surrounding community, he names it “discurso final” instead of manifesto. He invokes collectivity among musicians through references to a “movement”, and frames music as a way to empower and intervene, elements which justify my interpretation of this particular text as a manifesto. In this presentation of my analysis, I first consider relevant excerpts in their textual order and then discuss the main argumentation strategies that are used in the text. The full text can be found in annex 1.

The text is divided in 27 paragraphs, corresponding one phrase each, and is signed by Firmino Pascoal. It starts off with a general description of the topic it addresses: cultural identities in a lusophone perspective. The recount genre is used in combination with a tenor that camouflages the writer of the text by supposedly giving random examples:

> Para uns são um conjunto de identidades culturais apresentadas de forma simples ou mais ou menos misturadas. Angola, Brasil, Cabo Verde, Comunidades Lusófonas espalhadas pelo mundo, Cidadãos estrangeiros a residir em Portugal, Galiza, Guiné Bissau, Goa, Macau, Moçambique, Portugal, S. Tomé e Príncipe, Timor Leste.

The analytical recount genre shows the introduction of the problem that the text addresses:

> Nem sempre o reconhecimento da identidade indígena prevaleceu

²⁶⁸ Available at http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/manifesto?q=Manifesto
The author then couples an awareness to the courage needed to act against the unknown. Regarding the former, this is achieved through processes of doing:

Temos que reconhecer a coragem para enfrentar o desconhecido, a criação de alianças e fraternidades, transformando e deixando-se transformar.

Regarding the latter, the author uses the existential genre to affirm processes of exchange in Portuguese colonial society that have continued until the present:

Do contacto entre o povo colonizador e os povos resultou um intercâmbio a vários níveis sendo deles o mais profundo o da miscigenação.

Without stating whose voice he is using, the author then invokes international acclaim for racial and cultural intermixture (mestiçagem). This is achieved by giving the example of Brazil: “No século XIX o Brasil é reconhecido internacionalmente como o país da mestiçagem”. This phrase features a recurrent use of the passive voice, to remove human agency. It also suggests authority issues by using evaluative and hierarchical lexical compositions: “um intercâmbio a vários níveis sendo deles o mais profundo o da miscigenação”.

At this point in the manifesto, the author opens up the tenor to include biographical information, by showing attitude and allowing appreciative evaluation:

Eu sou Mulato, português nascido em Angola, de pai branco e mãe negra.

This personal focus is immediately overtaken by a historical critique (recount genre) towards mixture valorization: “A mistura do ser humano de origem diversa teve valorização variável através dos tempos”. The author uses action verbs to argument that mixture processes curbed social distances: “A mestiçagem corrigiu a distância social.” He then legitimates his argument by using the exposition genre: “A mestiçagem é um facto histórico a que não cabe condenar ou elogiar.” To enable this argument, the author returns to the general utterances of his introduction, and involves the reader’s historical knowledge and conscience by asking questions. In doing so, he uses the recount genre.

O que levou os colonialistas à mestiçagem? A escassez das mulheres brancas na população ou a alegada pré-disposição colonizadora para contactos inter-raciais?

Both questions are used as a legitimation of the author’s defense of mixture, subverting the collective notion of people through the use of an existential field: “O
resultado concreto foi a formação de um povo novo.” Here, the author returns with his personal point of view (tenor), representing himself as part of this mixed biological and cultural people, and auto-attributing agency. “Eu preconizo um Homem com raças, misto quer seja de pigmentação quer seja de cultura.”

Through the use of processes of being (“é”, “existem”, “existe”), the lusophone cultural identities that were shortly referred to in the introduction of the manifesto are equationally related to intermixture (“mestiçagem”). This argument is constructed through short definitions of *mestiçagem* as well as the *mestiço* figure:

> Mestiçagem é sinónimo de diversidade. Mestiçagem é o conhecimento do outro através da mestiçagem de culturas, é conhecer a língua, a cultura, a religião dos outros e manifestar respeito pelos outros, pela diferença e pela partilha da vida. Existem diversidades e semelhanças nas culturas. Ao ser mestiço cultural deixa-se de ser mediador entre culturas e acaba-se por identificar o seu pensamento com o das outras culturas. Existe na actualidade uma identidade cultural que pode ser partilhada pelos vários países e comunidades, ser vivida em comum e partilhada na diversidade e enriquecida.

These subjective affirmations are then negotiated through a return to the general perspective of the manifesto’s introduction, together with a mode that evokes voices of unnamed others to ascribe value judgements to the concept of lusofonia:

> Uns dizem que a lusofonia é uma ilusão, mas que existem vestígios da presença portuguesa no mundo é uma grande verdade. Assim como é uma grande verdade que há marcas na cultura portuguesa de vestígios das culturas dos países por onde passaram.

This fragment denotes intertextuality by pointing to ideas of lusotropicalism and portugalidade, which have stressed Portuguese influence and agency worldwide. That being said, the author evokes a countermovement of cultural flows of the overseas territories that have dialogically influenced Portuguese culture up to the present. To facilitate his argument, he then uses action verbs, processes of doing, to advocate a recognition of these mutual influences by research, discovery, education and acceptance.

> Agora o que não tem existido é um assumir dessas marcas, um pesquisar e descobrir essas marcas no tempo, um informar as gerações das suas origens, suas influências, não tem existido o aceitar […]

The author then legitimates this argument through a generalistic enumeration of communities involved. He again removes agency through tenor - the use of the passive
voice: “Mas não é só Portugal que tem que ser alertada para a riqueza desta fonia”. In terms of genre, this corresponds to the exposition of his argument:

São os próprios brasileiros no Brasil que possivelmente pouco sabem sobre os outros irmãos da mesma língua, são os Angolanos, os Guinéus, os Cabo Verdeanos, os São Tomenses, os Moçambicanos, os Goeses, os Macaense, os Timorenses, as comunidades lusófonas espalhadas pelo mundo.

This impersonal though authoritative use of tenor continues in the author’s argumentative command, putting the Portuguese language in a key role:

A união em torno da língua é importante pois torna-nos numa força com mais poder até internacionalmente.
Os outros povos também precisam de ser alertados para a não vergonha de se falar em português e para a necessidade de se falar nas suas línguas maternas e fundir.
Com um fio condutor que será o português temos já as línguas angolana, cabo verdeana (e de que maneira), a guineense, a moçambicana, a brasileira, a portuguesa etc.

This prescriptive point of view is then further elaborated through the use of processes of doing and the procedure genre: “Cada país contribuirá com o que de melhor tiver em prol do desenvolvimento e conhecimento dos outros sem problemas de quem está a controlar quem.”

The author then reinforces his final argument by taking the synchronic and diachronic dimensions (colonial and postcolonial, respectively) together: “Se existem vícios coloniais também existem preconceitos anti coloniais.” This emphasis further equates the personal I with the collective we, which seems to refer to the target audience and participants of Musidanças, to whom the manifesto is directed. In addition, the tenor again encodes a personal point of view to enable evaluation and attitude: “Se um galego ou francês se identifica com a cultura portuguesa, a aprende, vive, a desfruta, quem somos nós para dizer que não pertence à lusofonia.”

As a definitive argument, the author legitimates his equation of lusofonia and mestiçagem through evaluative and hierarchical lexical compositions (“Mais forte”) as well as existential processes (“vivências”). He also evokes constructed opinions by others that do not correspond to social life. “Mais forte que a dialéctica construída à volta desta palavra, são as vivências e essas ninguém as consegue apagar.”

Pascoal’s manifesto uses variations of tenor to approximate the reader, who is thus taken to agree with his arguments. More particularly, Pascoal’s tenor varies from hidden subjectivity and universal assertions, suggesting authority, on the one hand, to
personal ostentations in an historical perspective of racial, cultural and social inequalities (suggesting empathy), on the other. In addition, Musidanças makes ample use of rhetorical appeals, specifically intertwining pathos action with eventual ethos interests. This especially shows from its call for courage, which implies action to face the unknown, goodwill to create alliances and fraternities, and mental dispositions that allow intercultural transformations of oneself and others. This promoted intertextuality links discourse and performance.

In lexical terms, Pascoal’s text largely features conversational language without nominalizations, thus increasing credibility. The author’s plea for change is achieved through evaluative, superlative and authorative wordings. This change is historically framed through the use of the exposition and recount genre, presenting the need for action towards recognition as unquestionable. The manifesto crossreferences popular opinions that have critiqued mixture, and represents miscegenation processes as the central axis in interpreting lusophone expressive culture in a transnational perspective.

As pointed out by Cornelia Ilie (through personal communication), these are re-interpretations of a socio-historical phenomenon (the passage from colonialism to postcolonialism) with deep human, interpersonal, cultural and political consequences. By giving argumentative definitions of the notion of intermixture (mestiçagem) and equating them to highly argumentative definitions of lusofonia, Musidanças highlights the seriousness of this issue, treating it as a matter of fact issue (as Cornelia Ilie has suggested); contextualizing its meaning in the present; and emotionally involving the audience by pointing to shared values such as language, culture, and civility.

Through an implicit directive, the author prescribes language union as important because it makes the lusophone populations into a more powerful force internationally. He contends that it is paramount to sensitize these populations through an ongoing work of participatory intercultural projection. In this process, lusofonia is not a buzz word but a contested notion that reveals both historical niches of intercultural contact and increasing civil understandings today. Defined as such, lusofonia presents itself as an ideal condition of morality for Portuguese society as well as those of the remaining Portuguese-speaking locations. Thus, Pascoal’s manifesto represents a growing cultural, linguistic and, with Musidanças, sonic and performative call for a strong and powerful international union that democratically promotes inclusive lusofonia on the global stage.
3.2.1.2. Poem: *Monólogo luso*

Like the manifesto above, the selected poem *Monólogo luso*, signed by Firmino Pascoal and António Cabós, was dedicated to all performing musicians and collaborators of the festival Musidanças in 2007\(^{570}\). The poem’s full version is available in annex 2.

Evoking the memory of the Portuguese that reinvented their country out of necessity, the poem recalls Portugal’s maritime expeditions and commerce, while it also touches upon the resulting social and cultural mixtures and sufferings. The personal I says he choses to break a silence, by using song as a tool of identity negotiation\(^{571}\).

The poem is divided in nine paragraphs, corresponding to five parts of four lines, and four parts of variable length. It starts off mentioning its objective: to sing about Portugal’s ‘history telling’, framed not by myths but by economic hardship and forced migrations.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Canto o tema da memória} \\
\text{De um povo inventado} \\
\text{Aquém Tejo camponês} \\
\text{Ribeirinho, operário} \\
\text{Trás-os-Montes devastado} \\
\text{Pela noite da fome a salto} \\
\text{Conto a cena e o martírio} \\
\text{Do meu país adiado}
\end{align*}
\]

An explicit link is made to the era of the Portuguese discoveries, contending that economic interests guided cultural contacts since the very beginning.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Em busca do bojador} \\
\text{Oriente, adamastor} \\
\text{A pretex\text{to da fé, especiarias, suor,} } \\
\text{Caravelas com café} \\
\text{Deram em troca por metais,} \\
\text{Panos, missangas tanto} \\
\text{Que trocaram o curandeiro} \\
\text{Pela imagem de um santo}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{570}\) “Monólogo luso - Poema dedicado a todos os Artistas e Colaboradores do Musidanças 2007,” por António Cabós e Firmino Pascoal. All italics are mine. Also available at http://artistasmusidancas.blogspot.pt/2008/01/monlogo-luso-poema-dedicado-todos-os.html

\(^{571}\) In this sense, this poem gets lyrically close the music category of protest song. This is telling as I present data elsewhere in this thesis about Musidanças’s interventive characteristics.
The poets make subtle but clear reference to how initial contacts supposedly affected the colonized local populations - signaled by the word “dor”. There are clear crossreferences to *Os Lusíadas*, the epic renaissance poem made by Luís de Camões, mandatory literature in the Portuguese high schools in the Estado Novo and since then.

Diferente dos demais,
Na equipagem de dor
Dos Gamas e dos Cabrais
E em terras de Vera Cruz
Continuaram a epopeia

Through evaluative and emotional lexical compositions such as “sofrida”, the idea of domination is then muted while the poets evoke hybrid expressive culture and racial mixing in the Portuguese colonial imperial enterprise.

Desta língua sofrida,
Pau Brasil, mulata amiga
Semba, ritmo, carnaval
O filho América, pai latino
Nascido em Portugal meu destino

Finally, the personal I refuses to keep silent, and uses his songs to protest about biased versions of history in a time of peace - by which he hopes to set an example.

Que para não calar eu digo
Com esta voz com que falo e canto
Que só me resta prantar
Neste lugar de encanto
Em que lutando eu sigo
Cantando a nossa história
Nesta cantiga de amigo

The argument of the poem in many aspects crossreferences that of the manifesto. While the poets initially adopt a more passive, descriptive stance with no references to personal details, the personal I gradually becomes present, revealing its intentions through a sequence of action verbs (“digo”, “falo”, “canto”, “lutando”). In my opinion, this almost call to arms addresses essentialist memory issues in a lusophone context, by suggesting how initial understandings of *lusofonia* evoked problems of representation as they omitted differences in historic expression and stories of nation-building. In particular, the implicit critique of lusotropicalism as Portuguese centralism is exemplified through the contrast of the word “epopeia”, on the one hand, and the pain
and suffering words on the side of the formerly colonialized, on the other. The poet (in fact, Pascoal as the organizer of Musidanças) is explicit in the will to use music as a weapon of defense. The ambiguity of the phrase “cantando a nossa história” is thus intentional, as it prescribes Portugal as a shared part of the lusophone world, which is per definition intercultural and mestiço (the latter evoked through the word “mulata”).

In sum, “Monólogo luso” points to the importance of intercultural education to transcend postcolonial pessimism and to stimulate reconciliation, by promoting an alternative rendering of the historical interrelations between Portugal and its former colonies.

### 3.2.1.3. Blog posts: Facebook and Blogger

Although both manifesto and poem above analyzed were posted on a blog, I have considered them seperately from other social media posts because of their poetic nature. Below, I verify regular blog posts to test my preceding analysis.

Pascoal has asserted itself mainly through posts on virtual social networks such as Facebook and Blogger. Excerpts of his texts have also been published on institutional websites such as Portal da Juventude, the former ACIDI, Palco Principal, Municipality websites and other cultural agents. This multitude of publishing locations and the frequent changes of website addresses makes dissemination both disparate and redundant at times, which is less beneficient for the continuity of Pascoal’s public attendance.

Most of the information retrieved from Pascoal’s blog posts refers to Musidanças’ mission statement, stressing its quest for new, creative music approaches that do not form part of the mainstream (in line with Conexão Lusófona’s mission statement in part 2.2.1., pp. 43 and 126-7).

Este Festival visa reunir um leque de autores representantes da expressão artística Lusófona actuante em Portugal. Tratando-se de uma proposta de carácter necessariamente restrito, esta iniciativa procura representar algumas das propostas criativas cujo investimento cultural se encontra, de algum modo, exterior aos circuitos do grande mercado da produção, edição e exposição nacionais.

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572 This section connects to preliminary findings vis-à-vis Musidanças’ objectives in part 2.3.1. and its online information dissemination under 3.1.2.4.

Musidanças’ specific objectives reappear unaltered on several of Pascoal’s blogs and sites throughout the years. They point at the need for intercultural education in a lusophone perspective to change music industry production and reception. A new mentality is needed to understand the quality and merit of lusophone musics in Portugal, he says:

Como objectivo a nível interno e externo o Musidanças pretende ser uma mostra coesa da música das comunidades lusófonas que evoluem em Portugal e no Mundo. Com a adesão dos artistas o Musidanças pretende implementar o nome do projeto e dos artistas aderentes de forma que possa ser naturalmente reconhecido pelos outros agentes e pelo público. Divulgar a arte lusófona em Portugal e nos demais países envolvidos no Festival; Promover o trabalho dos artistas participantes no Festival; Estimular a criação de arte lusófona; Educar e desenvolver a consciência de lusofonia; Criar um elo entre o trabalho dos artistas participantes, promovendo diálogos interculturais; Proporcionar atrações de qualidade, que possam manter vivas as origens do público estrangeiro-lusófona residente em Portugal574.

As a way to legitimate his actions, Pascoal represents Musidanças’ mission during the first 10 years as a successful feat. To this end, he enumerates musicians that he has pioneeringly brought to the stage, implying that some of them gained international success afterwards. He also connects this idea of mission to the notion of social/musical movement:


Musidanças aims to promote musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries; mediate between musicians and promotors; and build bridges with other entities that work with this human potential. In the end, it calls for the valorization of musical links and the quality of their performers.

Missão - É um Festival que tem como missão promover e incentivar o trabalho dos artistas de origem portuguesa, angolana, brasileira, moçambicana, cabo verdiana, são tomense, guinense e timorense.

Visão - Estabelecer parcerias com entidades envolvidas em projectos lusófonos, visando reconhecer, apoiar e promover o encontro entre estas culturas.

574 Available at http://festivalmusidanças.blogs.sapo.pt/4023.html
575 Available at http://jungleplanet.net/festival-musidanças
Posicionamento - Posiciona-se como um elo entre estas culturas, acreditando que o segredo e a qualidade estejam na mistura\textsuperscript{576}.

Beyond these partnerships, other channels of dissemination, such as a radio program, a tv program and a website controlled by Musidanças were announced in the festival’s early years into place in order to make Musidanças better known to the general public.

Queremos dar a conhecer as nossas culturas aos portugueses, aos estrangeiros e até aos descendentes dos naturais dos países lusófonos. Para isso uma das necessidades passa pela criação de um programa de rádio, de um programa de televisão, de um site dinâmico e controlado pela organização que permitam uma maior expansão do projecto\textsuperscript{577}.

Pascoal is also concerned with the need to safeguard the results of past Musidanças editions, and therefore frames his online presence as a way of constituting an information archive about the festival:

Também o evento e os artistas estiveram e estão em exposição no Site www.musidancas.com e ligação ao nosso blog musidanças e que pretende através do tempo ser uma grande base de dados com informação sobre o evento em geral e sobre os artistas em particular\textsuperscript{578}.

Beyond these descriptions, it is curious to see how Pascoal addresses Musidanças’s (limited) reception either very positively or very negatively. In my opinion, on the one hand, this may point at ambiguous emotions such as anger and frustration in making the festival happen on a yearly basis with a very limited organization, little or no money for cachet, and a local, disperse audience. On the other hand, Pascoal utilizes the rhetorical strategy of converting all this hardship into something worthwhile and positive, by portraying Musidanças as a big, established event with a recognized history and reception by musicians and publics, with a guiding role for music innovation in Portugal.

Regarding positive renderings of Musidanças’ reception, Pascoal describes the involvement and interests of musicians and public, suggesting that in theory, there were good reception conditions to host the festival on a yearly basis.

2001 Foi o ano em que o Festival nasceu. Para além do público em geral, chamou a atenção de outros músicos e actores da praça, como: Maria Rueff, Sara Tavares, Maria

\textsuperscript{576} Available at http://lusotunes.blogspot.pt/2010/11/aline-frazao-toca-amanha-no-festival.html
\textsuperscript{577} Available at http://palcoprincipal.sapo.pt/user/festival_musidancas, published online in March 2010.
\textsuperscript{578} Available at http://palcoprincipal.sapo.pt/user/festival_musidancas
Alice, Theo Pascal, Costa Neto, os Corvos entre outros agentes de espectáculos, técnicos e produtores. O público jovem também fez a sua aparição e mostrou agrado e surpresa ao conhecer estes projectos 579.

Pascoal narrates how his initial festival idea gradually grew into a movement, turning Musidanças into a popular reference. He also empowers the participating musicians as a “classe artística [com] alto poder de formação de opiniões”, with the yearly audience as a loyal counterpart: in a subjective, prescriptive auto-affirmation, he thus proclaims Musidanças as one of the main lusophone culture festivals in Portugal.

2007 Às portas de seu sétimo ano de vida, o Musidanças faz um balanço muito positivo. Sendo um festival/movimento que começou com uma pequena ideia de juntar artistas e trocar impressões entre os povos de língua portuguesa, o Musidanças é hoje um ponto de encontro entre culturas e é, sem dúvida, mais um grande ponto de processamento de informações, que visa mostrar que a classe artística tem alto poder de formação de opiniões. O crescimento do festival aconteceu de forma gradual, respeitando e adequando-se às necessidade de seu público fiel. [Agradeço os] artistas que contribuíram com os seus talentos para que o festival crescesse e tornasse grande como é hoje. Graças ao nosso trabalho em conjunto, hoje o Festival Musidanças é um dos principais festivais de cultura e arte lusófona de Portugal 580.

The close proximity with participating musicians also emanates from Pascoal’s explicit citation of their statements, using their polyphonic and colloquial language to position Musidanças as a relevant event for the promotion of their work. This is another discursive mechanism used to simulate or prescribe the festival’s legitimation, as it suggests both expectations of and affective bonds with the musicians, answering his call, as may be seen in the following examples retrieved from Musidanças’ blogspot.

Alfa Arroba [P] disse: “Continuamos interessados numa eventual proposta à participação no Músidanças”.
Kaja Bucalho [P] disse: “Tendo um enorme carinho pelo vosso festival e por pensarmos que tem o ambiente ideal para um concerto nosso aqui fica a nossa disponibilidade”.
Lura [CV-P] disse: “Olá Firmino! Eu também gostaria de estar no Musidanças!”
Zuu Nation [P] disse: “Olá, Antes de mais, obrigado pelo convite! Claro que estamos interessados, tanto no concerto como nos workshops, penso que podemos contribuir muito em ambas as áreas”.

580 Available at http://festivalmusidanças.blogspot.pt
581 Available at http://jungleplanet.net/festival-musidanças
Pascoal similarly cites Dama Bete (M, P) and Sara Tavares (CV-P), two singers that received international acclaim after a first appearance in Musidanças\textsuperscript{582}. Following her citation by Pascoal, Dama Bete considers that Musidanças was fundamental in pursuing her musical vocation: she interacted with other musicians and received critical acclaim from music journalists under Pascoal’s mentorship, as she says:

Participei no Festival Musidanças em 2005. Foi nesse festival que realmente quis ser artista. Conheci músicos como a Sara Tavares, os Terrakota, o Lindu Mona. O Firmino Pascoal foi a pessoa que mais acreditou em mim e me incentivou para continuar. Saiu uma crítica positiva na revista Blitz apontando-me como artista revelação do festival. Nunca mais parei\textsuperscript{583}.

In her statement posted by Pascoal, Sara Tavares, recurrent in various events and cited throughout this dissertation, praises Musidanças for its investment in non-mediatized musics, which she deems risky, suggesting that this effort is civilly welcome.

Estamos a viver uma época mediática onde ás vezes o mediatismo é que interessa. Isto são coisas da nossa realidade, e ás vezes o mediatismo é muito alimentado pela ilusão. Quem investe num festival lusofono não tem recompensas mediáticas e quem vai colher são os que vierem depois. Talvez seja por isso que não existam mais festivais como o Musidanças. Por falta de sentido de risco. As pessoas não têm atrevimento e talvez, falta de responsabilidade própria da comunidade a quem estas coisas dizem respeito\textsuperscript{584}.

As indicated before, Pascoal has also translated his entrepreneurial riskiness into negative, problem-revealing statements. For example, the title “Musidanças existe” suggest existential preoccupations because of a limited appeal of Musidanças’ operating concept –lusofonia – to potential sponsors. In 2007, Pascoal stated that:

O Musidanças existe como conceito e na realidade existe com a realização de cerca 111 concertos através destes 7 anos. Encontra-se neste momento preocupado em se manter como uma realização baseada num conceito que recorre a vários parceiros para tornar possível a sua execução\textsuperscript{585}.

\textsuperscript{582} According to Pascoal, Musidanças’s artistic discoveries happened in a largely spontaneous fashion, but the festival was pioneer nevertheless in giving them a stage. “Estas coisas são mais ou menos espontâneas, por exemplo Aline Frazão também passou por nós, e não quero dizer, e pa descobrimos não descobrimos, mas ela não era conhecida [antes de passar] pelo festival” (interview 3).

\textsuperscript{583} Available at http://jungleplanet.net/festival-musidanças

\textsuperscript{584} Available at http://jungleplanet.net/festival-musidanças

\textsuperscript{585} Available at http://festivalmusidanças.blogs.sapo.pt/6186.html
Pascoal signals common problems of acceptance on the level of class, confidence and visibility, which he wants to counter through a solidarity spirit between participating musicians, including his own band, Lindu Mona.

Este Festival tem como objectivo desenvolver entre os Artistas um espírito solidário na defesa de questões que lhes são comuns tais como:
- Participação num projecto comum de classe.
- Criação de laços de confiança entre si.
- Estabelecer com o Festival uma grande visibilidade para os seus projectos.

As evoked above in relation to the Dama Bete citation, Pascoal positions himself as a mentor that guides participating musicians to a more consolidated project, with possible economic revenue.

Pensamos que assim possa ser uma melhor forma de os artistas acreditarem neste projecto em virtude da total confiança depositada no seu mentor. Passada esta fase estamos abertos a outras formas de formalização para tornar este projecto mais sólido.

In this respect, Pascoal points out that the record *Musidanças '06. Músicas do Mundo Lusófono* (see part 3.2.3.1., p. 208 ff.) was meant as a fundraiser for the festival, but that other audio and video recordings of Musidanças performances might be made available for free, later. This attitude points to ideals of patrimonialization as discussed under 2.4.

Em 2006 editamos um CD com a participação de vários artistas que disponibilizaram cada um uma canção dos seus discos para edição de um CD que ajude a promover o evento, os artistas e com o dinheiro realizado fazer face a algumas despesas que se prendem com a produção deste evento. Foram registados a nível áudio e vídeo de vários espectáculos deste Musidanças 2006 e que pretendemos dotar as televisões e sites com vídeo clips de várias bandas que a nível pessoal não as possuam.

The diversification of activities offered at Musidanças editions – such workshops, seminars, talks and book launches – is another strategy developed towards fidelization of places, publics, musical formulas and technical know how. In this respect, curiously, Pascoal uses the notion of dignity, perhaps referring to personal perceptions of societal bias and identity fragilization. In 2008, he commented that

[A] oitava versão do Festival Musidanças foi direccionada para a fidelização a um espaço e a uma equipa de produção e promoção. Os workshops, as conferências e palestras e os

586 Available at http://palcoprincipal.sapo.pt/user/festival_musidancas
587 Available at http://palcoprincipal.sapo.pt/user/festival_musidancas
588 Available at http://palcoprincipal.sapo.pt/user/festival_musidancas
espectáculos foram escolhidos dentro de um critério de ideia de fusão de sons, culturas. O Festival Musidanças mais um ano provou que tem identidade e abraçou a causa luso – artística de maneira digna, trazendo ao público um evento que deixa saudades até que venha o próximo589.

The vision of artistic marginalization that persists is linked to issues of cultural and social exclusion of lusophone migrant musicians in Portuguese society. The following quote exemplifies it. Pascoal even applies the metaphor of struggle - “luta” -, also recurrent in his manifest and poem (see above) to relate difficulties of reception:

Os Artistas dos países lusofono e portugueses têm lutado em Portugal com uma grande dificuldade de implantação no meio cultural português de forma a terem um tratamento e aceitação em condições iguais aos outros projetos de influência Anglo Saxônica e projetos que momentaneamente entram na moda. Bem sabemos que é a tentativa de integração de outras culturas na cultura portuguesa mas nada que não seja o retorno de 500 anos de permanência de Portugal nesses países590.

Pascoal makes a plea for equal opportunities to lusophone musicians that reside in Portugal, without framing them within a lusotropical lens. This quest for a more inclusive cultural policy and artistic solidarity was verbalized during a unique extension of Musidanças into the City Festival of London (June 2010). This translocation might have stimulated reflection on other language-based affect systems and their musics, such as the UK and the Commonwealth. As Pascoal states:

[Houve] oportunidade dos Artistas conviverem, trocarem ideias, combinarem novas formas de fazerem música em conjunto e de encetar formas conjuntas de luta por uma classe mais unida, por uma política cultural mais aberta e interventiva, por uma lusofonia cada vez maior, mais revelada, mais abrangente591.

Overall, for Pascoal, it has been shocking to see how the cultural diversity of the Portuguese-speaking world has received so little valorization. And he states it:

A arte lusófona é um bem de uma riqueza tal que às vezes parece que nem nós os portugueses lhe damos o seu devido valor. [Ao longo destes anos] do Festival Musidanças, privámos com o que de melhor existe na nossa cultura e que são os seres humanos dos vários países e comunidades de expressão lusa espalhadas pelo mundo592.

592 Available at https://www.facebook.com/festivalmusidancas/posts/10150578068816928
Other cultural agents have expressed similar comments, as described in part 2.2 (p. 115 ff.)

In the written sources evoked above, Firmino Pascoal hints at the potential of creating new mentalities to understand the quality and merit of lusophone musics in Portugal, forging transnational connections with other locations in which Portuguese is spoken. His programmatic claims represent a civil call for an intercultural education that stimulates postcolonial reconciliation, creates artistic equal opportunities to lusophone musicians, safeguards lusophone heritage and duly values mixtures in Portugal.

3.2.2. In spoken sources

The considered spoken sources related to Musidanças include those expressed by Firmino Pascoal and others during public events, music performances or personal interviews. I aim to test the rhetoric associated with Musidanças’s written and lyric discursive output, in what concerns advocacy of lusofonia.

I start with the only sound fragment that is not a song on Musidanças’ SoundCloud platform page: a recording of a speech by the late Raúl Indipwo (A) of the Duo Ouro Negro during Musidanças 2005, less than a year before his death. Indipwo, who also performed at the occasion, was convinced that Portugal wins something with lusofonia, even not fully understanding its importance. Indipwo praised Musidanças work to make people reflect upon their cultural ties and expectancies.

Infelizmente a lusofonia não está a ser tratada como devia ser. Sabe que Inglaterra sobrevive por causa do Commonwealth. E Portugal precisa mesmo da lusofonia. Portugal é um país independente, é um país fantástico, mas tem um tampão chamado Espanha. A grande força de Portugal reside numa estrada azul feita pelo Dom João II sobre o mar, que liga Lisboa a Bissau, a São Tomé, a Luanda, a Maputo, a Goa, a Damão, a Diu, a Macau, a Timor, a Rio de Janeiro. Esta é a estrada da lusofonia, da grande força da língua que nos une, e da universalidade dos países. Eu acho que estas organizações são fantásticas dentro da medida em que nos fazem pensar realmente no que nós somos (September 2005).

The issue of raising awareness to mixture perceptions of society and culture is also used by Pascoal, which sees intermixture (mestiçagem) as a human process that is necessarily overarching and more encompassing than lusofonia:

594 Available at https://soundcloud.com/festival-musidan-as
[Agimos] pela questão de sensibilizar os músicos ou as pessoas em volta de uma ideia que poderá ou não ser comum. A *lusofonia* é muito importante, mas é menos vasto do que a mestiçagem, não é? (interview 3).

Pascoal understands (musical) *lusofonia* as a broad, open concept that transcends mere language speech as it conveys sounds and emotions. As he repeatedly told me over these 6 years of ethnographic collaboration, *lusofonia* is also extendable to foreign people that interact with Portuguese culture.

Acho que um cidadão inglês que se apaixona por Portugal, vive em Portugal, mal saiba falar português, mas que expõe o seu trabalho, e que participa juntamente com os portugueses ou com angolanos em eventos, [isso também é] *lusofonia*. Porque [por estar] a viver aqui em Portugal, também está influenciado pelas nossas culturas e não cabe a mim estar a reprimir e a dizer ‘não pá, isto não entra porque esse não é da *lusofonia*’ (interview 2).

In this sense, *lusofonia* also includes languages and musical mixtures that do not necessarily originate in Portugal or its former colonies.

A *lusofonia* para mim no fundo é um conceito lato, um bocado aberto. Muitas pessoas dizem que a *lusofonia* implica a língua portuguesa, mas para mim não é só língua: ‘fonia’ é som! [Nele] estão os sentimentos, também se fala na cor do som, está implícito na arte, pronto em tudo que se faça ligado ao homem em que se transmite o sentimento humano! [Temos] que ter uma linguagem em comum, [e] esse guia é a língua portuguesa, mas admito todas as alterações, que seja a introdução de outras línguas de outros países juntamento com o português[,] ou outras misturas musicais (interview 3).

The instrumentalization of this inclusive *lusofonia* allows Pascoal to explore cultural mixture within the Portuguese-speaking world, always keeping in mind that history created intercultural niches that continue into the present. In this respect, Pascoal argues that fado can build bridges with other lusophone musics because of its hybridity.

O tema de *lusofonia* é tão vasto que me permite de fazer as nuances que quiser: pode ser mais afro, pode ser mais europeu, pode ser mais mestiço, e pode ser diversificado, com um [representante] de cada país. [O termo] mestiçagem talvez defenisse [Musidanças] melhor], mas *lusofonia* também dá-me a possibilidade de não estar a trabalhar de uma forma limitada. [Até] posso meter fado, porque é uma música mista, mestiça – apesar dos

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595 As Pascoal repeatedly told me over these 6 years of ethnographic collaboration, *lusofonia* is also extendable to foreign people that interact with Portuguese culture. “Acho que um cidadão inglês que se apaixona por Portugal, vive em Portugal, saba mal falar português, mas que expõe o seu trabalho, e que participa juntamente com os portugueses ou com angolanos em eventos, [isso também é] *lusofonia*. Porque [por estar] a viver aqui em Portugal, também está influenciado pelas nossas culturas e não cabe a mim estar a reprimir e a dizer ‘não pá, isto não entra porque esse não é da *lusofonia*’” (interview 2).

596 See 3.3.2. (p. 235 ff.) for an analysis of performed musics at Musidanças in this respect.
portugueses o terem estilizado, muitos fadistas [admitem] que o fado também tem raízes negras, e ligam-no à música africana – portanto é uma maneira de navegar nestas águas. (interview 4).

In this sense, he states that:

A música lusófona ressalta a mestiçagem. Quando nos apercebemos, temos alguma coisa que nos sabe a fado mas também à morna ou a um chorinho do Brasil e quem sabe a um baile mandado”

Pascoal then equates lusofonia and identity. He legitimates creole views of lusofonia in the 21st century by arguing that mestiçagem – or mixture – is a process that has been historically fundamental to the creation of many – if not all – lusophone nation-states, and continues to do so.

[Defendo] a mestiçagem, porque a lusofonia no fundo para mim é a identidade de cada país mas depois exige-se um mélange, e esta mistura não podes controlar! (interview 3).

Pascoal reasons that musical mixture is an uncontrolled means par excellence. Like Carlos Martins, the promotor of Lisboa Mistura, as well as the musicians interviewed for my MA thesis, Pascoal argues that government bodies ought to help more, creating platforms to facilitate this mixture, both in terms of production and reception:

É a tentativa de uma mudança de maneira como a música é aceite, como é ouvida, como é escutada, como é divulgada. [Há] música comercial, clássica, mas [a música que nós mostramos também é] uma manifestação cultural que tem direito a mostrar-se, não é? Ora, o governo, o estado e as entidades podiam proporcionar plataformas onde isso pudesse e devesse acontecer! (interview 3).

Pascoal relates mainstream music barriers and the limited circles of recurrent musical protagonists to note that the promotion of alternative musics is difficult.

Um dos problemas de trabalhar nesta área é: tu pretendes mostrar coisas novas, coisas diferentes, algumas com uma tão boa qualidade como os tops de gama da música ou da cultura que tu podes ver aqui em Portugal, só que depois, quando queres mostrar isto às pessoas comuns, dizem sempre, “ah, mas para isso tens que contactar aqueles que as pessoas gostam e que vão todos ver.” Portanto, tens que contratar o Bonga ou o Tito

597 Available at http://jungleplanet.net/festival-musidancas
598 Pascoal argues that organizing a lusofonia festival involves more than just putting two known musicians together on stage. “Fazer lusofonia não é só misturar, arranjar uma banda de base, convidar a Sara Tavares, o Tito Paris, o Yuri da Cunha, ou outros, e depois fazer parcerias entre eles, tocam dois, um com o outro, fazem uma música os dois não sei que. Isto é lusofonia?” (interview 2)
Paris, que são pessoas que eles conhecem, para poder depois mostrar os outros! [Os] espectáculos acabam por ser sempre em volta dos mesmos, e não é isso que se pretende (interview 3).

Pascoal characterizes the necessity of raising intercultural music awareness by an alleged lack of knowledge of the Portuguese public vis-à-vis locally available musics and cultures. This is very much congruent with the statements that I found of selected musicians in my MA thesis.599

Musidanças será importante porque pretende mostrar aos portugueses um pouco da sua cultura, porque andam muito arredados nessa cultura tradicional. As pessoas jovens e se calhar também alguns adultos desconheçem muito do que se faz neste país, [e] precisam de enriquecer-se com aquilo que tem (interview 5).

And the organizer stresses that Musidanças thus aims at new audiences through musical innovation:

No fundo é sempre uma descoberta, [fazer o público] saber que aqui em Portugal existem projectos de países e projectos de mistura de que eles não tinham conhecimento! Musidanças [pode] tornar-se num festival onde projectos menos comerciais ou mais atrevidos [conseguem] mostrar-se. Seria bom se o Musidanças, a preencher esta lacuna, pudesse realmente chegar às pessoas (interview 3).

Despite its efforts, the festival does not yet have a loyal public. It remains on aim to reach its objectives:

O festival ainda não atingiu os seus objectivos - atingir um grande público e mostrar a esse grande público as coisas “novas” - que vão aparecendo em Portugal e não só[,] Não tem um público fidelizado embora que tenha aquele leque grande desde os mais velhos até os mais novos, este público não está fidelizado e normalmente aparece no Musidanças consoante o artista é mais ou menos conhecido (interview 2).

Like Lisboa que Amanhece’s organizer Alex Cortez Pinto says (p. 128), Pascoal expresses the opinion that there is a public for this type of events, which likes to discover new local things.

Acho que o festival deveria basear-se num público que queira ir ver as propostas novas ou antigas que a gente tem para mostrar e que não propriamente ter que ver o artista tal e tal. [Isto] é possível, lá fora há festivais que funcionam assim, [onde] as pessoas vão ver

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599 In Vanspauwen, Costa Neto (M) stated: “Façam uso de mim para valorizar o nosso património que é do mundo[,] Repare, quem perde com isso? Acima de tudo, é o português, que sabe cada vez menos da sua própria história. A história dos países que falam português é uma parte da história de Portugal. Acho que Lisboa tem a responsabilidade de apresentar um pouco de tudo aquilo que também já faz parte da sua própria história” (2010: 80).
porque sabem que aquele festival leva propostas, coisas novas, até novas maneiras de fazer música (interview 3).

In this respect, Nuno Correia (Cadeira Amarela), the Viseu-based co-programmer of Musidanças since 2013, 33 years old at the time of our interview there, points to the festival’s additional defense of African musics:

[Musidanças pretende] fazer esta mistura de estilos, não esquecendo da África, porque Portugal tem uma ligação com África que é enorme, que às vezes fica esquecida. O festival está aqui para dizer: “não esqueças disso porque aquilo faz parte” (interview 5).

Pascoal also sees Musidanças as a music movement that is representative for the diversity of the lusophone space, not necessarily restricted to Lisbon or Portugal.

Como o festival está ligado aos vários países que fazem parte da lusofonia, faz todo sentido acontecer em vários lugares, sejam eles em cidades portuguesas, países da lusofonia, ou outros países que tenham interesse pela cultura lusófona. Eu por mim [vejo isto] mais como um movimento (interview 3).

This musical movement is explicitly interventionist in nature, Nuno Correia argues:

Temos esse objectivo de intervir, promover a lusofonia, promover a integração, mestiquagem, fusão de culturas, tudo isso faz parte daquilo que nós acreditamos que é um dos caminhos a seguir. E depois porque existem músicos com um valor inestimável que não têm espaço no mainstream, não há espaço para se mostrarem, e há gente quando está um bocadinho atenta a esses músicos, que fica espantada, porque nunca ouviu falar deles (interview 20).

For Firmino Pascoal, acceptance by the public is the ultimate goal; however, an effective marketing strategy in order for the festival reach its audience has not yet been found:

Sei que há muita gente que gosta, mas não há formas de captar essas pessoas de maneira de as interessar por um produto bom que lhes interessa verdadeiramente. Não sei como. Ou porque tem muitas ofertas, ou porque realmente há falta de informação? [...]. O final de qualquer um destes projectos é sempre ter a presença do público. Aceitação, o objectivo é esse. É a tentativa de uma mudança de maneira como é aceite, como é ouvida, como é escutada, como é divulgada (interview 2).

For Pascoal, this quest has often been a fight with unequal arms. These efforts have at times left him tired and unsure on how to proceed with Musidanças:

É uma coisa que no futuro alguém com mais power irá pegar, e as coisas serão feitas com outra dimensão e se calhar com outra amplitud[..] Mas feito como está neste momento,
reconheço o esforço e a caroliçe de uma determinada pessoa [Pascoal refers to himself]
that he has this vision and he is doing it, fighting with unequal arms (interview 3).

This view is also stressed by co-programmer Nuno Correia:

Eu penso na promoção da lusofonia, penso na partilha de palco entre artistas diferentes, e
penso em construir algo novo. Ao mesmo tempo penso também na tal dignificação de
quem deu a vida toda pela música da lusofonia (interview 20).

The performing musician Nuno Patrício, who performed 7 times in Musidanças
over the years, shares a similar view:

O Firmino é um lutador, um guerreiro, uma pessoa que já está a trabalhar nisso há muitos
anos e que tem dado a conhecer muitos projectos da lusofonia, com um grande esforço
(interview 21).

Other spoken sources have inspired my perception of the advocacy of lusofonia
in Musidanças; the above were however enough to document my view.

3.2.3. In song lyrics

The discursive actions of Firmino Pascoal find echo in many lyrics of related songs. The
record Musidanças '06. Músicas do Mundo Lusófono (edited by Zoomúsica in 2006),
the song Mussulo - a duet between Pascoal and his son João Tristany (Lindu Mona and
Monte Real, 2015), as well as some other relevant songs by related musicians that also
address the idea of musical lusofonia - such as Um brinde à amizade (Boss AC/Gabriel
o Pensador, 2012); Versos que atravessam o Atlântico (Vinícius Terra/Allen
Halloween/Mundo Segundo, 2013), and Lusofonia (Martinho da Vila, 2000) will be
considered below. I discuss these lyrics intertextually with aspects pointed out from
Musidanças’ written and spoken outputs expressed throughout the text. The lyrics of the
songs presented can be found integrally in annexes 3-7.
3.2.3.1. Selected songs of the record *Musidanças ’06. Músicas do Mundo Lusófono*

Except for two occurrences, the musicians on the record *Musidanças ’06. Músicas do Mundo Lusófono* are first and second generation migrant singer-songwriters from lusophone countries that reside in Portugal. All of them feature with own compositions that entail various music categories classified as as hip hop, reggae, traditional music, African music, and Música Popular Brasileira (MPB). The sonic proposal of the record is announced as mixture. As such, I thus grouped the songs thematically and discursively under the aegis of the proposed mixture. Some overlap however remained. In methodological terms, the written song versions were either given to me by Firmino Pascoal as intermediary of the musicians or transcribed by myself directly from the referenced audio samples. This was a rather complex process: it was not always possible to obtain the song lyrics from the contacted authors. In some cases the transcripts were reviewed by the authors, but for some others this was not possible. For a specific list of transcription authors and methods used, I refer to annex 3.

A first semantic group of song lyrics that marks the profile of the record includes Dama Bete (M, P)’s “Recomeçar”, Jay (CV)’s “Desabafado”, and Prince Wadada (A)’s “Herbalistavia”, which deal with what I call negative emotions, integration problems and life stories of first or second generation migrants in the host society of Lisbon. Dama Bete’s song stand out in various ways, as Firmino Pascoal had mentored her and announced to have helped her gain notoriety. Together with Jay’s and Prince Wadada’s song, “Recomeçar” is discursively close to Pascoal’s interviews, in which he has repeatedly referred to the idea of struggle. “Recomeçar” particularly evidences ideas of daily battles and related dilemmas:

```
Nem tudo pode ser como desejamos  
A vida nem sempre corre como planeamos  
Esta é difícil mesmo quando lutamos  
E mais difícil é ainda quando não batalhamos  
Por vezes nada faz sentido sinto-me partida  
São tantos os caminhos pergunto haverá saída  
Haverá solução, haverá algum problema
```

600 I have analyzed the discourse of these sleeve notes in part 3.1.3.2. The booklet of the recording, featuring a background of paintings of Firmino Pascoal as well as the album covers of the featured musicians, can be found in annex 10, figs. 43 and 44.

601 I have discussed the music categories and claimed provenance of the musicians in more detail under 3.1.3.2.
The personal I emphasizes the link between the poem/song and the performer, remembering how much time was lost over negative experiences. The lyrics propose that the solution lies in the force of will:

Na vida aprendi que cada escolha é um dilema  
Invulgar e imprevisível que reserva partidas  
Já aprendi com tempo que a única é sarar as feridas  
Não pode ser de outro modo, não há escapatória,  
Por isso siga em frente procurando a vitória  
Eu sei que fazer, recomençar do zero  
Eu não vou chorar, pois eu não quero  
[…]

Pois, a vida é curta pra não aproveitarmos  
Vale sempre a pena não desistir e caminharmos  
[…]

Vale a pena tentar  
Vale a pena sonhar  
[…]

Basta acreditar, só não vale chorar

For the intertextual relation search, I point out difficulties of life of different sorts, not necessarily racial, related to the confrontation of dreams and dilemma with those of others, reminiscent of Firmino Pascoal’s personal quest with his band Lindu Mona and, to some extent, Musidâncias as well.

Jay’s song lyrics “Desabafado” works along similar lines as Dama Bete’s, getting painful feelings about xenophobic attitudes of his chest. The silent suffering perceived and sometimes expressed in interviews or informal encounters with Firmino Pascoal show how music is perceived as a way to sensitize audiences about preconceptions.

Desabafo de que estou farto de ser maltratado verbalmente e nada fazer de não poder de não  
Dos abusos de autoridade do egoísmo do racismo xenofobia e muito mais  
[…]

Sinto uma dor sei que sou escritor, escrevo e expresso-me desabafo de tudo o que for  
É a lei da sobrevivência um por um cada um por si,

Similarly, Prince Wadada’ song lyrics “Herbalistavia” evokes feelings of self-awareness, pride and a head up attitude in a sometimes hostile world, using the idea of struggle to be acknowledged.

Eu vou, se chama eu vou, não recuso, estou na luta, empenhado eu vou na fumaça eu vou, iluminado eu vou, não desisto eu insisto, se chama eu vou  
[…]

Rasta man sabem seu lugar há muita coisa que eu não posso aceitar quem foi que disse  
[…]

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na verdade alguém me ensinou a lutar tens a vantagem mas não sabes como usar a realidade tenta nos derrubar mas todo mundo tem direito de encontrar seu lugar a situação é de me deixar a pensar não admito nada que me vem parar por isso digo, tem que escutar raggamuffim Prince Wadada é que te está a falar

In this first group of song lyrics, the common sentiment is perseverance despite adversity, somehow intertextually connecting to the sometimes difficult conditions in which Musidanças has been organized.

A second semantic group of song lyrics deals with conflicting feelings of belonging of migrants between home and host countries. This shows from Paulo Soares’ (A) “Benguela”, Pedro Moreno’s (B) “Caminhos” and Sara Tavares’s (CV-P) “Lisboa Kuya”. The content of these songs has intertextual similarities with Firmino Pascoal’s biographical memories as a child and young adult between Portugal and Angola.

Paulo Soares’s “Benguela” seems to refer to the nostalgic side of the life stories of retornados, which abruptly left home in colonial Africa at the verge of the collapse of Portuguese colonial rule, causing sentiments of longing and loss. This song suggests that mixture is also a mental affair, christalised in the minds of portugueses africanizados, which may also show an interest in proposals such as Musidanças.

As vidas e sonhos em África gerados
Em África mal acabados
Vem me ver
Tenho saudades do que hei de ser

In particular, the use of the personal I in the song lyrics suggests the forced mobility that happened in his childhood, evoking a problematic identification in social, racial and cultural terms.

Kimbus e xitacos, sanzalas e culpatas
Tem ela minha terra praia morena minha cor
Angola [followed by expressions in another, possibly Angolan, language]
Minha infância está de luto
E eu não sou daqui

Pedro Moreno’s song “Caminhos” treats similar ambiance, addressing feelings of loneliness in a postcolonial metropole that can be hostile for newcomers. Intertextually, this may relate to the feelings and access experiences of any migrant far from home, such as some of the musicians that have performed at Musidanças over the years.
Finally in this group, Sara Tavares’s song lyrics “Lisboa Kuya” suggests that patience and goodwill may make a difference in overcoming both the longing for the homeland and the obstacles in the host country. This resignation can be seen intertextually as a first step toward intercultural dialogue, promoted by Musidanças.

Ensina-me a ser assim
Capaz de fazer dum ya
Algo mais do que um sim
[…]
E deixar aconchegar-se a mim
A certeza de que nada mais terá
O mesmo sabor

The common sentiment of this second group of song lyrics is an acceptance of the host country despite feelings of longing, making possible intertextual reference to the importance of claimed origins for Musidanças performers as well as others.

A third group of song lyrics presents metaphorical renderings of life, love or an unnamed city. This includes Canela (M)’s “Cocoró coró coró”, Fernando Terra (B)’s “Insônia”, Márcio Catunda (B)’s “Cantar a Vida”, Francisco Naia (P)’s “Diga Lá Ó Trigueirinha” and Guto Pires (GB)’s “Por Essa Negrita”. Canela’s song lyrics “Cocoró coró coró” makes references to traditional life, wildlife, culinary items (“aguardente”, “peixe seco”, “bananeira”) and music making (“forró”, “canto das mulheres”) in a collective environment, such as to turn corn into flour as a women’s task to which her chant in group is associated. Intertextually, this song may be seen as a sketch of cultural stereotypes and role play, made tolerable through music.

Farinha de milho, peixo seco, bananeira
[…]
O milagre do pilão
Que faz do milho farinha
Junta o canto das mulheres
Ao cócóró da galinha
Peixe seco p’ro conduto
Muita aguardente de cana
De manhã está tudo enxuto
Vamos lá ver p'ra semana

Fernando Terra’s song lyrics “Insônia” talks about life’s difficulties from childhood onwards, evoking discipline slaps to children, adolescents’s leaving their parent’s home, and the supremacy of work above leisure in a capitalist world in a clear metaphorical ambiance which provide a rich floor for intertextual relations with Musidanças’ organizer, which has never been able to professionally dedicate himself to the advocacy of *lusofonia*.

A gente nasce, leva um tapa e chora
A gente cresce e depois vai-se embora
[...]
A gente só acorda de tarde
Há gente que passa toda noite sem dormir
Há gente que passa o dia inteiro sem viver

Márcio Catunda’s “Cantar a Vida”, a hymn to life, positions music making as a way of access to emotions and life perseverance, appraising behavior. Interestingly, the word “navegar”, used here, is a metaphor that is often used in poetic writings that evoke or describe *lusofonia*. Regarding intertextuality, it provides field for rich relations with Musidanças, which has largely depended on the goodwill of its participating musicians as well as on the persistence of its organizer.

Cantar a vida é a melhor coisa que há e como se doar
É como se entregar ao universo de emoção
Cantar a vida é a melhor coisa que há e como se doar
É como navegar nas águas da compreensão
[...]
Cantar a vida é caminhar sorrindo na estrada do destino
É ser um homem livre a confiar em si

The “navegar” idea is also used by Francisco Naia in his song lyrics “Diga Lá Ó Trigueirinha”, in which he connects the sea to love and longing – popularly imagined in Portuguese song texts in diverse music categories such as fado.

Se eu fosse marinheiro
Capitão de algum navio
Mandava prontar a barca
Ia-te buscar ao rio

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A similar sentiment is suggested by Guto Pires’ song lyrics “Por Essa Negrita”, in which the singer brings together ideas of dance, passion and women to conflicting sentiments such as pain and happiness. As for the search for intertextual relations, this song evokes sung and danced interaction between musician and audience, using music as a therapeutic means.

Baila negrita, com glamour  
Santa requetita  
Amigo cantador  
Para mostrar na dor e na alegria

With hindsight to this third group of song lyrics, the common thread is the representation of music as a culture carrier of played and sung sounds in both hardship and happiness. This also shows intertextually as Firmino Pascoal’s ambivalence in organizing Musidanças, framing it both as a conquest and a battle that is difficult to win.

The fourth and last group considered is the one that includes the 1st, 8th, 14th and 15th songs of the record. This includes At Tambur (P)’s “Arabesca”, Lindu Mona (A-P, P)’s “Muatxiânvua”, Tonecas (STP)’s “Fiá Ibidá”, and André Cabaço (M, A)’s “Criança”. These songs contain lyrics that are wholly or partly sung in other languages than Portuguese, and for which I could not obtain translations. As such, these songs were excluded from my analytic comments, leading me to use the recourse of musical commentary.

The first song, “Arabesca”, musically constructs geometric-like patterns that do justice to its name, starting with a catchy violin tune and an acoustic guitar. Flute and snare drum set in soon, creating an ethereal and imagined sonic space in which a female voice whispers, while sanfona and concertinas can also be heard. The second song, “Muatxiânvua”, starts off with African percussion and an electric guitar, followed by a descending bass guitar and trumpetlike backing vocals that are soon complemented by a real trumpet and keyboard, with the singer frequently repeating the song title, among other proclamations. The third song, “Fiá Ibidá”, opens with two saxophones playing the same melody until African percussion, bass guitar and drums sets in. The instrumental section, complemented with a cowbell and a synthesizer, then prepares the entry of the singer, which chants against the canvas of a syncopated bass and synthesizer. Finally, in the fourth song, “Criança”, a squeaking door opens up the way for what seems just one singer-acoustic guitar player. After a wind simulation, the bass sets in as the guitar plays the leading theme, accompanied by a rather contained singer,
gradually opening up instrumentally and vocally, and ending the song with a handclapping chorus.

The common sentiment of this last group of songs is that their sophisticated sonorities show that language comprehension is not essential to understand good music. The wide instrumental array used in this songs point both to traditional Portuguese, as well as African and North American sonorities.

The lyrical content of all four thematic groups of songs texts directly or metaphorically exposes problems of representation experienced through the politics of social participation. Texts link music and emotion of daily (migrant or not) life and use ideas of racism, xenophobia, life challenges, emotional discharge, peer friendship and confidence to relate to issues of social and cultural marginalization. In an overall intimate tone, the songs’ uses of the first persons reflect on in-betweenness and hybridization in a postcolonial host society, while they also expose added values of home countries, such as the celebration of indigenous languages and culture traits and habits through music in polycentric, transnational and lusophone perspective.

3.2.3.2. Mussulo, a song by father and son

The song Mussulo is a duet between father and son. I heard it as it was performed live at B.Leza during Musidanças 2015 by Firmino Pascoal (presented as Lindu Mona) and his son João Tristany (aka Tristany Timeold), whom performed at the event with his band Monte Real. It should be pointed out that on the record Mente Real - of which the album cover can be viewed under annex 10, fig. 45 - edited by Zoomúsica in 2015, Mussulo also featured a third voice, that of IceKillz, a member of Monte Real. Its song lyrics, available in annex 4, were kindly made available by Firmino Pascoal.

Like the songs of Dama Bete, Jay and Prince Wadada on the record Musidanças ’06, Mussulo also represents two generations of integrated musicians with African roots, balancing between tradition and innovation, and uniting African and European linguistic and cultural elements. Tristany Timeold vents his ambivalent identification with Portugal and Angola, where his father was born. He is both proud and confused as a self-declared cosmopolitan “lusitano bantu”, framing himself biologically as a half mestiço or cabrito that has grown tired of several preconceptions by the Portuguese

Contrary to the other musical comments in this subchapter, I base my analytic thoughts of this song on a personal transcription and not on a YouTube video.
population in general. The word game “lusitano bantu” is telling intertextually vis-à-vis *lusofonia*: the prefix ‘luso’ derives from the former inhabitants of ‘Lusitânia’, the Roman province while the ‘fonia’ part, denoting a population that speaks a specific language, is switched here for ‘bantu’\(^603\). The suggestion is that *lusofonia* includes other languages and cultures that are present in contemporary Portugal.

The alienation feelings expressed between being an insider with the skin of an outsider are reaffirmed by the fellow rapper IceKillz, that is proud to be black and *Lisbonner* at the same time. His lyrics name both semba and kizomba as traditional Angolan music categories with notoriety in Portugal, and the current European fusion one, afrohouse.

The gap between generations is indirectly expressed: the integrational divisions of the second generation of musicians stand in contrast with the longing ones of first

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\(^{603}\) Interestingly, Bantu is the name of his father’s second record as Lindu Mona.
generation singers such as Lindu Mona, which affectively remembers simple details of his childhood in Angola, without reference to war.

Sou Zeca Xingô uê
Mulato da Ilha de Luanda – doce demdem, doce demdem
Na infância contei inte o tempo
De cassula que eu curti na banda
Em criança vi a minha mãe e o meu pai
do mar trazer os peixes que trariam

Mussulo draws attention to human mixture between Europe and Africa, and expresses the integrational ambiguities that different generations of mixed Portuguese people may experience. In addition, much like the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução, the song shows the confluence of traditional and fusion music categories as an element of pride and pathway to musical citizenship in a transnational, in this case lusophone, context.

3.2.3.3. Relevant songs by related musicians

For the purpose of intertextuality, I include here three song lyrics that refer to the idea of musical lusofonia: Um brinde à amizade (Boss AC feat. Gabriel o Pensador, 2012); Versos que atravessam o Atlântico (Vinicius Terra/Allen Halloween/Mundo Segundo, 2013); and Lusofonia (Martinho da Vila, 2000). I came across these songs through commentaries with colleagues and through my virtual ethnography. Though they were sung in the festival Musidanças, their presence is justified because the musicians that perform them have links to the lusophone landscapes of Lisbon as evoked in chapter 2. In addition, all three explicitly express the word lusofonia and share some degree of similarity with the discourse of Firmino Pascoal. Though I was not able to talk to or interview its performers, I contextualize the songs as much as possible.

3.2.3.3.1. Um brinde à amizade

The friendship between Boss AC (CV-P) and Gabriel o Pensador (B) – evoked in the video still in annex 10, fig. 46 – goes back to the early 1990s, when o Pensador’s shows in Portugal triggered the movement of rap in Portuguese. The compilation Rapública in
1994 (see p. 92) became emblematic of his work. *Um brinde à amizade* features on Boss AC’s álbum *AC para Os Amigos*, produced in 2012. I was able to retrieve its song lyrics online\(^{604}\), and refer to annex 5 for their integral version.

Like the poem *Monólogo luso*, *Um brinde à amizade* refers to Pedro Alvares Cabral’s expeditions, ironically suggesting that the true resulting discoveries are memories and intercultural niches that were created in the lusophone world throughout centuries. Again, the term “navegar” is relevant as it refers both to registers of seafaring and to poetic, though not expressed, renderings of *lusofonia*\(^{605}\). Gabriel o Pensador starts off mixing his claimed provenance through a word game, somehow defining the fluidity of being lusophone and the dynamic interaction and (re) discovery of other people that speak the Portuguese language in a globalized world.

> Sou carioca de Goa, de Angola e da Guiné
> Cabo Verde, Moçambique, Timor-Leste e São Tomé
> Macau, Portugal mas vim pela Galicia
> Que a vida é uma delícia temperada nesse sal
> Cabral descobriu muito menos do que eu
> Os meus descobrimentos não estão nos museus
> Nem nos livros de História mas estão na minha memória
> E na dos meus amigos que navegam comigo
> […]
> Se navegar é preciso, se é preciso viver
> A amizade é a bússola para eu não me perder

In the following excerpt, the idea of *lusofonia* as cultural and racial mixture is repeated, drawing attention to the diversity and affectivity of the Portuguese language through different accents. Boss AC repeats the lusophone fluidity claims of his co-singer, pointing to language diversity and the convergence of people in the lusophone space.

> Sou palavra, melodia, sou de onde tu fores
> Lusofonia de todas as cores
> Sou Tuga do Mindelo, angolano de Bissau
> São-tomense de Maputo, brasileiro de Portugal
> Língua Portuguesa com sotaques diferentes
> As nossas gentes no fundo são todas parentes
> E na diversidade vamos convergindo
> Quem vem em paz é sempre bem-vindo
> Há sempre espaço para mais um

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\(^{604}\) Available at [http://amusicaportuguesa.blogs.sapo.pt/777422.html](http://amusicaportuguesa.blogs.sapo.pt/777422.html)

\(^{605}\) In this respect, please see Vanspauwen 2013 on maritime metaphors in the cultural entrepreneurship of Zarpante, Conexão Lusófona and Caipirinha Lounge.
E só vendo as diferenças percebemos o comum

As it happens in a number of songs lyrics of the record *Musidanças ’06*, this text addresses friendship as a remedy to loneliness, leading to positive outlooks on the future.

(Boss AC):
Que um estranho é um amigo que não conhecemos
Amigo é a família que nós escolhemos
E mesmo ao longe, o sentimento perdura
Enquanto houver música ninguém nos segura
Passado, presente, o tempo passa veloz
Venha o futuro, cheio de coisas boas para nós...

(Gabriel o Pensador):
Conheço bem a solidão pois sou um nômade
[...]
E conhecendo um estranho, eu também me conheço

*Um brinde à amizade* points at the power of music as a signifier of friendship in times of loneliness and migration, thus making intertextual connection with semantic groups one and two of the record *Musidanças* as discussed above. In addition, this specific musical collaboration inscribes itself in the lusophone soundscapes of Lisbon context, in which many other recording collaborations between Portuguese-speaking musicians have taken place (see part 2.2.3., p. 135 ff.). It also points out how lusophone mixtures constitute a diversity that is both differential and pacific.

3.2.3.3.2. *Versos que atravessam o Atlântico*

The song lyrics *Versos que atravessam o Atlântico* is a project of the rapper Vinicius Terra (B) with the aim to “integrar os países de língua portuguesa a partir da cultura hip-hop”606. The song, brought together with Allen Halloween (GB, residing in Lisbon) and Mundo Segundo (Portugal), and dedicated to Amália Rodrigues and to Afrika Bambaataa, was the official single of the hip hop festival Terra do Rap’s first edition, in Rio de Janeiro in 2013 (see part 2.1.3.1., p. 102). In the compiled video stil in annex 10, fig. 47, the musicians are shown recording the song. After an unsuccessful contact with

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606 Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eMh7EtWbu7w
Vinícius Terra, the song lyrics were retrieved in a YouTube commentary to the video on that same platform. I refer to annex 6 for their integral version.

The suggested mix between fado and Portugal, on the one hand, and hip hop and African diaspora, on the other, is implemented from the very introduction of the video, mixing images of Porto, Bissau and Rio de Janeiro with Amália Rodrigues’ song *Nasceu um dia* sampled in the background.

Similarly to what happens in the poem *Monólogo luso*, Vinícius Terra evokes the maritime navigations of the caravelles, comparing them to present-day airplanes as culture carriers. Terra contends that music is an art that connects distant people through a common language, Portuguese in this case:

```
Ontem navegavam caravelas sob o ar
Hoje flutuam aviões pesados sobre o mar.
Passaram séculos, pessoas e credos
Sentimentos injustos ou mesmo incrédulos
...
Arte é semente que germina sobre a terra
Terras distantes, pessoas distantes
Todas unidas na prateleira dessa estante.
Uma língua comum que uniu seres humanos
```

In the refrain, sung in unison by all three rappers, it is possible to see suggestive similarities with the song “Lisboa que Amanhece”, anthem of the homologous project (see part 2.2.1, p. 124 ff.), as it suggests a new beginning. Based on a skype interview with Vinícius Terra during a presentation by Conexão Lusófona at Talkfest (March 4, 2016), at which I was present, I argue that the refrain closely connects to CL’s definition of what they call “nova lusofonia” (again see 2.2.1.).

```
Refrão:
P'ra Lusofonia nasce um novo dia
Os povos acordaram numa mesma sintonia
Língua, sonho, RAP, rua
O ritmo saiu de uma cabeça como a tua
```

Much like Jay and Prince Wadada’s songs on the record *Musidanças ’06*, Allen Halloween’s raps show an awareness of both depreciative views and difficulties of African migrants with regard to Portugal.

```
Nascido no maior gueto do mundo, no continente Africano
Comprei um passaporte para o outro lado do oceano
Com os trocos que eu ganhei, mano
```
Deixei tudo para trás, atrás do sonho Lusitano
Construi e limpei as moradias da Tuga
Com força e empenho de quem nunca teve uma
Eles enganaram-me, ou eu errei, é minha culpa

Halloween is hopeful as new Africas have come into existence in a hybrid world. However, he stresses the need for reconciliation, leaving implicit that it is paramount to undo the dichotomies that were inherited from lusotropicalism. To this effect, he suggests that music may be understood both as therapy against resentment and as a type of cultural justice.

Mas nem tudo que ficou, ficou para trás
Nasceram novas Áfricas em mil lugares
Nasceram novos mundos, nasceram novos mares
E os homens todos juntos procuram a paz
Mas antes da paz vem a justiça
Vem uma mesa redonda cheia de comida
Onde os filhos dos escravos e dos donos se sentem em harmonia
Comem e bebem em alegria, até nascer um novo dia

The third singer, Mundo Segundo, a rapper from Porto, then details that Portugal is indeed open to this challenge of equality, and that its musicians are sensible to musical *lusofonia*. According to Mundo Segundo, this is done by building upon the bridges of transnational cultural fluxes, on the one hand, and melting the ice between the former colonizer and formerly colonized, on the other.

Sementes planto no campo semântico
Sente o trânsito Atlântico
[…]
Eu vim do Rio Douro até ao Rio de Janeiro
E no fim, do Galeão até Francisco Sá Carneiro
Vi a Lusofonia nesta arte que me guia
[…]
A minha bandeira é musical, a nossa língua universal
[…]
Somos construtores de pontes entre o Brasil e Portugal
Sente o gelo que derrete nesta terra do RAP

Like *Um Brinde à Amizade, Versos que atravessam o Atlântico* makes intertextual reference to recording partnerships in the lusophone soundscapes that include Lisbon, aiming to unite lusophone countries through musical performance. The song’s content illustrates how musical *lusofonia* evokes transnational cultural fluxes that entail artistic proximity as well as postcolonial promises of equality.
3.2.3.3. *Lusofonia*\(^{607}\)

Martinho da Vila’s song *Lusofonia* gives the name to a homologous record, which was first edited in 2000\(^{608}\). The album is notorious for a singer that was represented as synonymous with Brazil’s samba raiz. The song lyrics of the song *Lusofonia* were retrieved online\(^{609}\); I refer to annex 7 for their integral version.

The opening lines of the song evoke Brazil’s fellow CPLP nations as “nações irmãs” that are safeguarding both indigenous languages and traditional sounds and cultures.

```
Eu gostaria de exaltar em bom Tupi
As belezas do meu país
[...]
Bem fazem os povos das nações irmãs
Que preservam os sons e a cultura de raiz
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Da Vila, which appears smiling on the record cover (see annex 10, fig. 48), suggests that a common language is essential to preserve a community of feelings such as the CPLP. He also hopes that music and poetry may reconcile the wounds of the colonial past and thus serve as an example on a global scale:

```
A expressão do olhar
Traduz o sentimento
Mas é primordial
Uma linguagem comum
[...]
É sonho ver um dia
A música e a poesia
Sobreporem-se às armas
Na luta por um ideal
E preconizar
A lusofonia
Na diplomacia universal
```

\(^{607}\) Martinho invited Don Kikas (A), Tabanka Djaz (GB), Celina Pereira (CV), Luís Represas (P) and Astra Harris (M) for this effort. Apart from Harris (a Maputo resident), all of them reside in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

\(^{608}\) Interestingly, Da Vila also published a romance called *Os Lusófonos* (Editora Ciência Moderna) in 2006. Furthermore, regarding music genres from the lusophone world, his books *Kizombas, andanças e festanças* (Editora Record, 1998) and *O Nascimento do Samba* (ZFM, 2013) are also relevant. Finally, Da Vila is also mentor of Associação Conexão Lusófona, together with Tito Paris (see 2.2.1.)

\(^{609}\) Available at http://www.vagalume.com.br/martinho-da-vila/lusofonia.html
In short, da Vila frames the democratic notion of lusofonia as a cultural protoganist interface in establishing diplomatic - interpersonal, thus intercultural - understanding. This inclusive view is adequate for Da Vila’s election as Embaixador da Boa Vontade da CPLP in 2006 and his co-godfather role with Tito Paris for Associação Conexão Lusófona, mentioned above. Like the two other songs discussed in this section, Da Vila’s song evokes the peaceful value of lusofonia – and, by extension, musical lusofonia – in the struggle to achieve an ideal, thus making an intertextual connection with Firmino Pascoal’s narrative. As Da Vila, Pascoal has also preferred a non-Portuguese language to promote his lusophone music project Lindu Mona.

In general terms, all three song lyrics – Um Brinde à Amizade, Versos que Atravessam o Atlântico, and Lusofonia – establish intertextual relations between mainstream and marginal performers and projects, such as the ones evoked in the record Musidanças ‘06 and the song Mussulo. This congruence gives legitimacy and visibility to the claims of Firmino Pascoal for his musical ventures, possibly facilitating a needed change of mentalities in terms of fixed perceptions of diversity and difference.

3.3. Performance: Musidanças staging lusofonia

A arte nasce quando viver não é o suficiente para exprimir a vida
(André Gide)610

This chapter discusses Musidanças’ performance dimensions, considering the actions of the promotor as such on the one hand, and as a musician on stage, on the other. Locations, marketing and special events are targeted in an approach that also considers the music and dance performance of the participating musicians, as well their reception by the audience. To this end, I apply the approach of ethnography of musical performance (Nettl and Bohlman 1991, a.o.) to the edition of Musidanças 2013. I aim to give voice to the participants, basing my approach upon relevant excerpts of personal interviews that I conducted during the festival of Musidanças 2013.

3.3.1. Where, how and what for?

To analyze the yearly editions of Musidanças and its spin offs between 2001 and 2015, I depart from an edition in which I participated throughout, that of 2013 in Viseu. For that, I focus on notions of performance in terms of place, marketing and special events in that chosen edition from an organizer perspective. From there, and throughout my text in this section, built upon preliminary findings vis-à-vis Musidanças’ governance strategies in 2.3.2 and 3.1.2.1, I include notes for the entire existence of the festival.

3.3.1.1. Places of performance

In 2013, Musidanças took place in Viseu, as part of the popular and then 621st Feira de São Mateus, the old festivity in program every year since the Middle Ages. This edition was special also because it was the first time that Musidanças left the Lisbon area for the center-north of Portugal, where it happened in co-production with a local agency, Cadeira Amarela, and with financial and logistical support of the local municipality, through Expovis611.

For Firmino Pascoal, the move back to the north, where he spent time of his childhood, was very symbolical: as an adolescent, he lived in Viseu, and his relatives even had a stand with African handicraft at the Feira de São Mateus, where he would attend music shows. This gave the young Pascoal a sense of the power of a musician on a stage, and he started to imagine what would eventually become Musidanças:

[Na Feira], os meus padrinhos tinham um stand com artesanato africano, e eu nas férias grandes ia para lá e ajudava e ficava a ver muitos espectáculos, alguns deles de música etnográfica, folclóricos [...] e imaginei um festival envolvente, onde não houvesse só essa música dos países lusófonos mas também música de fusão e música digamos étnica, tradicional (interview 6)

Feira de São Mateus is one of the oldest fairs in the Iberian Peninsula, dating from 1392, when it was instituted as a tax-exempt point of sale and encounter. Since 1995, it has been managed by a partnership between the Municipality of Viseu and the Business Association of the Viseu Region (AIRV), known under the name Expovis until

611 A promotional video for this edition can be found on Vimeo through the following link: https://vimeo.com/74484037
2014 and thereafter as Viseu Marca. It now occupies an area of roughly 18,000 m² where regional commerce, food and culture coexist. According to José Moreira Amaral, executive manager of Expovis in the online brochure to the 2013 edition, the Feira is open to cultural, social and cosmopolitan innovation:

A Feira de S. Mateus é e quer continuar a ser um dos maiores acontecimentos do género que se realiza no nosso país; mas não pode parar no tempo numa atitude de auto-contemplação pretensamente bairroita, que tem o nome de declínio. Os viseenses gostam muito da sua feira, mesmo que às vezes não pareceça. Por tal, exigem que ela se transforme, na abertura as exigências de um tempo económico, cultural e social novo, global, dasfiante, moderno e cosmopolita. Sem perder a alma.

Before and after heading to Viseu, the editions of Musidanças, as well as its spin-offs Noites Mestiças and Feira do Fado took place at a variety of locations, mainly centered in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. In the municipality of Lisbon, these events were hosted five times in Musicbox; three times in FNAC Colombo; two times in FNAC Chiado, FNAC Vasco da Gama, and Instituto Franco Português; and scattered in the Auditório da RDP África at Amoreiras; Santiago Alquimista; Onda Jazz; Cabaret Maxime; Teatro do Bairro, B.Leza and Fábrica do Braço de Prata. In the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, the events were held three times in Paio Pires, Seixal; two times in Auditório Municipal de Almada and FNAC Almada; and one time in Alhos Vedros, Barreiro, and FNAC Cascais. Musidanças was also two times in Arruda dos Vinhos, Vila Franca de Xira, still in the Lisbon district, and one time each elsewhere in Portugal (Viseu – the chosen edition to center my study; São Pedro do Sul), and abroad, in London (Hampstead Heath and Guildhall Yard).

The maps available in annex 12 show the location of the different places in which Pascoal has hosted Musidanças: in small music clubs in the center of Lisbon that have devoted part of their programming to performers from Portuguese-speaking countries (Onda Jazz; Cabaret Maxime; Teatro do Bairro, B.Leza, Musicbox, Fábrica do Braço de Prata); at international record stores (FNAC); at transnational institutions that focus on language-based cultural connections (RDP África and Instituto Franco Português); on the stage of other intercultural associations (Toca Rufár); in spaces hosted by municipalities (Seixal, Almada, Barreiro, Vila Franca de Xira, Viseu, São Pedro do Sul); or embedded in other festivals (Feira de São Mateus, City Festival of London). To my understanding, this diverse selection of performance places has a

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double aim: reaching a wider audience, mainly in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, on the one hand; and reaching out to cultural agents in the field that have worked with similar music content on a larger scale, on the other. It should be pointed out that the lack of a fixed date and place for Musidanças might also be understood as a disadvantage, as it may be less beneficial for continuity and the fidelization of publics.

In our personal interviews, Firmino Pascoal explained that social media have become indispensable in discovering and selecting new musicians to perform at Musidanças, no matter where they come from:

vai ao MySpace, vês uns músicos que de repente pediram amizade, vais ouvir a música deles, gostas e convidas, é a malta mais nova - alguns do hip hop, outros de outro tipo de música. Numa visão geral, isto poderia ser chamada de música baseada na lusofonia, seja ela portuguesa, feita lá, cá, seja da onde for, misturada da maneira que quiserem (interview 3).

Pascoal understands the performance of music fusion projects as important legitimations of Musidanças. He explains the idea of fusion itself:

Há grupos que são tidos como grupos de fusão, por exemplo os Terrakota e os Dazkarieh. Não é uma música angolana que depois fundires com outros elementos; a música em si que o grupo faz é uma música de fusão, porque tem vários elementos, cada um com suas características, e vários interesses musicais. Estas pessoas são muito identificadas com Musidanças, e aderiram, e vieram (interview 3).

Touching on a delicate subject, Pascoal clarifies that available sponsorship is an important aspect when it comes to organize his festive events. Though welcoming the possibility of hosting Musidanças in other Portuguese localities, he remains faithful to Lisbon as it is the place where the festival was born.

Claro que Lisboa foi o embrião, o Musidanças nasceu aqui, mas eu sempre pensei que isto se podia ramificar. [Assim,] podíamos fazer o festival em Faro, em Olhão, em Trás-os-Montes, desde que certas entidades estivessem interessados. Porque no fundo, estamos interessados em dar projeção aos trabalhos que proliferam aqui em Portugal e não só, querendo dar visibilidade a esses trabalhos. Quanto mais sítios, orçamentos e disponibilidade para que os projectos aparezam para nós é bem-vindo. Vamos onde nos queiram receber, onde nos abrirem as portas (interview 4).

The move to Viseu, in the center-north of Portugal, for Musidanças 2013 thus happened quite naturally, as there was support from this municipality after a very ill-attended Musidanças 2012 in Lisbon’s Teatro do Bairro on November 1-3 of that year.
No Teatro do Bairro, as coisas não correram bem num determinado aspecto: nós realizamos isto tudo para que apareça público, e o público não apareceu. [Foi] por nossa culpa, um mau trabalho nosso, ou não? (interview 4).

In fact, the 2012 edition was paradigmatic in that it exposed inherent organizational limitations (promotion, production, revenue) in making Musidanças happen in Lisbon:

Eu estava a ter bastante dificuldade em realizá-lo aqui em Lisboa, [porque] o festival em si não tem forma de subsistência, dinheiro, para poder fazer face a uma boa promoção. Quando pensei no Musidanças era muito para mostrar o trabalho étnico dos povos de língua portuguesa, e houve sempre muita dificuldade, porque não eram projectos comerciais, atrair pessoas foi sempre muito complicado. Porque ao nível da produção e ao nível financeiro, não tínhamos capacidade de atrair pessoas para o festival (interview 6).

This limited reception seems awkward in a context in which several other institutions, associations and individuals have increasingly built upon the idea of a musical _lusofonia_ (see part 2.2., p. 115 ff.). Pascoal admits a certain flexibility in adapting the offer of performing musicians to the context, and necessities at the performance places. This implies that several ideas were never put into practice due to specificities of some hosting venues:


### 3.3.1.2. Marketing slogans and special events

Musidanças’ thirteenth edition in Viseu, central to my study, represented a change of location that brought in fresh blood regarding the festival’s organization, musician’s outreach and audience array. In terms of discourse, Viseu implied a reflection on earlier

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613 Available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7V_Zzi3IckU
marketing slogans and the organization of special events. Co-produced with creative agency Cadeira Amarela and Expovis and sponsored by Câmara Municipal de Viseu, Firmino Pascoal and his now young co-producer Nuno Correia of Cadeira Amarela stressed the mature representation of the festival Musidanças: in social media, they ideologically positioned Musidanças as an acclaimed reference from Lisbon, and called for an openness to the emic notion of lusofonia:

Com início em 2000, o Festival Musidanças já faz parte do roteiro cultural da cidade de Lisboa. Recebe artistas de toda a Lusófonia e é um dos responsáveis pela apresentação e revelação de alguns artistas reconhecidos no panorama nacional. Este ano partimos para novas fronteiras, para reforçar os laços que nos unem! Do Mundo Lusófono a Lisboa, de Lisboa até...

In this fragment, Pascoal and Correia are explicit in connecting the lusophone landscapes of Lisbon to the rest of Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking world, from the belief that Musidanças has proven to give more visibility to musicians that would come to receive critical acclaim later on (such as Sara Tavares, Dama Bete and Aline Frazão, thus announced by Pascoal throughout our interviews). However, the discourse used at the 2013 Feira de São Mateus edition was not new; in fact, from the onset of Musidanças in 2001 to the end of my ethnographic observations in 2015, Firmino Pascoal has used diverse marketing slogans to appeal to local audiences. Following my discussion of programming strategies mentioned in parts 2.3.2. and 3.2.1.3. (pp. 147 and 195, respectively), several tendencies have been observed.

To begin with, the early years of Musidanças gave the stage especially to resident musicians from lusophone Africa. For example, the festival’s first edition (2001) used the slogan “Música da África Lusófona,” aiming to constitute postcolonial African representativity as it was announced on a site of the Portuguese government, ACIDI, a recurrent supporter since the beginning:

Implementar a acção, o contributo e o intercâmbio de autores Lusófonos no panorama actual da cultura no mundo, entendida como cruzamento de referências culturais afectas aos diferentes países da expressão lusa.

614 A promotional video for this edition can be found on Vimeo through the following link: https://vimeo.com/74484037
615 The first edition was, however, only realized in 2001. Retrieved from http://festivalmusidanças.blogspot.pt
616 Available at http://www.acidi.gov.pt/noticias/visualizar-noticia/4c67d7f62471d/festival-das-comunidades-lusofonas
To my understanding, the categories “lusófonos” and “expressão lusa” are used here in the same sense with which Sieber (2002) signaled existing ideological separation between what he called ‘Portuguese music’ and ‘lusophone music’. This is further exemplified by the use of the term “música lusófona” in 2003, when Musidanças took place with the media support of RDP, being transmitted live to the whole of lusophone Africa. During this edition, the slogans “Música Lusófona ao vivo na RDP África” and “Ciclo de Música Lusófona” disseminated traditional musics and fusions to the audiences:

[Musidanças] procura levar ao grande público vários cenários de criação musical alternativos - apostando em projectos da música de raiz tradicional617.

Musidanças’ 2004 and 2005 editions then included Portugal and Brasil in the role of countries producing “música lusófona”, implicitly referring to the lusophone populational composition of Lisbon Metropolitan Area. With the slogan “Música Lusófona. Portugal, S. Tomé, Brasil, Guiné, Cabo Verde, Angola”, the festival announced to bring “animação cultural a um concelho em que coabitam gentes oriundas de diversas paragens”618. Pascoal also launched the idea of supporting community through the slogan “Festival das Comunidades Lusófonas” and semiotically linked the emic notions of “musica lusófona” and “lusofonia”. On the one hand, this was established discursively – through the public description “um acontecimento de carácter cultural dedicado à música tradicional da Lusofonia e à sua prossecução”619. On the other hand, it promoted a specific “Lusofonia” cycle dedicating one day to resident musicians from each Portuguese-speaking country, arguably a mimicry of transnational institutions such as CPLP. The Musidanças parallel event “25 Abril. Espectáculo Comemorativo” in Almada marked 30 years of African independencies, and included a reference to the Portuguese carnation revolution in its title, thus implicitly aligning Portuguese and lusophone musics620. It was also Musidanças first edition on the south bank of the river Tejo (Margem Sul). Finally, these editions also looked for synergies between Portuguese and lusophone musicians through the somewhat more neutral term “intérpretes de língua portuguesa”. The publicity announced the festival’s financial

617 Available at https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/multiculturais/conversations/messages/186
618 Available at http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/detalhe/noticias/lazer/cultura/musidanças-promove-lusofonia
620 Curiously, the Portuguese government only organized a similar event 10 years later: Concerto da Lusofonia; 40 anos da independência dos países de língua portuguesa, at the Jardim da Assembleia da República in April 2015.
aspect – “É um Festival não comercial”\textsuperscript{621}, to reach the mainstream public with alternative/traditional musics with provenances in various Portuguese-speaking countries.

In the Musidanças editions of 2006 and 2007, the use of slogans such as “Música do mundo lusófono”, “Festival de artes do mundo lusófono” and “Música da África Lusófona” further intended to establish ideological synergies between Portuguese and lusophone musics. This was also exemplified by the record 

\textit{Musidanças ’06} slogan “Porque o futuro está na mistura”. The related 2007 festival slogan “O sucesso está na mistura”, thus semantically matched future, success and mixture. Still in 2007, the first edition of Noites Mestiças took place on Thursdays in August and September in the Cabaret Maxime in Lisbon, promoting, as indicated in the title of this event series, music performances reminiscent of \textit{mestiçagem} and mixture processes.

In 2009, the special event Feira do Fado would come to life, trying to enlarge strict definitions of fado through the performance of an Angolan fadista in Portugal as well as an electronic fado fusion collective, on the one hand, and the public presentation of recovered recordings of Amália Rodrigues and the 2007 film \textit{Fados} by Carlos Saura, on the other\textsuperscript{622}.

Musidanças’ 2010 edition was in itself a special event because it celebrated the festival’s tenth anniversary with recognition and reflection. Projecting the text “São 10 anos de história” on stage and using the marketing slogan “Festa 10 anos Musidanças”, a number of speeches by participating musicians made reference to the organizer’s hard work and persistence in rewriting Lisbon’s transnational music history from the margins. Firmino Pascoal, in turn, used this opportunity to strengthen both collaboration and propaganda aspects. Regarding the former, a music competition under the name “Novos Talentos Musidanças” was organized, and traditional Portuguese music deserved special attention in the festival programing through the category Música Étnica Portuguesa. Regarding the latter, Pascoal thanked partner institutions for their support of years of cooperation:

\textit{Ao longo dos seus dez anos de existência, o festival conta com o apoio de algumas Organizações que promovem a difusão da dança, da poesia, da arte e da música}\textsuperscript{623}.

\textsuperscript{621} Available at http://palcoprincipal.sapo.pt/user/festival_musidancas/blog/2010/05/01/musidancas_20
\textsuperscript{622} The latter featured Portuguese fadistas next to Brazilian MPB stars and Cape Verdian cultural agents in Lisbon, thus evoking Portugal’s place in musical \textit{lusofonia}.
\textsuperscript{623} Available at http://palcoprincipal.sapo.pt/user/festival_musidancas/blog/2010/05/01/musidancas_201
On his Facebook profile, Pascoal also enumerated recurrent musicians of Musidanças in historical defense of the intercultural niches of musical *lusofonia*:

> Será uma noite onde artistas já conhecidos de outras edições do festival, como Lindu Mona, Guto Pires, Tonecas, Francisco Naia e André Cabaço, relembram que o festival já tem uma década mas a *lusofonia* começou há muito tempo atrás.\(^{624}\)

A similar attitude of pride and intervention emerged from the slogan to the Noites Mestiças 2011’ edition: “a apostas continua numa nova geração lusófona\(^{625}\) que mistura músicas do mundo de uma forma fresca e única.” Musidanças 2011 in turn used the slogan “Festival das Artes do Mundo Lusófono”. The word “Artes” may suggest a decolonializing stance towards lusophone musics, while at the same time transcending Portugal and installing collectivity through the word “mundo”, also present in the category world music. This inclusive attitude was further exemplified by 3 musical acts – Tocá Rufar (P), Arte Pura Capoeira (B), and Cantadeiras da Alma Alentejana (P) – which all played live at the Cais do Sodré train station, one for each day of the festival, as they were announced to bring the music to the streets and its people that would otherwise not have been reached.

As I have suggested in the beginning of this section, Musidanças move to Viseu in 2013, and to the neighboring São Pedro do Sul in 2014, showed a proactive attitude in looking for new funding schemes, musicians of different areas, and audiences that were not yet physically reached. In the social media, Pascoal and his local co-producer Cadeira Amarela ideologically repositioned Musidanças as a festival promoting affective, language based alliances bonds that thus transcends Lisbon (like other lusophone festivals mentioned in part 2.2.1., p. 115 ff.). While intensifying the propaganda aspect of the word *lusofonia* - “Abre as portas à lusofonia!” and matching music fusion to progression - “misturar de forma a enriquecer-nos mutuamente e a evoluirmos”\(^{626}\), Pascoal also diversified the festival’s collaborative dimension through the inclusion of several regional vocal and instrumental collectives - “Grupos de cantares” (similar to the 2010 category Música Étnica Portuguesa) and dance workshops that were offered on the premises.

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624 Retrieved from [https://www.facebook.com/firmino.pascoal](https://www.facebook.com/firmino.pascoal)
625 Curiously, a similar wording, ‘nova lusofonia’, is used one year later by Laura Filipa Vidal, founder of the association Conexão Lusófona, showing a growing societal interest in this theme.
626 This additional text excerpt for the 2013 edition was retrieved from [https://www.facebook.com/festivalmusidancas](https://www.facebook.com/festivalmusidancas)
Still in 2014, an extension of Musidanças was organized at the FNACs of Almada, Colombo and Vasco da Gama under the name “Festival Musidanças Internacional”. This was a mindful strategy to reinforce the festival’s presence in its place of provenance after two editions outside of the capital, focusing on Lisbon’s transnational potential. In much the same sense, Musidanças 2015 marked a coming home. This entailed a celebration of musical *lusofonia* in three separate venues that have been linked to the concept: Musicbox, B.Leza and Fábrica do Braço de Prata. In the marketing slogan, Pascoal evoked an affective collectivity through family, friends and *lusofonia*. This perspective was also evidenced by the song lyrics in the part 3.2.3., p. 207 ff.: “Regressamos a Lisboa para celebrar os 15 anos onde tudo começou! Vamos reunir a família e fazer um grande Musidanças, uma grande festa da *lusofonia*”.

The marketing slogans and special events described above demonstrate not only a gradual maturing process but also a search for the right formula to attract new audiences and offer them a musical product in which the ideas of *lusofonia* and mixture find their reflection.

### 3.3.1.3. Two days at the old Feira de São Mateus

In 2013, the Feira de São Mateus was organized between September 9 and 22. Next to Musidanças, it habitually hosted its own music programmation, which featured all Portuguese performers such as Carminho, Herman José, Tony Carreira, Luís Represas, Expensive Soul, Pedro Abrunhosa, Miguel Ângelo, Mónica Ferraz, Sons do Minho, and Richie Campbell (please see annex 10, fig. 50). On September 10 and 11, a Tuesday and a Wednesday respectively, Musidanças announced the following musicians to perform under two categories; tradicional: No Mazurka Band (P), Karrossel (P), Girafoles (P), Recanto (P) and Gira Sol (P); and world music: Finka Pé (CV), Lindu Mona (A-P, P), Atma (P), Nação Vira Lata (P, B) and Cabace (GB, P, A)\(^628\). Several regional vocal and instrumental collectives - Grupo de cantares da Associação Amigos de Levides (P), Grupo de cantares de Cambra (P), Grupo de cantares de Castelo de Penalva (P), Grupo

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\(^627\) Available at https://www.facebook.com/festivalmusidancas/photos/gm.1648289198774883/10153470696776928/?type=3

\(^628\) This band arrived too late to the event due to a wrong train connection and did not perform. I caught them after Nação Vira Lata’s concert talking to Firmino Pascoal in the backstage. However, since their missed appearance was not a cancelation in the strict sense and they had successfully performed at Musidanças before, I have opted for listing them anyway.
de cantares de Crasto de Campia (P) and Grupo de cantares de Paredes Velhas (P) - performed at the site, where dance workshops were offered as well.

Given that this Musidanças edition occurred on regular weekdays, music performances only started after working hours (please see its program under fig. 49 in annex 10). Each day, there was an initial performance of traditional music groups (Finka Pé on the first day and Gira Foles on the second) on the enclosure at 8 pm, followed by parades of the abovementioned vocal and instrumental collectives throughout the festival sites’ bazaar and eat stand streets at 8.30 pm. This was then followed by simultaneous performances of the main stage (dedicated to world music) and the second stage (traditional dance music), at 21.30 pm and 23 pm, respectively. On the main stage, Lindu Mona and Atma performed on day one and Nação Vira Lata on day two, while on the second stage, No Mazurka Band and Karrossel gave their concert on day one and Recanto and GiraSol on day two. Visual impressions of these concerts were filmed by ACIDI and put online629.

The festival’s reception may have differed from other Musidanças editions, as a number of visitors would have assisted to Musidanças ‘accidentally’, having been attracted to the overarching Feira de São Mateus and not to Musidanças in particular. In terms of music programming, I noticed an increased presence of musicians and bands with traditional instruments and dance in comparison with Musidanças previous editions, perhaps due to the festival’s location and to the programming input of Cadeira Amarela, the creative agency co-producing Musidanças in Viseu. These bands included No Mazurka Band, Karrossel, Recanto, GiraSol, Recanto and Giraflores, next to the vocal and instrumental collectives that paraded the site.

I carried out two full days of ethnographic work for the duration of the Musidanças festival, leading to observations before, during and after the concerts given. I refer to annex 15 for a visual rendering of my following account630.

I traveled to Viseu by bus on Monday September 9, giving me an idea of the long physical distance between this location and the Portuguese capital, as well as the sometimes curvy, hilly way that led me through forests and across lakes. My hotel was situated to the south of the small city center, which I had visited before, on the opposite side of the Feira de São Mateus, a 15 minute walk to the north. As I passed through the

629 Available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3tr2ZN5jYDY
630 I further indicate that I had already attended a similar ‘music fair’, the Festival do Crato (Alentejo) in 2009, which – though not mentioned here and different in historic dimension – influenced my thinking about the music programming offered as well as the general composition of the fair and its visitors.
center of Viseu, I noticed advertisements for both the Feira and Musidanças on the open
glass door of a store of children’s clothing. This made me reflect upon the closeness of
the Feira to its surrounding neighborhoods, both in terms of affect and proximity.
Finding the Feira almost abandoned as I arrived in the afternoon to explore it, I first
noticed its proximity to a local, small but modern shopping mall, divided from it by a
small river and a bridge, and its lower position vis-à-vis the city’s historic center (the
cathedral), to which it was connected by a train cabin inserted into a lift construction.
On the terrain itself, to which access was free, I found local stands selling agricultural
machines, handicraft and other products, kermesse attractions, a visitor’s center, local
startups, prefab restaurants and beer stands, as well as two stages – a big and a minor
one. Near the main entry, at the river bridge, a billboard again announced Musidanças.
Not far from it, I found an open-air exhibition with pictures and text on the history of
this important fair. I was intrigued by the fair’s documented long history, which showed
the city's infrastructure investment since 1985 in this fair, as the site was modernized
and the riverbed was cleaned up. Meanwhile, I noticed how many young people,
probably returning from school, came to the fair. Along my walk, I met Firmino Pascoal
in front of the main stage, taking pictures of it and as well as a hand-written (by him?)
paper panel on the floor with the text “world music” in red and green, the colors of the
Portuguese flag (see fig. 1 in annex 15). We took a picture together, after which Pascoal
introduced me to his wife Ritta Tristany and Nuno Correia, his co-producer of the local
creative agency Cadeira Amarela. They promised to bring me into contact with the
musicians for my interviews and showed me around. As night fell, the amount of fair
visitors amounted drastically, first visiting the kermesse and shops, but soon going to
the restaurants to have dinner. Many of them were entire families – adolescents, elderly
people and young children –, which more or less straddled around, and seemed less
concerned with the music program announced. On this evening, the Musidanças acts,
which I describe further below (in part 3.3.2.1., p. 236 ff.), started their performance 20
to 30 minutes later then announced. One particular situation stood out: Lindu Mona,
Firmino Pascoal’s band, had only a handful of people in front of its stage, and they
seemed like accidental audience, while No Mazurka band, which simultaneously
performed their traditional dance music on the secondary stage, were rather well
attended. As I walked home late to the hotel, I reflected on the other musics I had
picked up during the day, and recollected hearing some hits of Brazilian musicians
Paula Fernandes and Michel Teló in the afternoon on the fair, which soon changed into
música pimba and Anglophone music as soon as dusk set in. I had also noticed a mobile record store with a particular focus on música popular portuguesa, not too far from an African handicraft stand. Passing by the shopping mall on my way back to the hotel, I heard bossa nova songs being played inside the mall and saw a TV-screen in a bar with live music of a joint performance of Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso.

On the next day, visitors to the fair looked pretty much the same: young people in the afternoon and entire families that flooded in after work. In the late afternoon, before the music programing started, I managed to talk to Nuno Correia, who had been on his phone most of the time as co-producer, occasionally participating in the traditional dances in front of the secondary stage. We drank a beer as we talked on the empty main stage. Soon, the musicians arrived to play. Overall on this second day, three situations stood out, which I briefly mention below.

A first situation had to do with the late arrival of some bands and a perceived difficulty of the organizers in dealing with this. Finka Pé, Giraflores and the Grupo de Cantares Associação Amigos de Levides all mistook me for a member of the organization and asked me how and where they could obtain their offered meal. During one of our brief conversations, Firmino Pascoal received a phone call from the band Cabace, scheduled to play on the main stage at 9.30 pm: they had taken the wrong train as they switched in Coimbra and were basically lost. Pascoal left by car to find them, more or less at the same time as Nação Vira Lata arrived in a big van which broke down almost instantly as they switched the engine off. As they acclimatized, Nação Vira Lata had trouble in finding Nuno, who became a much sought after organization member in Pascoal’s absence.

During my occasional walk throughout the fair’s site, between interviews, I suddenly heard the sounds of heavy drums and bagpipes: it was the female collective Girafoles, which played over half an hour as they passed in most sections of the fair. This is when the second situation arose to which I briefly want to refer. As I was following Girafoles to interview them after their performance, I came across an interesting situation: the band crossed a street in the fair’s prefab restaurant section, where two vocal and instrument collectives were coincidentally competing for the same space. After some initial hesitations, a collective dialogue came about, after which the two groups headed in different directions. I ended up interviewing the Girafoles girls in a restaurant at that same intersection.
Meanwhile, it was decided that Nação Vira Lata would fill in for Cabace, whose members had still not shown up, and play in Cabace’s time slot. Thus playing on the same stage and hour as Lindu Mona one day earlier, Nação Vira Lata managed to gather a big crowd, which incited the curiosity of passers-by. I noticed many families of which some members were dancing to Nação Vira Lata’s tribal tunes, and also counted some participating musicians in the crowd, which was dense from the first lines to the PA. The band’s singer and percussionist Winga (Nuno Patrício) dedicated a song to the organization, another one to the city of Viseu and a third one to Hugo Osga of the bands Karrossel and Recanto. After interviewing Nação Vira Lata in the Delfim restaurant, where - so I discovered - all Musidanças’ musicians took their paid evening meal, I found Firmino Pascoal and his wife Ritta behind the main stage, where they were talking seriously to the now arrived band members of Cabace. With their instruments at hand and clearly tired of the longer trip just made, the latter were clearly disillusioned with their missed chance and prepared to take a taxi to their accommodation. As I helped them out with carrying their instruments and saw them leave, I thanked Firmino Pascoal and his wife, and walked back to the hotel.

3.3.2. By whom?

My contacts with the participating musicians were conducted by means of an interview guide (see annex 8) which was followed by informal conversations with stage musicians (performing either on the world music or trad stage) and regional music collectives that paraded on the festival site. The musicians contacted were António Almeida (Grupo de Cantares de Levides), Domingas Brito (Finka Pé), Berta Azevedo and Hugo Claro (Atma), Hugo Osga (playing in two bands, Karrossel and Recanto), Jacinthe Azevedo (Girafoles), Nuno Patrício and Rossana Ribeiro (Nação Vira Lata), Ricardo Falcão (No Mazurka Band), Rute Mar (GiraSol) and Firmino Pascoal (as a musician) and Ritta Tristany (Lindu Mona). All of them effectively played, while the band Cabace arrived too late to perform, and was not able to concede an interview that day. My aim is to understand how these musicians relate to with the festival. To this end, I analyze specific answers that were given regarding their music trajectory; opinion on cultural policy, music promotion, industry and heritage; and conceptual understanding of Musidanças.
3.3.2.1. Music trajectory of participant musicians

In terms of trajectory, the musicians thus contacted point at a variety of places, influences and experiences that promote mixture and diversity understandings of their own musics. As far as music trajectories are concerned, Atma, which played at a total of four Musidanças editions (2008, 2011, 2012, 2013) and which music was categorized by Firmino Pascoal as fusão, Portugal/World Fusão, world music, and Místico, is a group founded in Algés and Sintra in 2007. The band features three members: Berta Azevedo (vocals), Hugo Claro (vocals, classical guitar, guitarra portuguesa, mandolin and accordion), and Jorge Machado (cajón, darbuka, frame drum, a.o.). I interviewed Azevedo (33 years old, from Lisbon) and Claro (36 years old, also from Lisbon) after their soundcheck, when they stated that their repertoire is fusion-oriented in word and sound:


Nuno Patrício (age not obtained), singer-percussionist of the band Nação Vira Lata, categorized by Pascoal as world music, and Rossana Ribeiro, the band’s manager, situated their music influences between Africa, Brazil, Portugal and America, as I interviewed them at the artists’ entry, in their dressing room and in restaurant Delfim. According to the band’s website, Patrício, better known under his artistic name of Winga and a longtime member of the band Blasted Mechanism, came into contact with traditional Portuguese percussion instruments when he was a scout in Lisbon. He since then researched African percussion and its influence on Portuguese, Afro-Brazilian, and Arab rhythms, mixing these traditional rhythms with modern loops and samples. Patrício played with several bands at Musidanças: with Dazkarieh in 2005 and 2007 (labeled by Pascoal as Portugal and tradicional-Portugal; with Tocá Rufar in 2008, 2009 and 2010 (labeled by Pascoal as Étnico and Música Étnica Portuguesa), and with Uxu-

631 Available at https://www.facebook.com/music.atma
kalhús in 2010 and 2011 (indicated as Música Étnica Portuguesa). According to its website, Nação Vira Lata aims to promote cultural fusions and human mixture through music.

Hugo Osga (age not obtained), instrumentalist of Karrossel and Recanto, performed with both bands for the first time at Musidanças. We had a beer not far from the secondary stage where he performed, as various other musicians came by to greet him. Both of Karrossel and Recanto, categorized as tradicional by the festival organization, performed traditional Portuguese and European dance music. Karrossel is a collective that was founded in Porto in 2009, based on music recollection and instrument research, having six members: Ricardo Coelho (playing Portuguese, Galician, Bulgari and French variants of bagpipes, as well as wind instruments), Nuno Encarnação (cajon, derbouka, riq, and percussion), Sergio Cardoso (clarinet and flute), Andrea Baron (accordion), Hugo Osga (sanfona, bul bul tarang, dunus, and didgeridoo), and Silvia Guerra (vocals and guitar). The latter two also play in the band Recanto, which they compose as a duo, and which also performed, based on music research and collection of European traditional dances. In Osga’s words, commenting both bands:

Tocamos a prática do baile, das danças tradicionais europeias, portanto todas as músicas têm uma dança anexada. E como existem muitos grupos em Portugal a tocar inclusive danças europeias, nós decidimos fazer 50% do repertório ser absolutamente português e o outro 50% do repertório ser europeu (interview 17).

Ricardo Falcão (30 years old and originally from Évora), percussionist of No Mazurka Band (categorized as tradicional by the festival organization), also performed for the first time at Musidanças. I set up the interview before the show and managed to talk to him quickly at the end of his soundcheck. No Mazurka Band was founded in 2006 and has four members: Paulo Pereira (wind instruments and vocals), António Bexiga (viola campaniça and vocals), Diogo Leal (bagpipes and fraita), and Ricardo Falcão. The band labels itself as a folk group that tries to recuperate and reinvent traditional Portuguese musics and instruments. Falcão informed me that this early interest eventually found its way in the collective’s traditional Portuguese music practice as well as the traditional music school that he now presides:

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633 Available at http://mufolk.com/Karrossel.html
634 Available at https://www.facebook.com/Recanto.folk
Comecei estudar guitarra em miúdo e continuei a tocar nos escuteiros, fui para Lisboa, onde com 17 anos comecei a estudar a gaita de foles. Depois comecei a interessar-me muito pela percussão, e toquei flautas e um pouco de gaita também. [Com a banda fazemos] música tradicional portuguesa, de raiz tradicional. [Tocamos] sobretudo instrumentos portugueses, uma gaita galega mas também é muito tocado em Portugal, flauta tamborileiro que é tocado em Portugal também, e percussões portugueses (interview 23).

Jacinthe Azevedo (age not obtained, of Portuguese and French nationality, and an unemployed teacher at the time) is part of the strictly female bagpipes collective Girafoles, which was categorized as tradicional by Firmino Pascoal. Girafoles was established in Vila do Campo, Viseu, in 2009, when it seventeen members decided to create a group similar to the Bombos Os Maravilhas, the percussion collective in which their husbands played, adding bagpipes to the composition and developing a particular traditional repertoire636.

Começámos a tocar gaitya de foles em 2008, uma colega nossa que é professora de música nos ensinou o básico, e depois contactamos o Ricardo Coelho dos Pé na Terra para nos dar lições. O nosso repertório não é propriamente gaitheiro, é mais um repertório tradicional. Tentamos adaptar músicas tradicionais que são tocadas pelos ranchos ou cantadas pelas pessoas do povo e tentamos adaptá-las à gaita de foles (interview 18).

Rute Mar (age not obtained) of GiraSol, labeled as tradicional by Firmino Pascoal, confirms that her group performs traditional music and dance from all over the world. GiraSol was formed in Porto in 2011 by musicians of already existing bands such as Bailebúrdia and Capagrilos (Carlos Batista, João Lázaro, João Martins, Rémi Kesteman, Ricardo de Noronha, Rita Só, Rute Mar and Tiago Candal)637. The band says it plays traditional dances of an extensive range and labels itself as Folk / World Music and Dances. I interviewed Rute Mare at one of the outside taverns between the two stages in the afternoon.

O meu percurso artístico começou aos 6 anos, com ginástica rítmica e depois com ginástica acrobática de alta competição, e depois dança e teatro e assim foi por aí fora. Ao nível da música, toco pandeiro galego e pouco mais. Eu ensino as danças. [Com a banda, tocamos] música de origem tradicional, de todo o mundo mesmo (interview 25).

António Almeida is 70 years years old, retired, living in Seixal, but born in Levides – a parish of Cambra village – where he stays in the summer months. Almeida

637 Available at https://www.facebook.com/girasol.folk
sings in the Grupo de Cantares Associação Amigos de Levides (uncategorized by the festival organization), that uses its first participation in Musidanças to show an ensemble of recuperated traditional Portuguese melodies. The collective was founded in Vouzela – close to São Pedro do Sul and 30 kms from Viseu – by a group of men and women that gathered to move on foot and started singing as they met other groups. I interviewed Almeida next to the main stage in the early evening, before they started playing in the streets of the eat stands. He characterized their music as follows:

Tentamos recolher aquelas melodias mais características, mais animadas, mais bonitas que se cantavam antigamente, para podermos apresentar ao público. Temos um livro cheio de melodias que nunca dá para gente cantar todas, cantamos hoje uma parte e amanhã cantamos outra, nunca são os mesmos. É tudo música portuguesa, são só cantares (interview 13).

Domingas Brito is a member of the group Batuque Finka Pé, categorized by Firmino Pascoal as tradicional, which also played at Musidanças in 2008, then labeled by Pascoal as dança). Finka Pé is a female batuque group that appeared in Bairro Alto da Cova da Moura, municipality of Amadora, in 1988, as a result of the socio-cultural activities of the association Moinho da Juventude, representing the musical heritage of the Cape Verdian island of Santiago though their drumming. After their public performance, I interviewed the group in restaurante Delfim, where they all confessed that the trip to Viseu had tired them a little bit:

Fazemos batuque sobre a nossa vida, o dia-a-dia, fazemos canções, tanto pode ser sobre uma coisa má que a gente passou, tanto coisa boa, pronto da nossa vida, do marido, dos filhos, o que a gente faz, de alegria e de tristeza (interview 16).

Last but not least, I interviewed Lindu Mona’s backing vocal Ritta Tristany (52 years old, from Algeirão, working at a bank) beside the main stage in the early afternoon, after her husband Firmino Pascoal had presented us to one another. Lindu Mona started in Sintra in 1990 as the musical project of Firmino Pascoal and his wife Ritta, accompanied by a number of befriended musicians. On its website, the band categorizes itself as World Music Angola, interpreted by them as a fusion of ethnic,  

640 I also referred to my fellow INET researchers that interviewed them earlier on, as well as the Music and Migration publication in which they feature. In addition, I asked for Godelieve Meerschaert, the – like me, Flemish – coordinator of the group, but I was told that she had not been able to be come.

É uma música étnica, diferente, muito original, é música do mundo. Acho que nem sequer dá para caracterizar esta música, para mim a música é Lindu Mona (interview 24).

From the above, a diverse typification of music collectives emerges. A first group entails bands that have recently been formed by young people that study old music traditions, instruments and dances from Portugal and Europe, such as Karrossel and No Mazurka Band. A second type of bands include young people that use old and modern instruments of diverse provenances to achieve some type of musical fusion, such as is the case of Atma and Nação Vira Lata. A third group focused on female percussionists, such as Batuque Finka Pé and Giraflores, which relate to their cultural heritage in similar ways. This is also the case for a fourth group of music collectives, the vocal and instrument ensembles, which parade the terrain to deliver their chanted melodies in regionally revealing clothing outfits. Finally, transversally to Lindu Mona, Batuque Finká Pé and Nação Vira Lata, is the - outspoken or not - idea of transnational fluxes in the lusophone sphere, as all represent, to a different extent, portugueses africanizados and africanos aportuguesados. In sum, the Musidanças ‘13 music program displays lusophone mixture in a varied but consistent number of ways.

3.3.2.2. Opinions on cultural policy and heritage issues

During my ethnographic stay in Viseu, I asked the participating musicians about the reception, promotion and safeguard of their work, as well as their opinion on the

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641 Available at https://www.facebook.com/lindumona
selected location for Musidanças that year, from the former colonial metropolis to a smaller city in the center-north of Portugal.

Regarding the location, Berta Azevedo contend that the move to Viseu might help Musidanças to get acclaim beyond the Lisbon Metropolitan Area:

Acho que o Musidanças podia ter mais projecção, embora na região de Lisboa a tem. [O] facto de vir ao Viseu e de alargar é importante para levar o festival a outros locais e isso também vai dando projecção ao festival (interview 14).

Hugo Osga arguments that a decentralization of festivals from Portugal’s two big cities is fundamental to increase offer for the rest of the country:

Acho muito bem não ser em Lisboa e no Porto, porque é uma forma de descentralizar as actividades. Normalmente o país centra sempre tudo em Lisboa, depois no Porto, depois do resto do país parece que se esquece (interview 14).

Jacinthe Azevedo uses the same metaphor of forgetting and suggests that there is a potential market for this kind of events:

Se não fosse em Viseu, provavelmente não estariámos cá hoje; quem é que se lembraria de nós em Lisboa? [...] Acho muito bem que seja divulgado dentro do país porque Lisboa e Porto de facto têm uma oferta estrondosa ao nível cultural, mas o centro do país muitas das vezes fica esquecida. É bom que os festivais começam a se desenvolver e a deslocar dentro do país. Em Viseu é uma honra para nós receber um festival destes (interview 18).

However, Berta Azevedo and Hugo Claro regret the lack of support for festive events of this type, making them oftentimes into a pièce de resistance for its organizers:

As políticas culturais são praticamente inexistentes, e o apoio é zero. Os apoios que o Musidanças tem tido é muito a custo do carolice, da força da vontade, do empreendedorismo do Firmino. Acho que de facto não há apoios para este tipo de festivais, e deveriam ser mais (interview 14).

Hugo Osga share this view on Portugal’s cultural policies regarding traditional musics, and contends that most Portuguese have a distorted understanding of their culture:

Quando se fala em cultura, o país infelizmente nem sequer tem bem consciência de que é que esta palavra significa. É mais fácil ouvir uma música pimba que tem uma letra sexualmente apelativa ao azeite, ou um ritmo muito quadrado, do que de repente ouvir alguém tocar violino ou um outro instrumento mais nobre, do que uma caixa de ritmos e um orgão (interview 17).
This critique to the way in which music industries generally operate, for their lack of openness to mixture and novelties, is shared by Berta Azevedo and Hugo Claro:

Isto é transversal, ou seja: ou tu tens um som mais mainstream e que tem por trás alguém, uma bomba, uma máquina que te transforme a ti também numa máquina para ganhar dinheiro, o restante o que fica é muito pouco em termos de apoios. Porque grandes marcas preferem por exemplo organizar o Optimus Alive [now NOS Alive] que lhes dá se calhar milhares de euros (interview 14).

According to Ritta Tristany, this commercial approach to music has negatively impacted the appetite for musical discovery of the general public. People usually go to concerts because they feature musicians with a certain fame or success, she says.

The relation between music and social media status mentioned is confirmed by her husband, and band partner, Firmino Pascoal:

Pascoal questions why Portuguese migrants that come on holidays to Portugal go to a Tony Carreira concert and not to a local group of traditional music, arguing that the latter is an added value internationally:

Musidanças is taking a necessary risk to change these mentalities and reach new publics, Osga argues (as does Sara Tavares, mentioned in part 3.2.1.), identifying himself personally with the festival’s struggle:
[Musidanças] é necessário, porque [traz] um cartaz rico culturalmente. É arriscado mas tem que se ter coragem de ir mudar a mentalidade das pessoas e pôr música tradicional com qualidade e não a música pimba. Essa [também] é a minha luta e o programador do festival está de parabéns (interview 17).

Similarly, Rute Mar defends that festivals like Musidanças function like necessary showcases for introducing publics to alternative musical options:

Os festivais deste género são necessários, que venham descobrir e mostrar, que sirvam acima de tudo de mostra pra estas bandas alternativas que fazem coisas diferentes: que pegam na música tradicional, que recuperam com uma abordagem nova, e que a devolvem ao público de uma forma diferente (interview 25).

Domingas Brito asks a larger role for the Portuguese government in supporting expressive culture. She mentions that other European countries offer such support, even on the municipal level:

O Finka Pé tem apoio da associação [Moinho de Juventude], mas esses apoios de câmara, só de vez em quando, mas do governo e essas coisas assim a gente não tem. A gente faz isso porque gostamos, depende de nós mesmo, mas a gente gostaria de ter outro tipo de apoio, porque há outros grupos de batuque, tanto como na Espanha ou na França, e que têm muito apoio da câmara municipal, aqui a gente não tem! (interview 16).

Firmino Pascoal also refers to intercultural education outside Portugal, as his band Lindu Mona was well attended in an Italian festival.

Estive em 1999 em Itália com os Lindu Mona no primeiro festival Sete Sóis Sete Luas, e além de tocarmos no festival tocamos em mais seis sítios, que eles nos arranjaram essa possibilidade, pâ, e fomos tocar em Piombino, fica em frente da Ilha de Elba, num castelo antigo, e um palco, um espaço com cadeiras para 250-300 pessoas. Mostrei muita estranheza e perguntei ao técnico de som de som se as pessoas vinham, por tanta cadeira estariam à espera de pessoas, e disse que sim, e realmente isto efectivou-se. Quer dizer, as pessoas não conheciam Lindu Mona de parte nenhuma, o espaço encheu-se de pessoas entusiásticas, a applaudir um produto que desconheciam! Mas lá está, tinham essa atracção pelo desconhecido, são educados dessa forma, o povo italiano é um povo que culturalmente liga muito a essas coisas. Estivemos em outros espaços onde aconteceu o mesmo (interview 4).

Pascoal comments that, strangely enough, a number of municipalities in Portugal have invested in attracting audiences for performances such as Lindu Mona’s, while in Lisbon it has had much less success:

Ressalvo sempre os sítios óptimos onde tocei. Por exemplo, para a Câmara da Guarda, e para a Câmara de Lagos. Porque foram dois sítios onde trabalharam isso, eu fui como desconhecido e tive muito público. [...] Na Área Metropolitana de Lisboa a experiência não é, e não tem sido, nada igual (interview 4).
Nuno Patrício and Rossana Ribeiro stress the need for festivals to have financial and logistical structure to host musicians in professional conditions. In Patrício’s words, Há uma grande procura de trabalho gratuito, que impõe trabalho gratuito aos músicos, até parece que estão a fazer um grande favor, e isto é muito mal (interview 21).

To this, Ribeiro adds that Musidanças’ municipal support in Viseu has allowed for paying the performing musicians: É a primeira vez em não sei quantos anos do festival que eles conseguem finalmente pagar aos artistas, porque está integrado num outro evento que é subsidiado, ou patrocinado digamos assim, por uma empresa municipal e pelos apoios da autarquia (interview 21).

Ribeiro suspects that Musidanças’ organizer has not yet succeeded in obtaining support from municipal funding bodies in Lisbon, such as EGEAC. She suggests that the acceptance in Viseu illustrates that the manner in which an idea is presented to potential sponsors makes a difference in achieving success or not: Para conseguir vender uma ideia, conseguir apoios, e chegar realmente aos sítios, é preciso muito trabalho. O que acontece é que se calhar a organização do Musidanças ainda não conseguiu dar este passo dentro do núcleo de Lisboa, onde tu tens entidades como EGEAC que subsidia a cultura, que tem ajudado muitos projectos do mesmo âmbito do que este. Acho que tem a ver com a maneira com a qual os próprios organizadores vendem as suas ideias e onde vendem estas ideias (interview 21).

3.3.2.3. Conceptual understandings

The Musidanças’ marketing strategies as briefly pointed out in part 3.3.1.2. (p. 226 ff.) denote that Firmino Pascoal has used semiotically related emic notions such as lusofonia, mestiçagem and interculturalidade to promote his festival to the public. Part of my ethnographic work in Viseu aimed to perceive how the participating musicians verbalize about Musidanças’ organization as well as what they said in particular about the overarching ideological notion of lusofonia, central in my study.

Answering my question about music’s cultural aspects, Berta Azevedo of the band Atma argues that for her, Musidanças allows both music fluidity and self-discovery:
Identificamo-nos certamente com esta mistura de culturas, de músicos, de somoridades, porque alarga horizontes. A partir do momento em que isso acontece, em que tu conheces novas pessoas, novas qualidades, novas sonoridades, eu acho que tu ganhas sempre, em que tu vês e compreendes tudo melhor (interview 14).

Hugo Osga of Karrossel and Recanto call attention to enjoyable playing nature of their performance, linking the physicality of traditional dance music to an increased participation of the public.

Acho muito giro haver aqui esta mistura com a coisa popular. As pessoas podem ter o prazer de experimentar, dançar, danças que fazem parte do nosso imaginário (interview 17).

Jacinthe Azevedo of Giraflores sees Musidanças as a specific festival of lusophone musics with the national potential to advocate the Portuguese language:

Tem muitos festivais, agora um festival especificamente para a língua portuguesa, não conhecemos, é o primeiro. Já [estive pessoalmente] no Andanças, que tem um pouco o mesmo espírito embora tenha diferenças, mas especificamente com músicos de língua portuguesa, sejam eles de origens diferentes, ainda não tínhamos estado. Acho que é de salientar e dar-lhe valor ao nível nacional (interview 18).

About her band GiraSol, Rute Mar indicates that music performance blurs categories such as traditional or world music, on the one hand, and that stigmas regarding “fólkloric” aspects can make public acceptance troublesome, particularly in Portugal:

Não podemos considerar-nos só uma banda de música tradicional, também fazemos um bocadinho de world music não é, pegamos um bocadinho nas culturas de todo o mundo de origem tradicional e damos-lhe uma roupagem mais contemporânea. O problema é que muitas pessoas ainda associam o tradicional ao folclórico e há muito preconceito em relação a isso em Portugal (interview 25).

For this reason, Nuno Patrício and Rossana Ribeiro of the band Nação Vira Lata argue that it is important to promote different musics and cultures to Portuguese audiences, as Musidanças pretends.

É muito importante de haver este tipo de festivais. A ideia é dar liberdade para divulgar um tipo diferente de música e de grupos musicais mais alternativos, grupos de dança, grupos de percussão, grupos africanos, enfim, esta mistura de multiculturalidade que há muito em Lisboa e em Portugal, deve ser cada vez mais difundido e divulgado. Musidanças é um óptimo exemplo disso (interview 21).
Jacinthe Azevedo understands Musidanças to be important not only in its offer of musical novelties, but also as a bridge between lusophone music communities.

Musidanças distingue-se pelo facto de trazer lusófonos de outros continentes, por exemplo, o outro festival que conhecemos, que é o Andanças, [apresenta] grupos de cá - Portugal, Itália, Espanha - mas basicamente não há muita importação de grupos estrangeiros fora do continente (interview 18).

Finka Pé’s Domingas Brito stresses the importance that her group gives to the conditions offered by Musidanças to show musical traditions as authentic as possible:

[Musidanças] é o primeiro festival que a gente participou que tem muito a ver com a nossa tradição. Porque hoje fazemos uma actuação ao ar livre, num lado que não é o palco, porque o batuque antigamente não tinha nada a ver com o palco, o batuque mesmo é a roda como fazemos hoje, que achei engraçado, lembra tudo de Cabo Verde, acho para o grupo todo, senti isso (interview 16).

In a second stage of the interviews, the musicians were invited to face three ideological concepts - *lusofonia*, *mestiçagem* and *interculturalidade* - and to choose the one that they understood as most fitting for Musidanças.

For Ricardo Falcão of No Mazurka Band, *lusofonia* and *interculturalidade* both point at how Portuguese musics were influenced by other cultures:

Um bocadinho *lusofonia*, se calhar interculturalidade, que é um termo mais vasto, não é. Associo muito os dois no sentido de uma fusão, a maneira com a qual todas as outras culturas influenciam a portuguesa, e como a portuguesa influencia as outras, a maneira como elas se fundem (interview 23).

Hugo Osga says that he prefers the term interculturalidade as synonym of mixture:

Existem projectos como a Nação Vira Lata que vem aqui tocar e que traz uma abordagem aos ritmos africanos e outros de uma forma absolutamente contemporânea, até os Karrossel, que vão tocar a música do Minho, que é purinho, tradicional, português, essa mistura que vai haver [é] uma dois coisas mais interessantes na programação (interview 17).

According to Hugo Claro from Atma, differences between the three notions are small. Once more, though, *lusofonia* is equated with the Portuguese language.

Na minha opinião, ponho interculturalidade e depois a *lusofonia* e depois a mestiçagem. No fundo é tudo. A *lusofonia* para mim tem a ver com a língua portuguesa mas espalhada pelo mundo, mestiçagem é mistura - pode ser de raças, de música, de sons - e interculturalidade também é isso, é a relação entre culturas (interview 14).
His fellow band member Berta Azevedo prefers mestiçagem, however quickly expressing the link between lusofonia and Musidanças:

Eu escolharia a mestiçagem porque mais do que as culturas, é o contacto próximo com outros músicos e com outros sons. Interculturalidade é mais expansiva eventualmente do que a lusofonia. Esta última palavra acho que vai para o lado dos sons lusófonos, e está de facto associada ao Musidanças (interview 14).

Nuno Patrício and Rossana Ribeiro also pick mestiçagem.

Mas as três palavras são muito parecidas. Lusofonia, ok, tem tudo a ver com Portugal, mas acho que o Musidanças não é só Portugal. Interculturalidade é uma coisa mais entre culturas, existem várias culturas que é mesmo mestiçagem, mistura, ou seja, há músicos africanos mas também há portugueses de cá a tocarem a música africana ou indiana (interview 21).

Ritta Tristany favors both lusofonia and interculturalidade as a way of showing how Musidanças transcends Portugal’s postcolonial continental borders.

Eu estava para dizer lusofonia, porque no fundo [Musidanças] é lusófono, não é? Mas interculturalidade também, porque no fundo é uma mistura de culturas, vêm pessoas daqui vêm pessoas dali, no fundo com eles aprendemos um pouco de cada cultura. Lusófonos porque falam português e não só, falam também outras línguas, em países que já foram portugueses há muitos anos, Portugal foi grande, agora é pequenino! (interview 24).

Similarly choosing lusofonia and interculturalidade, Jacinthe Azevedo points at the importance of recognition by Portuguese institutions, of transnational links that were forged historically, and of the Portuguese language as a communicational unifier.

Ah, lusofonia é interculturalidade, sem uma sombra de dúvida. Lusofonia em primeiro grau e depois interculturalidade. Lusofonia é a língua portuguesa como padrão de comunicação, e a interculturalidade por sermos lusófonos de várias partes do mundo, reunidos no festival (interview 18).

The term lusofonia is useful to understand Portugal’s past and present role as an international nation, and can help to bring together Portuguese speakers around the world, as Azevedo posits:

Nós temos de nos convencer que o português é uma nação internacional, digamos assim, embora tenha origens diferentes, a nossa língua define-nos como pessoa, independentemente do continente onde estamos oriundos. Acho que [o conceito de lusofonia] é uma óptima maneira de reunirmos falantes de português de continentes completamente diversos.
In conclusion, *lusofonia, mestiçagem* and *interculturalidade* are related concepts that are all positively valued as mixture by the participating musicians. In general, they point out that intercultural education of different musics and cultures to Portuguese audiences is necessary in order to blur existing categorizations and undo stigmas, on the one hand, and to bridge to other lusophone communities elsewhere, on the other.

### 3.3.3. For whom?

To know for whom the musicians play – a fundamental part of the model of the ethnography of musical performance that I am following – is one of the basic questions that Firmino Pascoal put forward during the centennial Feira de São Mateus. Although the audience, in terms of number of people actively present, was almost insignificant during some performances and very outspoken during others, I wish to take this variable into account here. As already pointed out in the introduction to this subchapter, the general public of Musidanças was largely indistinguishable from the Feira de São Mateus visitor, as most visitors walked by the stages and were either attentive or not. In addition, some participating musicians attended the performances of others (for example, Hugo Osga during the show of Nação Vira Lata, and No Mazurka Band during the concert of Karrossel). As such, the opinions of these musicians, in a sense constituting a specialized audience among the general public, implicitly informed my present interpretations.

The contacts with the interviewees presented here came about rather naturally, as some of them were accidentally presented to me. This was the case of Juliana Ferreira (age not obtained, from Peso da Regua and since 2 years in Viseu at the time of the interview) and her partner Carlos Sousa (31 years, from Viseu). They were introducing and selling products of their creative studio Centro Ponto Arte in a small stand, close to the painting wall where I had found Firmino earlier on. I interviewed two other audience members close to the second stage: Diana Leitão Azevedo (age not obtained, living near Porto) is a young music and dance teacher, member of the band Karrossel, who presented me to her Viseu-based friend Ana Raquel Marques (29 years old, solicitor), who also answered my questions. Next to the data of these four interviewees mentioned, I also include here the interview excerpts of Cadeira Amarela.
organizer Nuno Correia and ExpoVis representative Paula Soares (43 years old, from Viseu), both new to Musidanças, about their impression of the festival.

My aim is to observe the ways in which some selected visitors at the Feira de São Mateus verbalize about the festival. To this end, I consider specific answers that some of them gave to my questions regarding their festival expectations and attendance; opinion on cultural policy, music promotion, industry and heritage; and ultimately on their conceptual understanding of Musidanças.

3.3.3.1. Expectations and attendance of the audience

Most or, really, all of my audience interviewees were attentive to Musidanças’ music programming. Ana Raquel Marques mentions that, as the composite name of the festival Musidanças suggests - (Musi+danças) -, the audience expects a festival that brings new acts of traditional music and dance to the attention of all ages:

A ideia por trás é mesmo divulgar danças do mundo, danças europeias, danças tradicionais portuguesas inseridas nas danças europeias, e também um bocadinho das danças e músicas do mundo (interview 12).

Jacinthe Azevedo, musician of Girafoles, expects Musidanças to deliver a musical mixture:

um misto de música, de canções, de danças, de culturas com [aspectos] completamente diferentes, gerações diferentes também, apesar do público ser mais novo (interview 18).

Articraft standholder Carlos Sousa wants the festival to show new things:

divulgar novas bandas, lançar novos desafios para a comunidade, o que é sempre bom, trazer novos horizontes e novas culturas (interview 19).

Paula Soares, cultural representative of Expovis, which financially and logistically supports the event, interviewed after the Finká Pé concert to which she was attending, hopes that the performers would bring a combination of music and dance:

acho que são várias manifestações culturais de música e de danças, e conseguir agregar a música e a dança num só (interview 22).
Ana Raquel Marques, as others having participated in festive music events from north to south in Portugal, expects Musidanças to direct itself to what she calls a “community” that is interested in traditional musics and cultures:

Comecei por ir ao Andanças, foi o meu primeiro festival, há 6-7 anos, a partir daí fui a muitos festivais, mais a trad-folk, em Lisboa, no Porto também fui a algumas tertúlias, bailes que há nas cidades - recentemente também um festival roda-saia, também só pequenino - e músicas do mundo, já fui ao Algarve, em Loulé[.] Não conheço Musidanças, mas parece-me que é também de divulgar e se calhar chamar a comunidade para conhecer música e dança tradicional (interview 12).

Her friend Diana Leitão Azevedo, a dance member of the band Karrossel, has been to numerous festivals as well, and in some of them she was responsible for dance workshops for the audience accompanying her band. As she told me, she was expecting to organize a session there that afternoon too, until she heard that it was cancelled. Although being a frequent concertgoer, she points out that she does not know Musidanças:

Foram tantos [festivais]! Estive no Festival Músicas do Mundo em Sines, Festival Alencã, Festival da Marcha Ibérica, Festival Andanças … são muitos, durante muitos anos! Normalmente estamos na estrada entre Maio e Setembro. Musidanças, sinceramente, não conheço. Suponho que queira promover a música e a dança, músicas do mundo e danças do mundo (interview 15).

Carlos Sousa also does not know Musidanças, but easily relates to his previous festival participations.

A pesar de já conhecer outros festivais idênticos ao Musidanças, como Andanças, como FMM em Sines, como um outro festival em Viana de Castelo, neste caso foi a primeira vez e estou a gostar, claro (interview 21).

The selected testimonies point to an active public of young people that frequents a range of summer festivals in Portugal that focus on traditional musics and dances. None of the enumerated festivals, however, explicitly refers to lusophone expressives cultures, as does Musidanças.
3.3.3.2. Opinion on cultural policy and heritage issues

The contacted audience members also collaborated in my interests on issues of cultural policy for festivals such as Musidanças, basing their findings on the related music events that they have visited over the years. Noticeably, they had an outspoken opinion on recent discussions regarding intangible cultural heritage, intercultural dialogue, and the place of music in an outspoken lusophone perspective.

Ana Raquel Marques mentions that Portuguese municipalities have a key role in promoting and sustaining this type of music festivals for their inhabitants. She says:

Agrada-me a ideia da autarquia estar a dar importância a este tipo de eventos (interview 12).

Diana Leitão Azevedo in turn stresses the importance to go beyond the country’s big cities, in order to reach smaller cities and rural audiences:

Acho que é importante haver este género de festivais em cidades do interior do país que é onde este tipo de músicas e danças são menos promovidos (interview 15).

Juliana Ferreira and Carlos Sousa agree with this descentralization that builds upon local cultural traditions that transcend the narratives of the main cities.

O descentralizar, o sair de Lisboa acaba por também trazer mais força, se calhar também, à intenção do Musidanças que é esta divulgação da própria cultura portuguesa, e não só. Se calhar o Musidanças é tudo menos Lisboa. Exactamente: está a crescer numa grande cidade mas volta às suas origens, que é as origens da aldeia, do tradicional, das comunidades, algo que faz mais sentido numa terra que é no centro de Portugal, que é uma terra que tem muita história a nível disso, é uma cidade que cresceu com isso, também, trazer ideias e a riqueza da cultura, isso é essencial. Viseu tem a ganhar com o Musidanças, mas se calhar o Musidanças também ganhe com Viseu; talvez a aderência das pessoas seja diferente da aderência em Lisboa (interview 19).

Like GiraSol singer Rute Mar, Diana Leitão Azevedo mentions still existing pejorative sentiments regarding traditional music and dance, which suggest that not all dictatorial and colonial wounds have healed. New performances, she reasons, can help to overcome these biased perceptions:

Acho que são necessários estes festivais pelo país inteiro, tanto em pequenas cidades e aldeias como em grandes cidades, porque ainda não é muito conhecida, esta realidade das danças e da música tradicional que pessoas em Portugal associam aos ranchos folclóricos, quem têm um sentido muito pejorativo, o que tem a ver com a altura do Salazar. [Por
Like some of the interviewed musicians, Carlos Sousa, at his stand, makes a plea for safeguarding what is left of this Portuguese cultural heritage:

[Musidanças] é necessário para cultivar a música tradicional que muitas vezes perdeu-se, aquela que era antigamente tocada nos bailes - as concertinas, os ranchos, tocada por ferrinhos, tambores, por haver os paus cavalo com os degraus a fazer som. Tudo isso é enriquecedor porque não nos deixa perder a nossa própria cultura, a nossa própria maneira de ser, aquilo que hoje em dia só se liga ao pop ou a espectacular ou a tudo o que é imediato, e esquece-se daquilo que é as nossas próprias tradições. Festivais como Musidanças trazem-nos as nossas tradições, tanto do nosso país como de outros países, o que é muito bom (interview 19).

The quest for intercultural education is also highlighted by Paula Soares of Expovis:

[O] objectivo é dar a conhecer às pessoas outras formas culturais que até então não conheciam. Acho que o Musidanças foi uma grande surpresa para o público, as pessoas não estavam a contar com isso, mas acho que é importante ter estas manifestações interculturais. Do meu ponto de vista, acho que é isto que nos ajuda a ter cada vez mais respeito por todas as pessoas, sejam elas quais forem (interview 22).

The co-organizer Nuno Correia relates a similar surprise effect when he recently attended a concert of the extraverted musician André Cabaço in Viseu. He was initially invited to participate in Musidanças 2013 edition, but he had no agenda for that.

Eu tive esse exemplo no último sábado aqui em Viseu, com um músico que poderia ter vindo aqui ao Musidanças esse ano, mas não pôde; nós trouxemo-lo a tocar em outro evento, chama-se André Cabaço. Foi a primeira vez que o ouvi tocar e cantar e fiquei parvo a olhar pro homem! Porque está tudo ali: alegria, abertura no palco, aquilo que se transmite, aquela sensação é fantástica! Na grande maioria dos festivais onde vamos não temos essa mesma sensação! (interview 20).

According to Carlos Sousa, the multidimensionality of sounds, people, and attitudes brought by Musidanças means cultural enrichment for the Portuguese population.

Musidanças é o conceito de trazer a raiz da cultura antiga, de se poder tocar e dançar livremente, das pessoas não ficarem presas a um só tipo de som, porque o Musidanças é uma pluridimensionalidade de sons, de pessoas, de atitudes, e isso acho que vai trazer enriquecimento cultural às pessoas que vêm, que se percebem, que estão no próprio país (interview 19).

In terms of support to make these events happen, the audience member and performer Diana Leitão Azevedo argues that smaller municipalities give easier access to logistics and financial aid, while the process is notably more complicated in the bigger cities:

Da experiência que tive, funciona melhor com câmaras de cidades mais pequenas, porque a logística torna-se mais fácil, tem um contacto directo com as pessoas que tratam disso, se formos tentar organizar um festival no Grande Porto ou na Grande Lisboa, é muito mais complicado. Primeiro, os financiamentos são quase nulos, e depois a logística passa por muitas burocracias. Há muito pouco financiamento para este tipo de actividades (interview 15).

Like musician Hugo Osga, Diana defends that the mentalities need to change to better represent traditional or alternative musics in Portugal:

Finalmente está a começar a haver interesse e financiamento nesta área, mas se assim for continuar, é muito pouco comparativamente com os grupos que se vê - que a mim não agradam mas que a maioria das pessoas portuguesas gostam de ver - que é a chamada música pimba, ou mesmo algum tipo de música rock que a mim, não me diz nada. Portugal tem que mudar muito nisso (interview 15).

Nuno Correia wishes that Musidanças may continue to exist, to represent alternative and traditional music projects, improve professional conditions for musicians and fidelize intercultural audiences:

[Desejo] que ele não acabe, que consiga melhorar muito, que consiga melhorar a vida de muito artista lusófono e que consiga lançar muitos projectos novos. Se continuarmos a fazer destas coisas - formar públicos e permitir que novos projectos surjam, e que os antigos sejam respeitados e colocados no patamar certo - eu acho que o Musidanças fez o trabalho que lhe foi confiado (interview 20).

For Carlos Sousa, Musidanças’ continuity can only gain with a rotativity of locations throughout Portugal and more than just once a year:

Há um pequeno problema, se calhar no nosso país, que é: fazem-se festivais em Junho, Julho, Agosto, Setembro ... e depois é só em pequenas salas, e acho que deveria haver mais interação, tanto do festival como também das próprias pessoas. Deveria haver mais ligações, mais aproveitamento desse trabalho porque é isso que enriquece. Não é ver só um [festival]. Tem que haver mais, contínuo, com mais força, com mais bandas, não só em uma cidade mas começar a espalhar pelo país inteiro, para ter novas visibilidades (interview 19).
From the answers of the interviewed audience members, the idea emerges that there are critical participants that are eager to defend cultural corrections where needed. Expecting a mix of tradition, involvement and novelty, they state that cultural enrichment can only be reached through continuity and should not be limited to big metropolitan areas. In this sense, they explicitly value Musidanças’ pluridimensionality.

3.3.3.3. Conceptual understandings

As I did with the interviewed musicians, I asked the audience members to comment the ideological concepts *lusofonia*, *mestiçagem* and *interculturalidade*, and to eventually choose the most fitting terms vis-à-vis Musidanças.

Ana Raquel Marques selects *interculturalidade* as a synonym of music fusion:

[Escolho] interculturalidade, porque há uma fusão muito grande de cultura, não só em termos de danças mas também em termos de pessoas. Há várias culturas que se unem a estes festivais para dançar também vários tipos de danças de várias culturas, de vários países, é muito interessante (interview 12).

Her friend Diana Leitão Azevedo reasons identically:

[Escolho] interculturalidade. Porque os grupos que vêm cá representam vários tipos de culturas, não é só a música tradicional europeia mas também, do que eu vi no cartaz, música africana, música que tem influências indianas, portanto há várias culturas representadas aqui em um só festival (interview 15).

And Carlos Sousa classifies *lusofonia* as fusion that works beyond music categories and claimed origins:

Para mim o principal será a lusofonia porque traz não só a cultura portuguesa mas muito mais, numa banda muitas vezes não se canta só um idioma, canta-se mais um ou dois ou três idiomas, trazem-se mais do que uma cultura só em um grupo. E isso é espetacular. Não é só rock, metal ou rap (interview 19).

These results match with the ones given in the musicians’ answers, which consider *lusofonia* as necessarily intercultural and apt to fusions, useful for the promotion of lusophone musics as an important component of Portuguese culture.
3.4. Concluding remarks

This chapter represents the core presentation of the information of my PhD dissertation. Having contextualized the linguistic notion of *lusofonia* and the lusophone soundscapes of Lisbon in the first and second chapters respectively, in this third chapter I have discussed the governance, the discourse and the performance of the chosen object of analysis – the festival Musidanças. For that, and because its organizer Firmino Pascoal identifies so intrinsically with it, I have used the methodological tool of the subject-centered musical ethnography (Rice 2003, Turino 2008 and Guilbault & Cape 2014). Thus, I represent Musidanças as a collective music project that embodies the actions, utterances and musics proposed by one person. My results suggest that Firmino Pascoal’s conceptual world incarnates the new mission of an inclusive, traditional and modern, local and global, possible and creolized *lusofonia*, proposed and painfully experienced through this festival Musidanças.

The specific aspects of Pascoal’s governance of musical *lusofonia* – presented in subchapter 3.1. through his life story, musical career, and areas of cultural entrepreneurship, such as music events, record labels, cultural associations, and some selected internet venues – showed that obstacles and privacies have led to action. The occurrences and provenances of acts, as well as the selected concepts and music categories constitute both the fluidity and the strength of the exercised musical *lusofonia*. The linkage between these practices and issues of entrepreneurship steps, citizenship worries and categorization uses was tried by myself to understand the interests of this particular festival.

First, I looked for examples of governance in the biography and musical career of Firmino Pascoal; his activities through his record label, cultural association, blogs and social networks; and the occurrences, claimed provenances and music categories in the festival programming. My research results show how the idea to create Musidanças arose from the practical difficulties that Pascoal experienced in fidelizing an audience for his personal music career in Portugal. Given a personal interest in ethnology, nurtured by the popularity of zouk in African discotheques in Lisbon and the emerging world music market, Pascoal contends that he felt a social need for having this type of ethnic music festival for both residents and newcomers from the former African colonies in Portugal. With it, Pascoal sought to reconcile diluted African provenances
with European, cosmopolitan experiences of music and citizenship, in Lisbon and elsewhere.

Pascoal’s governance of *lusofonia* in Musidanças exemplifies how musical practices are constitutive of subjectivities that are positioned in relations of power (Guilbault 2007: 6). The genesis of the musician and his festival are interrelated, as Musidanças can be seen as a metaphor for Pascoal’s understanding of the society he faces. Refuting understandings of *lusofonia* as a binary type of multicultural, and not intercultural, discourse, based on the logic of ‘us and them’ (Morier-Genoud and Cahen 2013: 22), Pascoal instead promotes *lusofonia* as a “potential creation of complicity” in an “open network of interconnections” (Pina-Cabral 2010: 6). The concept of *lusofonia*, politically in vogue at the moment of Musidanças’ inception, was appropriated by Pascoal to both represent and market fusions of traditional and modern musics. In addition to his role as intercultural educator, Pascoal also wanted to introduce a change in how lusophone musicians are promoted. According to Pascoal, musicians from lusophone countries did not get the same treatment or acceptance as their Portuguese colleagues by promoters, record labels, media and government institutions. For this reason, Pascoal argues that there is a lack of disclosure points of knowledge on what is musically available in Lisbon. Through his record label Zoomúsica, which produced Musidanças, Noites Mestiças and Feira do Fado and managed a number of related musicians; the cultural associations BAZA and Jungleplanet; and also through publication strategies on blogs, social networks and publicity, Musidanças has largely auto-promoted itself online. To this end, Pascoal has especially relied on self-constructed websites, social networks and blogs. Pascoal’s online administrating of performativity and civil commitment has gradually constituted networks of musicians and audiences, thus strengthening entrepreneurship between economic, political, cultural and social areas in a net of references of his own, understood by Guilbault as a “field of social management” (2007: 4-5). The music community (Shelemay 2011: 364), thus in process, emerges from Pascoal’s festival programming as well as from the way in which he categorizes these acts. Between 2001 and 2015, a total of 200 musicians or bands performed in Musidanças, Noites Mestiças and Feira do Fado. Many of these are first- or second-generation migrants with claimed provenances in Portuguese-speaking countries that reside in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. In my view, their repeated appearance gives symbolic support and promotes the festival’s objectives. Data suggests
that Pascoal’s programming compensates the large Portuguese input by repeated performances of lusophone migrant musicians of African provenances.

Unsurprisingly, music categories are intensely and fluidly used to describe both the events themselves and the musicians or bands that partake in them. As it shows, Pascoal largely perceives *lusofonia* as world music in Portugal, englobing various music categories, understood as genres and labels, and alternative terms for musical mixtures. Frequent categories such as tradicional, world music and étnico, besides fusão and afro are inherently socio-political instruments (Gelbart 2007: 4-5) that claim identity recognition, social status and national belonging (Guilbault 1997: np, Sparling 2008: 417-8). The emic category *lusofonia* goes beyond musical values and practices, and also negotiates nationalist ideologies, ethnic identities, economic situations, music industries, as well as historical connections (Guilbault 1997, Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 6, Castelo-Branco 2008.). Firmino Pascoal offers his own “gramática do tempo” for a new politics of culture (Santos 2006), using Musidanças and its spin offs to create conditions for intercultural reconstruction of human rights in a postcolonial context. In other words, Pascoal’s intercultural, emancipatory and participatory cosmopolitanism aims to change Portugal’s cultural canon or at least expand its recognition of difference and equality.

The discursive aspects of Pascoal’s actions were presented in subchapter 3.2. through a comparative analysis of written sources (manifesto, poem, blog posts), spoken sources (interviews) and sung lyrics by musicians that directly relate to Musidanças or that have otherwise been considered for approaching *lusofonia*. I have then applied strategies of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to uncover eventual cultural inequalities, biases and ideologies (Cortez 2014: 13-14). In particular, I have used the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) to grasp text-internal, intertextual and interdiscursive, sociopolitical and historical contexts. Within this framework, I have applied analytical concepts such as these of genre and register (Eggins and Martin 1997) as well as those of rhetorical appeals, argumentative definitions and tropes (Ilie 2004: 52) to analyze one manifesto and one poem, to build my argument comparatively with blog posts and publicity.

My research results on the discourse of written sources suggest that the manifesto *Lusofonia, mestiçagem, som luso e mistura do ser humano* specifically addresses the festival’s objectives, identifying its surrounding community, legitimating
Pascoal’s defense of *lusofonia* as mixture. In it, lusophone cultural identities are equationally related to racial and cultural intermixture processes (*mestiçagem*), personified in the author’s *mestiço* figure. Pascoal evokes a countermovement of cultural flows of the overseas territories that have dialogically influenced Portuguese culture, up to the present. The manifesto is simultaneously inclusive and interventionist in its use of rhetorical appeals, debating popular opinions that have critiqued mixture, and representing fusion processes as central in human, interpersonal, cultural and political interpretations of colonialism and postcolonialism. The balance between collaboration and propaganda also emerges from the analyzed poem *Monólogo luso*, which uses both historical references and points to the importance of intercultural education to transcend postcolonial pessimism and stimulate reconciliation. Finally, my analysis of Pascoal’s blogs and sites stress his plea for the need for intercultural education in a lusophone perspective to interpret music industry production and reception. A new mentality is needed to understand the quality and merit of lusophone musics in Portugal, which have not yet consolidated in loyal publics. Pascoal utilizes the rhetorical strategy of converting all this hardship into something worthwhile and positive, by portraying Musidanças as a big, established movement with a recognized history and reception by musicians and publics, and a guiding role for music innovation in Portugal. Negatively however, Pascoal unveils personal perceptions of societal bias, identity fragilization and artistic marginalization through wording such as “dignidade” and “luta” to relate difficulties of implementation and reception.

With regard to discursive details in spoken sources, the contrasting valorization of *lusofonia* by the late Raúl Indipwo (A) of Duo Ouro Negro indicates Firmino Pascoal’s position: Pascoal understands musical *lusofonia* as a broad, open concept that transcends mere language speech as it conveys sounds and emotions. According to Pascoal, Portugal’s hybrid music history legitimates creole views of *lusofonia* in the 21st century, and musical mixture is a means *par excellence* to discover diversity within Portugal. The instrumentalization of this inclusive *lusofonia* allows Pascoal to explore cultural mixture within the Portuguese-speaking world, always keeping in mind that history created intercultural niches (Khan 2008) that continue into the present. In this respect, Pascoal argues that fado can build bridges with other lusophone musics because of its hybridity. He characterizes the necessity of raising intercultural music awareness by an alleged knowledge lack of the Portuguese public vis-à-vis locally available musics. Pascoal relates how both mainstream music barriers and limited circles of
recurrent musical protagonists render the promotion of alternative or African musics difficult. In addition, an effective marketing strategy for publicity has not yet been found within the festival organization. An interventionist music movement that is representative for the diversity of the lusophone space, not necessarily restricted to Lisbon or Portugal, is in the making, however.

Finally, with hindsight to song lyrics analysis, research results reveal that most voice is given to migrant singer-songwriters from lusophone countries that reside in Portugal. In this respect, the record Musidanças ‘06. Músicas do Mundo Lusófono features songs that are grouped thematically and discursively. My approach lays bare that, while some of them present metaphorical renderings of life, love or the host city, others deal mostly with sad emotions, integration problems and difficulties in the life stories of first or second-generation migrants. In addition, conflicting feelings of belonging between home and host countries; visibility issues in social, racial and cultural terms; and postcolonial metaphors of access are vented. In general, the lyrical content of these songs exposes problems of representation experienced through the politics of participation in social life. The record Musidanças ‘06 relates songs dealing with notions of lusofonia, interculturalism and mixture. The confusing pride of a self-declared cosmopolitan “lusitano bantu” exemplifies the ambivalent feelings that come with being a black Lisbonner in Mussulo. Historical references to suggesting that intercultural niches were created throughout centuries in the lusophone world, justifying present interpretations lusofonia as linguistic, cultural and racial flows in a context of reconciliation, affect and collaboration, appear in Um brinde à amizade. Collaborative and propaganda efforts in the defense of a nova lusofonia are called upon in Versos que atravessam o Atlântico. Musically, the mix between fado and Portugal, on the one hand, and hip hop and African diaspora, on the other, suggests that music is an art that connects distant people through a common language. In the same song lyrics, the unison refrain suggests a new beginning, in contrast to the depreciative dichotomies inherited from lusotropicalism, especially for African migrants in Portugal. Musical lusofonia is, in the end, a type of cultural justice in a new Portugal that would be open to the challenges of equality. The plea for musical citizenship here made is also taken up in Martinho da Vila’s song Lusofonia, in which there is the hope that music and poetry may reconcile the wounds of the colonial past, inclusively establishing interpersonal and intercultural understandings.
In short, Musidanças uses the trope of change in its plea for new societal valorizations and understandings (Ilie 2004: 52). Particularly regarding the lusophone context, Musidanças wants to deconstruct colonial myths and memories through the promotion of linguistic affinities, music, cultural creation and diversity. This is achieved through song texts that illustrate “an exploration of difference, as in dialogue, in the richest sense of the term” (Moloi and Bojabotseha 2014: 420). In this sense, one can understand Musidanças’ discourse as a counter-narrative that makes use of intertextuality and interdiscursivity to negotiate biased stereotypes (Leite 2014).

Last but not least, in subchapter 3.3. I have presented the results of my ethnography of musical performance of Musidanças’ special edition at the centennial Feira de São Mateus in Viseu, in the center-north of Portugal, through which I have observed a decade and a half of existence of the festival. I have explored aspects of performance as understood by the organizing bodies, the participating musicians and the attending audiences in both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. To find out where, how and what for Musidanças’ organizers structured their events, I have observed tendencies and practices regarding the places where the festival and its spin offs took place over time, as well as the marketing slogans and special events that were put into play as outreach strategies. I have specifically focused on the Feira de São Mateus as an historical place of festa and popular gatherings in a specific location in Portugal, different from Musidanças’ earlier editions.

Research outcomes suggest that Firmino Pascoal and his recent co-organizer Nuno Correia have selected diverse places, mainly in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, to reach out to larger cultural agents in the field as well to geographically diffuse publics. In our interviews, Pascoal has clarified that the choice of location often depended on funding, which he argues has been the festival’s weak spot. In fact, Pascoal admits organizational limitations - in terms of promotion, production, and revenue - in making Musidanças happen in the city of Lisbon. This limited reception seems awkward in a context in which several other institutions, associations and individuals that are based in Lisbon have increasingly built upon the idea of a musical lusofonia. To break these boundaries, Pascoal has used diverse marketing slogans to appeal to local audiences: while in the first years, these slogans made a distinction between Portuguese musics and lusophone - African - musics, this division was gradually undone as Pascoal launched the idea of community through the slogan “Festival das Comunidades Lusófonas” and
semiotically linked emic notions of “musica lusófona” and “música do mundo lusófono” to lusofonia. Musidanças tenth anniversary edition was represented as a turning point in recognition for Pascoal’s hard work and persistence in rewriting Lisbon’s transnational music history from the margins. This idea of accomplishment was further nurtured during Musidanças’ editions in Viseu and São Pedro do Sul, where the festival was announced as “parte do roteiro cultural da cidade de Lisboa”\textsuperscript{643}. In addition, as is suggested by the song lyrics of Um Brinde à Amizade, family relations and friends represent a metaphor for the affective appropriation of the Portuguese capital as an important, but not exclusive, interface for lusofonia.

In order to better understand by whom the festival is performed, I then interpreted data regarding the participating musicians in the 2013 Musidanças edition. From their answers to my questions regarding music trajectory and expectations, I learnt that some of them had already performed earlier at Musidanças, or appreciated their first participation to various extents. In addition, I also collected their opinion on cultural policy and heritage issues, and conceptual understandings on terms such as lusofonia, interculturalism and fusion. I then linked these practical understandings to notions of musical performance, participation in social life, and cultural metaphors.

In general, the Viseu research outcomes point to a largely autochtone Portuguese billboard with a focus on traditional musics and dances, standing in relative contrast to the prominent role of resident musicians of lusophone Africa in many of Musidanças’ preceding editions. All interviewed musicians in Viseu agree that the move there may have helped Musidanças to get the necessary, they argue, acclaim beyond the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. In fact, Karrossel and Recanto band member Hugo Osga, which played twice in this edition, argues that a decentralization of festivals from the Portugal’s two big cities is fundamental to increase offer for the rest of the country. Although he reasons that there is a potential market for this kind of events, Osga condemns Portugal’s cultural policies regarding traditional musics, and contends that commercial approaches to music have negatively impacted the general public’s curiosity. As Firmino Pascoal has also referred elsewhere, there are differences in intercultural education outside Portugal that stand out in similar events abroad. This makes Musidanças into a necessary pièce de resistance showcase of alternative musical options, struggling and risking to change mentalities and to reach out to new publics.

\textsuperscript{643} Retrieved from http://festivalmusidancas.blogspot.pt
Talking about his musical project Lindu Mona, Pascoal finds that, strangely enough, a number of municipalities in Portugal have invested in attracting audiences for performances such as Lindu Mona’s, while in Lisbon his band had much less success, negatively impacting the bands financial and logistical conditions. Musidanças was created as an alternative for musicians like himself, he says.

In their recorded answers, many of the participating musicians state that certain stigmas regarding folkloric aspects, related to dictatorial times, still turn the public acceptance of their musics ambivalent. As music performance blurs categories such as traditional and world music, Nuno Patrício and Rossana Ribeiro, Nação Vira Lata’s singer/percussionist and manager, respectively, argue that the promotion of different musics and cultures to Portuguese audiences is very important. Complementary to this perspective, gaiteira Jacinthe Azevedo of the collective Giraflores underlines Musidanças’ national potential through what she refers to as rare focus on lusophone musics, while also recognizing the festival’s importance as a builder of bridges between Portugal and lusophone (music) communities elsewhere. Conceptually, most interviewed musicians prefer both lusofonia and interculturalidade to denote how other cultures influenced Portuguese musics historically, on the one hand, and how these intercultural mixtures and fusions enable Portugal to transcend its postcolonial and continental boundaries today, on the other.

Finally, I constructed my sample of answers for the interviewed audience members, of which some have a connection to performing musicians at Musidanças 2013. I learnt about their expectations and attendance levels with hindsight to other festive events in Portugal and abroad, their ideas regarding cultural policy and heritage, and their understanding of my proposed concepts. This information is very much compatible with the one recollected on stage. In terms of attendance, testimonies point to a public of younger people that actively frequents a range of traditional musics and dance festivals that are mainly organized in Portugal during the summer time. Similar to the musicians’s interventions, interviewees point at the reconciling role that traditional music and dance can play regarding persisting pejorative sentiments vis-à-vis Portuguese culture, on the one hand, and the need of safeguarding what is left of this heritage, on the other. They indicate that a change of mentalities is needed to valorize and represent this living musical heritage in Portugal and abroad. According to the contacted audience members, smaller Portuguese municipalities have generally given easier access to funding opportunities for alternative cultural promotion, while they
signal difficulties in obtaining similar logistic and financial aid from Portugal’s main cities. They furthermore point out their preference for a continued offer of intercultural festivals throughout the year, and not just during the summer, suggesting a rotativity of locations throughout the country, going beyond the main metropolitan areas. Finally, in conceptual terms, most audience members use the word interculturalidade as a synonym of music fusion, while others understand lusofonia as mixture that works beyond music categories and claimed origins. In sum, they advocate musical lusofonia as a promotional tool to better visualize mixture in Portuguese culture and society at large.
4. DECOLONIZING LANGUAGE-BASED ALLIANCES THROUGH MUSIC

As subaltern and postcolonial studies have shown most effectively, the study of margins can reveal a lot about the core (Morier-Genoud and Cahen 2013: 12).

How did the festival Musidanças construct its particular *lusofonia* interface within its governance, through the discourse and performance dimensions? This quest justifies the motivations for my study, which proceeded by trying to understand how the musical interactions around the festival Musidanças develop. How did its organizer administer, debate and perform *lusofonia* to engage in the racial, cultural and social debate in the postcolonial era in Portugal? Did Pascoal manage to ‘decolonize’ *lusofonia* through music? Are his strategies being successful in handling this notion’s ambivalence and making it challengingly sustainable?

Using Musidanças as a case study to observe the multiple intersections of transnational cultural flows in the context of the particular postcolonial city of Lisbon, in the preceding chapters I have noted selected perspectives of individual, associative and institutional entrepreneurs, trying to point out some relevant strategies they have developed to engage with, build upon and take benefit from the metaphor of *lusofonia*.

The ethnomusicological background chosen offers an interesting way to study the instrumental relation between this metaphor, music and aspects of the social life in which it operates. Preliminary research findings suggest that Musidanças is interventionist, as its organizer handles *lusofonia* as an access tool to discuss issues that matter to him. For and through him, *lusofonia* thus promotes social, cultural, racial, in a word civic participation. This is developed and eventually achieved through discursive propaganda on the one hand, and collaborative performance on the other.

Throughout my argumentation, I assume that *lusofonia* is an emic concept that suggests a political, interventive responsability envolving both natural genetic material, the mestiço, and cultural ingredients, (de)colonization and migrant condition. Understanding *lusofonia* as a construct-under-construction, the challenge consists in acknowledging hybridization processes that are translated in cultural practices, shaping identities and politics today.

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644 Idea taken from my presentation Música descolonizando *lusofonia*? Fórum dos doutorandos do Instituto de Etnomusicologia, FCSH-UNL, delivered on October 2, 2014.
Below, I discuss arguments on the music politics, rhetoric and performance of Musidanças. I hope that the results of my research may lead me to understand how the appropriation of concepts, and the expressive culture they label, foster intercultural flows in multicultural settings.

4.1. Governance democratizing *lusofonia*

In the pulverized space of postmodernity, space has not become irrelevant: it has been reterritorialized in a way that does not conform to the experience of space that characterized the era of high modernity. This forces us to reconceptualize fundamentally the politics of community, solidarity, identity, and cultural difference (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 19).

In the preceding chapters, I have approached the concept of *lusofonia* as a notion that promotes a transnational community imagining an identity linked to a multilocale space: the lusophone world. Particularly in subchapter 3.1., I have noted specific aspects of Firmino Pascoal’s governance of the *lusofonia* notion through his life story, musical career, and areas of cultural entrepreneurship around his festival Musidanças. My research results show how the idea to create Musidanças originally arose from the practical difficulties that Pascoal experienced in fidelizing an audience for his personal music career in Portugal. The genesis of the musician and his festival are interrelated, as Musidanças can be seen as a metaphor for Pascoal’s role as an intercultural educator, prescribing *lusofonia* as a disclosure interface vis-à-vis publics, markets and heritage issues in the intercultural society in which he lives. Pascoal’s field of social management veers a music community of cause-committed “alternative” musicians, either in social or racial perspectives, or both. As it shows, Pascoal largely posits *lusofonia* as a discovery metaphor for traditional and world music in Portugal, while also negotiating ethnicities and (trans)nationalisms. His emancipatory and participatory cosmopolitanism aims to change Portugal’s intercultural canon or at least expand its recognition of difference and equality.

Below, I further develop my arguments on how the social government of *lusofonia* in Musidanças may relate to a variety of other cultural expressions in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, entailing issues of nation, race, class and culture in both direct and indirect ways. Musidanças’ management point to a threefold claim: (1)
changing essentialist attitudes and mentalities; (2) critiquing cultural policies/industries; and (3) educating publics.

4.1.1. Changing biased mentalities

Since the 1990s, the Portuguese state has played an important role in promoting *lusofonia* and supporting organizations that put up events with musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon (*top-bottom*). At the same time, individual figures such as Firmino Pascoal of Musidanças have also developed lusophone events and spectacles (*bottom-up*). While the former have largely represented *lusofonia* as sameness, referring to Portugal’s influence in the world, the latter have framed it as difference, promoting mixture. Both modes of governing highlight questions of power and agency in their use of lusophone cultural manifestations, thus making *lusofonia*’s application ambivalent. I discuss each in further detail below.

The concept of *lusofonia* gained political force in the 1980s, when Portugal became a member of the European Economic Community. Though rarely made explicit, it was particularly appreciated by the governments of Cavaco Silva (November 6, 1985 -October 28, 1995) and António Guterres (October 28, 1995 – April 6, 2002) (Sousa 2000: 2, Freixo 2002: np). These governments attempted to disguise the continuing production of racial categories and hierarchies still based on color gradations by using Freyre's notion of lusotropicalism (ibid.). As Feldman-Bianco points out, this national reconfiguration implicitly portrayed Portugal as European - civilized and white, and not mixed (2001: 37). In other words, it attempted to construct homogeneity and conceal existing bonds between race and nation in the Portuguese European modern state. In this respect, Lança (2010: np) claims that this is where the Portuguese society’s basic problem resides: the difficult creation of references in a context of political discourses that extend hegemonic relations stemming from colonial times, on the one hand, and the disseminations of these discourse in the real multicultural world, on the other. Similarly, Almeida argues that much of the cultural encounter rhetoric, and its accompanying policies, obscures the fact that we continue to live in nation-states with a view of guests vs. hosts - we and Others - and that all attempts to create internal diversity are restrained to well-defined circles of groups, populations, territories and cultures (1998: 239). According to Margarida Calafate Ribeiro (2015), national
institutions usually promote Lisbon as a center of intercultural dialogue, while the city actually faces practical inclusion issues\(^{645}\).

The use of *lusofonia* as a category of sameness corresponds to what Baumann and Gingrich (2005: 25) have called the ‘encompassment strategy’: representing the Other as part of the same from a position of power\(^{646}\):

> Encompassing means an act of selfing by appropriating, perhaps one should say adopting or co-opting, selected kinds of otherness [...]. This grammar works on two levels only. The lower level of recognition recognizes difference, the higher level subsumes that which is difference under that which is universal. To put it somewhat polemically: “you may think that you differ from me in your sense of values or identity, but deep down or rather high up, you are a part from me (ibid.).

Baumann and Gingrich point out that encompassment is hierarchical, selective and exclusive, as putatively subordinate categories (such as PALOP) are “adopted, subsumed or co-opted into the selected identity and, as it were, owned by those who do the encompassing” (ibid.: 26, 38). As such, albeit not enshrining ideas of equality, encompassment may help to maintain “peaceful co-existence for long stretches of time” (ibid.: 40). Almeida (1998: 241) further dissects this duality as absolute disemia (Herzfeld 1997): depending on their interaction contexts, people may defend opposite discourses without feeling any contradiction. In the Portuguese case, one person may simultaneously be against nationalist rhetoric about the discoveries while proudly acknowledging the Portuguese as pioneers of globalization\(^{647}\). According to Almeida, this ambivalence originates in an institutional conservatism, an “espécie de receio que o poder tem de propor narrativas alternativas para a identidade nacional ao mesmo tempo que recusa a polifonia interpretativa” (ibid.).

To my understanding, such processes may have been part of political uses of lusophone expressive culture since Expo’98 (discussed in part 2.1.3.1., p. 96 ff.), which have made limited or no use of the lusophone potential of the Portuguese capital. The “encompassing” *lusofonia* perspective is eminently ideological and prolongs the non-representation of the resident Other. As Dias (2006: 37) argues, the concept of *lusofonia* works as a logical basis to interpret relations between Portugal and the ex-colonized


\(^{646}\) I am grateful to my colleague Livia Jimenez Sedano for this insight.

\(^{647}\) “Por exemplo, sermos capazes de dizer que somos contra qualquer retórica nacionalista sobre os descobrimentos e a expansão e, ao mesmo tempo sermos capazes de dizer ‘sim, mas nós fomos os pioneiros, nós fomos os primeiros a dar novos mundos ao mundo e temos orgulho nisso’” (ibid.).
countries in an ideological space that does not do justice to the underlying lusophone communities. *Lusofonia* works from a conservative view of the ex-colonized cultures, since it determines their difference and equality in relation to Portugal, and thus simplifies them into beings represented by linear discourses that conceal their actual existence and complexity (ibid.). As Barros shows:

À margem da retórica (política, jornalista, académica, etc.) celebradora e propagadora da ideia de comunidade lusófona, ficam sempre soterradas as contradições das realidades quotidianas e banais onde actuam e vincam as formas desiguais de representação identitária dos sujeitos falantes desta mesma comunidade (2011: np).

Because of the weakness of its application in subaltern margins, *lusofonia* lays bare a problem of social representation. In particular, the notion refers itself not to the structure of the problem but to its effect (Dias 2006: 38). Portugal, the main benefactor of this imaginary space, maintains its interest in the Portuguese diaspora and Portuguese communities abroad, but has no real interest in integrating Africans (Lança 2010: np). In this sense, Portugal’s humanist discourse of integrating nationalism may suggest values of racial tolerance and cultural and emotional harmony, while it actually endorses the weakness of public policies in numerous situations of inequality constraints, social and racial exclusion, and language issues (ibid.). Dias argues that discussions about the African diaspora in Portugal are established from positive or negative discursive poles that either incorporate this diaspora into what she calls the ‘integrating’ *lusofonia* discourse, or segregate it to the suburbs of Portuguese society, or even use both forms simultaneously, integrating and marginalizing at the same time (2006: 33-4). In a related way of thinking, Bäckström and Castro-Pereira contend that, while diversity is now more or less seen as an enrichment to society, it is often received as merely folklore (2012: 34).

The ideology of diversity inherited from the colonial period (then called miscegenation) persists as mentally and socially crystallized structural imaginaries, leaving racism and social exclusion largely untouched as structural problems in the Portuguese society (Maciel 2010: 207). Dias stresses that ‘Western’ institutions generally refuse to attribute complexity to expressive diaspora cultures, instead representing and controlling them with the notions of exotic, traditional or authentic (2006: 53, Vanspauwen 2012: 80). In addition, the ethnification of discourses has increased at the turn of the millennium, making it harder for immigrants to belong to this society (Eide 2010: 65-6).
The necessity follows to observe and re-interpret the past in a more problematizing and less celebratory manner, framing lusofonia as an opportunity to show difference. This implies undoing essentialist attitudes by contextualizing the stories and memories from which the different lusophone countries rewrite its colonial narratives and establish their postcolonial identity representations (Barros 2011: np). Specifically with regard to culture, it is essential to introduce a debate on the place of African and other non-western cultural expressions entailing contextual specificities, developing postcolonial identities, and relating culture to society (Dias 2006: 59-60). An intercultural approach should envision the postcolonial relations and artistic expressions between the lusophone diaspora and Portugal as dynamic reflections on polycentric postcolonialisms. This approach would include new categories that give access to intercultural negotiations and transracial sociability at work (Dias 2006: 39). An ethnography of experiences, ideas and world conceptions of people in their daily life can lay bare these new hybrid epistemologies (Fradique 2002: 67).

In Portugal and in Lisbon in particular, the last quarter of the 20th century saw a new reality of postcolonial migrants that considered themselves as ‘lusophone’ through national, linguistic and socio-cultural affinities. This scenario forced these locals to create frameworks for an open, plural and diversified society, complementary to a past, previous and uncritical one, subsumed to nationalist flags of maritime discoveries, the fifth visionary empire and other propaganda created by unilluminated though popular marxims. Maciel (2010: 206) points out that, even after five centuries of interaction, ethnic, cultural and religious diversity did not become visible in Portuguese society as a whole and its metropolitan populations in particular, on the one hand, while the absence of democratic or egalitarian traditions further reinforced the closed nature of this same society, on the other. It was under, or rather against, these firmly rooted mental structures that migrant residents from lusophone countries looked for ways of self-expression and integration. This was particularly so for associative entrepreneurs of lusophone expressive culture such as Monte Cara and B.Leza in the 1970s (and their musicians are still on the forefront today) as well as for the festival Musidanças, in which Africans and mestiços have strived for acceptance.

Through his written ideological communications, Musidanças’ organizer Firmino Pascoal discursively critiques the ways in which institutions have isolated expressions of difference by representing lusofonia as lusotropical effect of influence or sameness: “Bem sabemos que é a tentativa de integração de outras culturas na cultura
portuguesa mas nada que não seja o retorno de 500 anos de permanência de Portugal nessas países. Pascoal also points out that musicians from lusophone Africa have systematically been marginalized in terms of support and performance:

Os Artistas dos países lusofonos e portugueses têm lutado em Portugal com uma grande dificuldade de implantação no meio cultural português de forma a terem um tratamento e aceitação em condições iguais aos outros projetos de influência Anglo Saxonica e projetos que momentaneamente entram na moda (taken from a 2007 blog post).

To foster understandings of lusofonia as difference, Musidanças subverts the alleged essentialist practices and modes of representation that surround this notion and apply them to, using the image given by Eide, the promotion of its minority demands and liberation struggle (2010: 65). In other words, it frames the exclusive notion of lusofonia as an inclusive category, utilizing music as a vehicle to both decolonize minds and change society. This strategic subversion of lusofonia’s essentialism (ibid.: 76) aims to rewrite the boundaries of heritage, but paradoxically keeps Musidanças in an underdog position: while being highly differentiated internally, the festival unwantedly stereotypes its public image, simplifying its complexity for, or rather, being simplified by the very instances it addresses, as well as limiting media reception and social recognition. The complexity as dramatic load of the phenomenon is great indeed.

In contrast to Musidanças’ strategic essentialism, the ethnographic context sketched in the chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis actually unveils construction attempts for a lusophone transnational community, stripped of colonial asymmetric dimensions in favor of the Portuguese language as an inclusive metaphor of belonging (Maciel 2010: 235-6, citing Marques et al. 2005). The ways in which grassroots movements, such as Musidanças, govern musics appears as a fluid way of giving visibility to lusophone expressive cultures. Similar to other cultural agents touched upon in part 2.2. (p. 115 ff.), Musidanças approaches cultural memory as a contested field of representations of what is memorable and should not be forgotten (Cunha 2003: 86).

In sum, Firmino Pascoal defines lusofonia geographically not as distant sameness, but as present otherness. His construction of lusophone otherness in Musidanças calls attention to racial, social and cultural mixture.

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648 Available at http://festivalmusidanças.blogs.sapo.pt/2007/09
649 Available at http://festivalmusidanças.blogs.sapo.pt/2007/09
4.1.2. Critiquing cultural policies

Until the mid-1990s, the announced cultural production and dissemination involving migrants in Lisbon largely confined itself to the spheres of action and influence of communities and groups of people with origins in lusophone Africa (I briefly mentioned some cases in part 2.1.2., p. 86 ff.). In the mid-1990s, under the Portuguese government, media institutions such as RDP África and RTP África were founded, the world exhibition Expo’98 was organized, and Portugal joined the CPLP. These institutional bodies gave rise to various governmental, associative and individual events that varyingly used the music of resident lusophone individuals and groups to represent Portugal and its capital on the global stage. Simultaneously, these migrant communities also received recognition as dynamic and distinctive subcultures, rather than mere transplanted homeland fragments, leading to cultural rights and legal protection. This political mobilization in favor of lusophone migrants’ rights led cultural associations such as Casa do Brasil and other Portuguese-speaking African-immigrant associations to be invited to participate in the Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Minorities Consultative Council in Lisbon - ACIME, later to be called ACIDI650, now ACM651 (Feldman-Bianco 2001: 21-2). These agencies increasingly evoked the potential of the lusophone community in implicit or explicit ways. However, a lubricated lusophone migratory circuit does not yet exist: first, because of travel constraints for citizens from Brazil and the PALOP to the EU member Portugal; second, due to a strong affective charge that still causes mistrust in mutual relations; and third, as the result of negative attitudes towards migrants by segments of the Portuguese population (Maciel 2010: 228-9).

Based on my research results, I contend that Portuguese cultural policy institutions and industry have internalized these constraints, as they have categorized non-western musics in hegemonic ways without developing propaganda strategies for conscious and positive integration of non-Western cultural expressions (Dias 2006: 92). Fado’s boom in popularity after 2011, especially regarding tourism marketing, suggests that cultural promotors remain keen on affirming “essentialized notions of a bounded national culture” in detriment to “local migrant expressions”, displaying a “strong

650 Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural. Site http://www.acidi.gov.pt is now offline.
651 Alto Comissariado para as Migrações. Available at http://www.acm.gov.pt/inicio
aversion” of “creole or hybrid” definitions of Portuguese national culture (Sieber 2002, cited in Sanches 2004: 133-4). There has indeed been a noticeable difference in how Portugal has promoted its fadistas and pop-rock musicians on the (inter)national stage, on the one hand, and the musical representatives of Portugal’s former colonies, that are only featured in specific venues (such as B.Leza) or during punctual events (such as Musidanças), on the other. If national institutions constantly evoke the lusofonia rhetoric in order to receive global acclaim, why then are the musics of the lusophone residents not duly taken in account?

As pointed out above (in part 2.4, p. 155 ff.), Sieber addressed this “one-way street” dimension of Portuguese culture in his ethnography of Expo’98 (2002: 167). In the aftermath of this event, Sieber’s ethnography in Lisbon revealed out that Portuguese musics such fado, música popular portuguesa and pop-rock were understood as “strictly white” (ibid.: 171), concluding that “even though Portuguese culture is understood to have given rise to lusophone mixture elsewhere in the world, culture ‘at home’ is not defined as lusophone” (ibid.: 168). From his analysis, Sieber further destilled a structural, binary opposition between Portuguese and lusophone musics, despite their “internal diversity and the ostensible celebration of their fusion” (ibid.: 183). Furthermore, he noticed how lusophone musics were approached ethnically, “always defined as being Other, exotic, not from Portugal and not linked with immigrant communities that had brought the colonial periphery into the ostensible Center” (ibid.).

My ethnographic findings complement Sieber’s analysis in a number of ways. Against the signaled binary approach to race, culture and nation, Musidanças has designed an alternative model that proposes mixture on all this three levels. The festival’s governance model has a pragmatic dimension to accomplish this goal, as it deals with common issues such as music training, recording processes, record dissemination, web design and audio software. In a spirit of solidarity with its musicians, Musidanças promotes new or existing forms of musical expression that are not or less known to mainstream publics. This propaganda entails (1) introducing (racially, culturally, and socially) alternative musicians; (2) using country or genre indications as well as short bionotes to introduce performers to the general public; (3) organizing occasional thematic sessions (for example, one day per Portuguese-speaking country during Musidanças 2005); and (4) alternating locations between center and periphery of both Lisbon and Portugal.
To my understanding, Musidanças has expressly adopted the *lusofonia* metaphor to obtain greater access to Portugal’s social, cultural and artistic domains, on the one hand, and to forge a (trans)national legitimation for lusophone cultural memories with links to Portugal, on the other. Through its artistic assemblage of musicians that are technically skilled and take symbolic part in a musical community, Musidanças aims to reach new audiences and inspire other cultural entrepreneurs.

### 4.3.3. Educating publics

In 2010, UNESCO celebrated the International Year for the Rapprochement of Cultures, promoting “reciprocal knowledge of cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity” and “intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding through creativity and the arts” at regional, national and international levels (UNESCO 2010: 2; Marques *et al.* 2012: 9). In addition to UNESCO, there has been a growing number of international bodies that use expressive culture to build bridges between local and diasporic communities. Transnational organizations such as the World Culture Open; Womex, Womad, Roots and Routes\(^{652}\), as well as ethnomusicological associations such as ICTM and SEM, clearly evidence that intercultural competence is a core issue in the 21\(^{st}\) century (Marques *et al.* 2012: 9). Simultaneously, governments and universities have noticed the need to invest in intercultural education (Côrte-Real 2013: 8). In this respect, music can also unveil capricious characteristics of relational processes between citizens and the constitutional civilities under which they live (ibid.).

Though some efforts have been made, such as in publications (e.g. ACM’s Observatório de Migração\(^{653}\) and training (e.g. NOVA’s MA Migrações, Inter-Etnicidades e Transnacionalismo\(^{654}\)), academic research in Portugal has paid rather limited attention to the effects of migration and strategies of conviviality between different expressive cultures in postcolonial Portugal. Bäckström and Castro-Pereira (2012: 95) argue that there are almost no studies on the cohabitation and contact points between members of different cultures in the country. Already in 2006, Costa Dias stressed the importance of animating a debate on the place of African and other non-

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\(^{652}\) Available at http://www.rootsnroutes.eu

\(^{653}\) Available at http://www.om.acm.gov.pt

\(^{654}\) Available at http://fcsh.unl.pt/ensino/mestrados/migracoes-inter-eticidades-e-transnacionalismo
western art forms in Portugal, as well as on the specificity of their contexts and the development of postcolonial identities (Dias 2006: 59-60). This discussion would foresee multiple belongings and symbolic affiliations of people with respect to their socio-political community (Albuquerque 2008: 95). Given the current specific migratory waves of refugees from economic hardship and war in multiple locations, e.g. Syria and a number of sub-Saharan African countries, to Europe, the necessity of promoting inclusive representational politics and practices has come to play an even bigger role in social debates.

Intercultural festivals may have a role to play, as they can educate publics by their intrinsic promotion of cultural interaction and representation of intangible cultural heritage in a postcolonial perspective. In line with the findings of the study *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere* (Delanty et al. 2011), I contend that Musidanças has effectively functioned as a gateway for the appropriation of alternative or non-western musical and social environments, thereby creating new opportunities for disadvantaged musicians to share, experiment, promote and revitalize their social, racial and cultural legacies. Through its music governance, as seen in discourse and vehiculated in performance, the festival has negotiated cultural policies in a (trans)national perspective, critiquing dichotomous spatial boundaries and promoting what Madrid (2009) and Radano & Bohlman (2000) call expanding modes of identity celebration.

From the understanding that Musidanças constitutes an interface between culture producers and consumers, the festival explicitly positions itself as a show- and testcase for a new, inclusive version of *lusofonia*, as it aims to shed more light on the musics of the lusophone communities that evolve in Portugal and worldwide. Self-defining itself as a movement in favor of musical *lusofonia*, the festival attempts to legitimize the factual presence and historical contribution of its performers so that other agents and audiences may become familiar with their work. To this end, Musidanças addresses itself to a ‘genuine lusophone community’ that represents cultural, social and ethnic mixture. An alternative operational reading of interculturalism as ‘positive ethnization’ that stimulates anti-essential narratives, as proposed by Cármen Maciel (2010: 232), is particularly welcome.

My ethnographic findings are congruent with the analysis of lusophone musics carried out for my MA, suggesting that Portugal has a civic duty to tell the story of its former colonies of which it hosts significant populations. It is important to acknowledge the difference of resident musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries, so that new
national narratives for nation-building in Portugal, which stimulate positive ethnicization processes, can flourish. While official events celebrating interculturality have occasionally used lusophone musicians to celebrate moments of intercultural contact (such as Expo‘98; the celebration as the fifth centenary of the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil in 2000; the two hundred years of the establishment of the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro in 2008; ten years of CPLP in 2010, or the fortieth anniversary of the Portuguese revolution in 2014), they have largely acknowledged lusophone sameness instead of difference. It would thus be desirable to reconnect the political and economical stimulation of deep historical and cultural ties in a lusophone perspective back to the mixed lusophone communities and populations that initially served as the basis for political ideals (Freixo 2010: np).

The course of my ethnography, curiously enough, coincided with a time in which the same Portuguese governmental institutions, voluntary associations and individual entrepreneurs have gradually increased their attention for intercultural readings of lusofonia. This awareness has stimulated an inclusive musical discovery of postcolonial Portugal, particularly by taking into account the fluxes of human mobility that happened to influence the country’s monocultural tendency into a multicultural context after 1974. This aperture happens however with a significant delay after decisive events such as the creation of the CPLP and RTP/RDP África as well as Expo‘98 and the Musidanças inaugural edition in 2001, only coming into a close to full bloom from 2008, declared by the EU as International Year of Intercultural Dialogue. This was the year in which I started my ethnographic studies for this subject.

Given that a lusophone communitary context in Lisbon exists factually/quantitatively through various ‘microcommunities’ (thus defined by Maciel 2010) with transnational links to migrant/diaspora populations, lusofonia is a workable notion for the city’s intercultural field. Here, the concept is instantiated inter-subjectively/qualitatively – as linked to “people with similar modes of identification that reflexively assume its presence” (Klimt and Lubkeman 2002: 148). Furthermore, being Lisbon the political center of Portugal, it is the most culturally dynamic place in the country and the most powerful in terms of (trans)national

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655 See in this respect the AMC’s Observatório das Migrações, available at http://www.om.acm.gov.pt
656 According to Susana Sardo (2015), lusofonia refers a geographical-political mapping that was superimposed on an (existing) emotional cartography of cultures and conciliation. II Fórum INET-md, INET-md 20 anos. Lusofonia e cultura expressiva, as coordinator of the session “Lusofonia em Perspectiva”. 21 October 2015, FCSH/NOVA.
institutions that have the power to intervene or put alternative approaches together (Cortez 2014: 11-12). Hence, the city of Lisbon and its adjacent municipalities are in a unique position to address and promote matters of cultural sustainability and citizenship in a postcolonial, urban environment, since it is here that diasporas collide. However, critical scholars such as Morier-Genoud and Cahen (2013: 22) rightly alert to the fact that many of these institution “seem to be blind to how diasporas not only contributed to empire but were also sometimes made into Lusophone elements.” Their recognition should thus be implemented in a sustained manner, thus gradually changing Portuguese perceptions and industries.

Many representatives of lusophone expressive culture in Lisbon are aware of their role vis-à-vis institutional educational action, as my study revealed to me. In fact, the basic tools to strengthen the _lusofonia_ bubble that I am referring to, using the image proposed by Livia Apa/Marta Lança (2010), as well as to ensure its vitality, are citizenship and civil respect (Pereira 2011: 410), or in a word: civility. Civility contains in this sense the promise to foster entrepreneurship that warrants intercultural dialogue in a postcolonial society in which the former periphery of the colonial domination has become a central part. Lusophone politics have an important top-bottom role to construct. In this respect, I stress Pereira’s vision:

> A diplomacia lusófona tem de abrir as suas portas ao diálogo intercultural e não, tão somente, às parcerias político-estratégicas. Os representantes legais dos países da CPLP têm o dever de promover iniciativas que visem abordar a reconstrução do espaço cultural e identitário lusófono, cabendo recuperar atavismos culturais antigos e trazê-los para o presente como matéria de diplomacia. O ensino da formação cívica e intelectual [...] deve conter a troca de experiência e a promoção do diálogo intercultural (ibid.: 411).

Cultural policy makers would focus more on culture bearers than on their artifacts (musicians, not only musics) to do so. Put differently, safeguarding intangible cultural heritage implies studying processes and conditions rather than products, placing emphasis on living heritage that is performed by people in their living experience. As the International Social Science Council recommends, cultural legislators and planners

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657 For example, Lisbon is home to the Portuguese Coordination Cel for Cultural Heritage (Direção-Geral do Património Cultural), the Centro Nacional da Cultura, and foundations such as the proeminent Calouste Gulbenkian, and to initiatives that are related to the Lisbon Municipality (ACM, Africa.Cont, EGEAC, a.o.), and CPLP.

658 With Inês Costa Dias, I understand this notion as “the will to initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself” (2006: 29).

should be aware of it. Heritage groups and individual practitioners are not passive but active receivers of cultural actions, which make choices when negotiating options appear (2012: 16). Given that intangible cultural heritage is now a fashion, it must be understood as an arena of social and symbolic struggle with an intrinsic multidimensionality. More research is needed on this heritage construction understood as people’s ‘re-presentations’, ‘representation of themselves’ (ibid.: 12).

The recent institutional focus on the Portuguese music categories fado and cante alentejano, recognized by UNESCO in November 2011 and November 2014, respectively, as well as the symbolic support of the Almada Municipality (on Lisbon’s south bank) to Cape Verde’s morna candidature to UNESCO (in 2013), reminds me of Alex Cortez Pinto’s plea for safeguarding lusophone musics as part of Lisbon’s heritage, which may well illustrate a beginning of a process of cultural inclusion. In this sense, the “economic potential of fado,” thus designated by the former president of Portugal, Cavaco Silva, in January 2014 during his public commendation of fado musicians Ana Moura, Carminho, Kátia Guerreiro, Ricardo Ribeiro, Maria Pacheco with the Ordem Infante Dom Henrique distinction (after Mariza in 2005) would well be extended to lusophone musicians as well. Up till now, however, Portuguese governmental bodies have shown formal recognition for the contribution of lusophone musicians at a very limited number of occasions: Cesária Évora’s tribute in creole on Lisbon’s street billboards by the Lisbon Municipality at the time of her death in December 2012, or Bana’s career award by UCCLA in Coliseu dos Recreios in April 2012, one year before his death. Apart from these tributes, very few actions have named musicians of this Portuguese cultural segment.

In the case of Musidanças, my research outcomes reveal that the organization of the festival, its musicians and publics seek recognition of traditional music categories or fusions that organically relate to their place of origin. They thus challenge the conceptual frameworks often imposed on them by institutions, associations or individuals through festival descriptions. It is curious to see how the political concept of lusofonia finds effective resonance in the linguistic, social and cultural uses of the populations it addresses. In their strategies, rhetoric and music output, interviewees

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660 Telling in this comparative respect of genres is the debate ‘O Cante e a Morna – semelhanças e diferenças’, in May 2015, also in Almada. Available at http://www.concelhodoseixal.com/2015/05/26/o-cante-e-a-morna-semelhanzas-e-diferenças-em-debate-em-almada/#sthash.b3Kf3yTb.dpuf

661 Available at http://www.ionline.pt/artigos/mais/ana-moura-carminho-katia-guerreiro-ricardo-ribeiro-mario-pacheco-condecorados
indicate that they strongly believe in the potential of the notion of musical *lusofonia*, both regarding traditional and fusion musics. Coincidentally, some of Musidanças’ most frequent performers – such as Guto Pires or Tonecas – also featured in my MA research, already by then displayed similar arguments. This observed congruence strengthens my understanding of Musidanças, leading me to consider Firmino Pascoal’s wish as a reality: there is a music community that largely pursues common social, cultural and racial concerns that emerges around the notion of *lusofonia* in Musidanças and other festivals and venues in Lisbon and elsewhere. The core of the musicians involved in this community resides in Lisbon, from where they participate in related events abroad. This wish-come-true construction of Firmino Pascoal and others involves a gradual paradigm shift that represents the perspective of *lusofonia* from below that I am referring to.

4.2. Discourse recuperating lusophone memories

The margins are the place of the argument, the place for the critical moment, the place of interests for assertions rather than a shifting of the center (Spivak 1990: 197, cited by Maciel 2010: 355)

In the preceding chapters, I have analyzed the discursive utterances of institutional, associative or individual instances that use the notion of *lusofonia* through politically or economically oriented actions or in festive events with socio-cultural dimensions. I have particularly investigated into Musidanças’ written output in opinion texts, transcribed interviews, comments and in some song lyrics of its edited record. Here, I further develop my arguments on how Musidanças’ discourse may serve to strengthen the fluid *lusofonia* bubble, to use the image by Apa/Lança again. Specifically, my research outcomes suggest that the representation of musical *lusofonia* comes with a threefold discursive plea: (1) to rewrite colonial memories (the result of colonial rupture); (2) to unmask dichotomies (implemented by colonial propaganda); and (3) to promote hybridization (the consequence of colonial miscegenation).
4.2.1. Rewriting colonial memories

From my fieldwork and reflection, it emerges that the collective memories of Portugal’s colonial populations in Africa were largely left untouched after the fascist regime in Portugal came to an end (in 1974) and the former African colonies turned themselves into independent nation-states (Guinea-Bissau in 1974, and Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe in 1975). Times changed since the Portuguese colonization of Brazil (independent in 1822), in almost all conditions different from that of the African context. However, the image of lusotropicalism by Gilberto Freyre, built for the Brazilian case, was used as an apology for colonial actions in lusophone Africa by governmental institutions alike. With the return movement of Portuguese, African, and mestiço populations from the new countries to Portugal after 1974, a cultural implosion took place, as these resident migrant populations started to constitute a localized transnational community, culturally challenging nationalist configurations that the Portuguese governmental forces until then had built and proclaimed. This reconfiguration rendered the traumatic experience of undoing the colonial dream (for the Portuguese) and digesting centuries of western domination (for the Africans comers) even more complex.

An investigation into the discursive aspects of cultural representation draws attention to their productive interrelations (Clifford and Marcus 1986: 13), meaning that one should analyze these narratives as the result of situated interactions and social practices anchored in socio-historical, political and cultural relations (Hiramoto 2012). As Cabecinhas shows, collective memory is a set of social representations of the past, shared within a particular group in a given space and time, that allows its members to create social ties and share experiences (2014: 507-8, citing Licata et al. 2007). This processual and selective, i.e. partial, reconstruction of the past depends particularly on the social networks and affiliations of the individuals involved as well as their experiences and life trajectories. Therefore, different social groups tend to remember different facts, and face the same circumstance tend to construct different memories.

662 This is congruent with grassroots sources. In the words of an unnamed author at the Lisbon NGO SOS Racismo: “Com um passado colonialista e imperialista, Portugal tem evidentemente raízes profundas de preconceito e tem uma visão muito particular do seu passado. Teima em glorificar o período da ‘expansão’ e dos ‘Descobrimentos’, reproduz esta visão nos manuais escolares, sem que reconheça a verdadeira repercussão do colonialismo europeu no mundo e das relações de poder totalmente assimétricas entre o colonizador e o colonizado” (2015: 39).
I use the social representations model of Moscovici (1988: 221-2, cited by Cabecinhas et al. 2006: 2) to reflect upon lusophone memories and lusofonia. Moscovici distinguishes between three types of social representations, depending on their stage of development and their circulation within the society: hegemonic, emancipated and polemic representations. (1) Hegemonic representations can be shared by all members of a highly structured group such as a nation and implicitly prevail in its symbolic practices, seemingly uniform and coercive. This type of representations is congruent with my view of a lusofonia-as-from-above process, as Portuguese government institutions initially proposed, adopting the idea of lusotropicalism to approach lusophone migrant communities in Portugal. The CPLP has used related approaches, as well. (2) Emancipated representations involve the circulation of knowledge and ideas among subgroups, which all create their own versions and share them with other subgroups. In my view, Musidanças, Conexão Lusófona, Lisboa que Amanhece, Etnia and other collective agents discussed above, as well as academic nests of discussion, correspond to this category. In a way, these instances constitute Lisbon-based microcommunities, in tune with Maciel’s 2010 notion, in turn of lusophone musics and expressive culture. (3) Controversial or polemic representations or controversies are created in the course of a social conflict or struggle between groups, which is not shared by the society as a whole. In a sense, Musidanças’ low popularity or say lack of acceptance puts the festival in this category. Perhaps it is not because of its own actions, but because of Portuguese society’s resistance towards it. Indeed, ethnic nationalism in terms of historical and cultural references framed by the 20th century dictatorial regime remains strong in Portugal (Carvalho 1996): there still seems to be resistance to fusion readings of lusofonia, on the one hand, and a preference for ideas of lusotropicalism or portugalidade (Sousa 2014: 520), on the other (see the semantic diagram in annex 18). Musically speaking, this bias translates into conservatism regarding foreign or alternative musical tastes.

As Cabecinhas et al. point out (2006: 4, citing Moscovici 1998: 242), the social structure of society determines that not everyone has the same degree of freedom in the negotiation process of representations. The authors argue that, although social representations are dynamic, appropriations of all things new follow a deeply sociocentric logic of conservatism. In addition, they point out that individual memory cannot function without concepts, ideas, images and representations that are socially constructed and shared. That is, the memory of each individual is social in its content
(facts, personalities, etc.) and in its process (encoding, implying storage and retrieval). As stated by Liu and Hilton (2005), the theory of social representations is a fundamental tool for understanding how historical memories are built; how individuals and groups share them; and what their political and ideological ramifications are.

A discourse analysis of social representations and collective memory can map struggles over definitions of collective reality and provide new delineations of systemic relations that existing categorical distinctions obscure (Markin 2007, Conquergood et al. 2013). Social memory can be understood as a “campo de disputa, passando o controlo social e mesmo o exercício do poder, pela capacidade de definir o memorável e o que deve ser esquecido” (Cunha 2003: 86). Much like Rice’s time-place-metaphor’s diagrams (2003: 168), memory clearly is a social construct that represents cultural mappings that reflect the belongings and social identities of individuals as well as their personal trajectories (Liu and Hilton 2005). As such, the study of historical memory becomes analogous to the study of social representations of history (Cabecinhas et al. 2006: 7).

I contend that Portuguese historical representations have systematically silenced African independence movements, migration fluxes and postcolonial counternarratives (Martins 2011: np), as is shown by Madeira’s 2003 book Sons, Sentidos e Silêncios da Lusofonia. With Margarido (2000: 76) and Baptista (2006: 24), Cabecinhas argues that lusofonia was invented as a strategy of ‘active forgetting’ or ‘collective amnesia’ of some of the fundamental aspects of Portugal’s history vis-à-vis its former colonies, i.e., the violence that was exercised on African peoples that today speak Portuguese. Similarly, Dias contends that the Portuguese decolonization of the African colonies, as a historical and social process, has been forgotten amidst social changes and the democratic restructuring of Portugal (2006: 33). In Margarido’s words, “o discurso lusófilo actual limita-se a procurar dissimular, mas não a eliminar, os traços brutais [deste] passado” (2000: 76, in Cabecinhas 2014: 506-7). To this, Baptista adds that “a lusofonia sinaliza e encobre em Portugal o lugar do verdadeiramente ‘não-dito’, uma espécie de espaço fantasmático da nossa cultura, apesar de paradoxalmente tanto se utilizar este conceito” (2006: 24, ibid.). Similarly, Domingos and Peralta indicate the existence of successive narratives that are operated in Lisbon’s city space – from the Jeronimos Monastery to the Monument to the Discoveries and Expo‘98 – in which the

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foundering myths of the nation are continuously rearranged to accommodate Portugal’s symbolic position in a modern, multicultural and cosmopolitan Europe (2013: np):

A imagem de um imperialismo sem colónias, pioneiro e ecuménico, adequa-se a linguagens globalizantes e a operações de branding da portugalidade, ligadas ao turismo, ao comércio e aos desígnios da chamada diplomacia económica, facilitando, no plano simbólico, as importantes trocas comerciais entre Portugal e os antigos territórios coloniais ou a nova vaga de emigração de portugueses para Angola ocorrida nos últimos anos (ibid.).

Dias (2006: 33) argues that a strong lack of analysis of post-revolution relations between Portugal and Africa continuous to persist, which is curious since this is related to a recent past in the history of Portugal and the generations that lived it are still active. For this reason, various researchers see a role for academic research in breaking this vicious circle through empirico-discursive research projects. In Cabecinhas’ words:

urge dar voz a diferentes narrativas sobre a história, de modo a tornar visíveis as versões de pessoas e grupos que foram sistematicamente ‘apagados’ da história durante o período colonial e que continuam, muitas das vezes, invisíveis nas narrativas dominantes em período dito pós-colonial (2014: 506-7).

In the last ten years, however, an increasing number of studies has addressed this issue. For example, Cabecinhas et al. (2006: 20-1) conducted a survey between Portuguese and Brazilian youth which showed that the Portuguese participants made a dissociation between the discoveries, which evoked very positive emotions, and the colonization, which mainly caused very negative emotions, anger and frustration. In sum, youngsters displayed an idealization of the discoveries and a non-idealization of colonization, of which the adverse effects were silenced. Domingos and Peralta foster a review of the common assumption that decolonization and the end of the colonial times were received with indifference in the old European imperial centers, taking into account the permanence of hegemonic processes that originated in the imperial context (Domingos and Peralta 2013: np). This (post)colonial erasures, through a dual mechanism of revelation and concealment, repeatedly appear in Cardina’s (2014: np) analysis of the speeches of the then Portuguese president Cavaco Silva between 2006 and 2014, at the commemorative sessions of April 25 and June 10, respectively

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664 While both processes entail relationships between colonizers and colonized, they constitute different references. When the Portuguese mention the colonial war, they are referring to the armed conflict that occurred between 1961 and 1974 between Portugal and Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique, and not to conflicts in Brazil before the conquest of independence (Cabecinhas et al. 2006: 20-1.)
celebrating the revolution of 1974 and the Day of Portugal. Cardina finds that, in the president’s discourse, the role of language, heritage and the sea as differentiating elements for the Portuguese colonial experience is emphasized in detriment to historical colonial processes linked to racism, slavery and economic and cultural domination. In particular, Cardina identified five key ideas in the presidential discourse: (1) a meeting of cultures; (2) Portuguese universalism; (3) the identification of language, culture and heritage as the historical product of this universal and Portuguese experience, translated as familiarity with the sea; (4) Portugal as a European country with a colonial past, and (5) silence about the colonial war. As Cardina (ibid.) suggests, these topics reveal a persistent imaginary of colonial traits in a postcolonial context – a kind of lusotropical matrix, I would say. In correlation with this, nostalgia, nationalism and conservatism render the country’s cultural representativity problematic. In the words of Pinto Ribeiro\textsuperscript{665}:

\begin{quote}
Tem a ver com um problema cultural, que é o da nossa traumática relação com os países lusófonos de expressão portuguesa, com quem nós temos, de uma forma geral, dois tipos de relações, sociologicamente falando, uma é ‘nostálgica dos ex-colonos’ … uma coisa do ponto de vista de ilusório e da fantasia sobre um passado que já não existe, ou então uma coisa de rejeição também sem conhecimento (Ribeiro, in Dias 2006: 90)
\end{quote}

The five discursive topics distilled by Cardina above reveal the difficulty in evoking the violent dimension of colonialism and the traumatic way in which the colonial era came to an end. For this reason, talking about colonialism still causes discomfort in some contexts in Portugal. The wounds of the colonial oppression in lusophone Africa are yet to heal. In this respect, the political idea of \textit{lusafonia} as a mere encounter of cultures cannot do away with the tragedies of history and the cruelty of the colonization process, but may very well contribute to the reticent position or disinterest of some PALOP countries regarding the CPLP (Freixo 2005: 1-4).

People of African origin in Portugal are not recognized as an ethnic or racial group but as immigrants (Henriques 2011: np). According to Marques, the invisibility of African resident populations in the Portuguese society corresponds to a non-representation by political power, which opens up a discussion about racism and identity (2015: np). In this sense, Bá contends that, through the centuries, Portuguese ideological racism consolidated and deepened into institutional racism, which

\textsuperscript{665} Artistic director of Culturgest since its creation in 1992 until 2004, and consultant of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation from 2004 till present.
legitimated sociological and cultural racism (2014: np). This informal mechanism of colonial Othering, taken as the imagination and construction of the Other, persists in the western collective subconscious today (Amado 2014: np666). In this sense, Domingos and Peralta contend that situations of social subordination and racial segregation inherited from colonialism are obliterated by aesthetical processes of difference, produced by both metropolitan subjects such as those from the former colonies and their descendants (2013: np). Thus, in Portugal, racism and its denial are structural elements in the ideological confrontation about the location of difference in a “structurally and historically racist society” (Bá 2014: np) that does not acknowledge itself as such. In the words of Lino (2016),

Portugal descola-se da imagem de um país onde o racismo existe. O tema nunca ou quase nunca está presente no discurso institucional. Talvez a herança de um colonialismo que sempre se quis afirmar para fora como humanista667.

To this affirmation, Henriques adds that “Portugal is race blind, but not for the right reasons”: it ignores race, does not use hyphenated identities and portrays itself as uniformly white668.

The term ‘black-Portuguese’ is unheard of; the word ‘race’ itself so rarely mentioned that it sounds strange and foreign. The terms you do hear people use are ‘second-generation immigrants’, ‘immigrants’ offspring’ or, with cosmopolitan pretension, ‘new Portuguese’. It sends out a clear message to non-white Portuguese: however hard you try, you’ll always be newbies in this country (conveniently ignoring the fact that a black presence in Portugal dates back to the 15th century). […] There are ideological reasons behind this attitude too. Some argue that identifying people by their race is discriminatory (ibid.).

Field interviews carried out by Henriques for the newspaper Público in 2015 and 2016 (Racismo em Português669) empirically underbuild these assumptions. I cite some relevant excerpts below. Inocência Mata, a professor of Postcolonial Literature at the Universidade de Lisboa, provenant from São Tomé and Príncipe, argues that lusotropicalismo implemented ideologies of inequality. “O colonialismo é também um sistema em que existe a dominação cultural. Isto é porventura a parte mais negativa, na

668 Available at https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/sep/12/portugal-race
669 Available at http://www.publico.pt/racismo-em-portugues
medida em que ela é perene, cria uma ideologia de subalternidade”670. In line with this, the Angolan political scientist Paulo Faria defends that “luso-tropicalismo também pode ser visto como uma forma de violência contra as culturas indígenas”671. The sociologist Miguel de Barros, provenant from Guinea-Bissau, points out how the liberation struggles were not against the Portuguese but against the colonial system that they represented: “ouvimos gente citá-lo dizendo que a luta de libertação não era contra os portugueses, a luta era contra o sistema colonial. [Mas] a melhoria das condições de vida foi negada “por sermos identitariamente subalternos”672. In this sense, António Spencer Embaló, sociologist and activist of Movimento Ação Cidadã from Guinea-Bissau, connects this liberation struggle to a quest for cultural autonomy. “Amilcar Cabral dizia que ‘o problema está no colono que nos retira liberdade cultural e por isso defendia que ‘a nossa luta era fundamentalmente uma luta cultural’, pela identidade673. Leopoldo Amado, a Guinea-Bissau-born historian and director of the Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa (INEP) in Portugal, indicates a friction between institutional strategies of inferiority and descriptive practices of mixture during the Portuguese colonial rule. “Os portugueses [tinham] de utilizar isso como método, a ideia de inferioridade para levarem avante os seus propósitos. Tudo isso foi feito num ambiente em que os portugueses, eles próprios, assimilavam valores africanos674. In this respect, the interviewer Henriques recalls that racism was a Portuguese ideology and that miscegenation was fought as a state policy, while in particular moments, miscegenation also constituted a strategy of social mobility. Augusta Henriques, a founder of the NGO Tiniguena provenant from Guinea-Bissau, contends that a necessary postcolonial catharsis never took place: “Toda a ultrapassagem da dominação tem de se fazer com o exercício interno de catarse; nós não gostamos de mostrar essa parte de sofrimento porque isso para nós ia ser sinal de fraqueza. Como [podemos] perdoar? Não resolvemos profundamente as questões”675. Similarly, in the opinion of Elias Isaac,
Angolan director da Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa (OSISA) in Luanda, “até certo ponto, houve independência mas não descolonização das mentes”\(^{676}\).

The above frictions complement my analysis of Musidanças in chapter 3. They imply addressing *lusofonia* more as a space of struggle than as a myth, questioning not only what one creates with *lusofonia*, but also against what it stands (Conquergood *et al.* 2013). In this sense, I have applied critical analysis to the discourses that surround Musidanças, in order to interpret not only what is said, but also to try to understand what is left unsaid, concealed or even erased. From my observations emerges that Firmino Pascoal mimics the said lusotropical matrix discourse to indicate the value of what this matrix conceals. Pascoal posits the necessity of having policies and discourses that are aware of social, racial and cultural mixture to combat situations of discrimination, marginalization or exclusion in the aforementioned dimensions.

The awareness of a critical, polycentric lusophone community that feeds into these events has been empirically built through studies of microcommunities (Maciel 2010), economical and political institutions (Pereira 2011), and the blogosphere (Macedo 2013). In line with my own MA research (2010), the currently obtained results indicate that not only organizers, but also musicians and their publics value *lusofonia* through the lens of music. Firmino Pascoal, Carlos Martins (*Lisboa Mistura*), Laura Filipa Vidal (*Conexão Lusófona*) and Alex Cortez Pinto (*Lisboa que Amanhece*) all suggest that the lusophone expressive culture has both a history and a presence in Lisbon, which should be safeguarded and promoted as common intangible cultural heritage. In the words of the musician Costa Neto, “Lisbon has the responsibility to show everything that forms part of its history”. In Firmino Pascoal’s view, music has the potential to foster this awareness, as shows from the poem *Monólogo luso*: “lutando eu sigo, cantando a nossa história, nesta cantiga de amigo”\(^{677}\). In this sense, Musidanças wants to rewrite lusophone (music) history from an inclusive viewpoint, incorporating the ideological notion of *lusofonia* to its proper project.

\(^{676}\) Available at https://www.publico.pt/mundo/noticia/houve-independencia-mas-nao-descolonizacao-das-mentes-1712736

\(^{677}\) Please see annex 2 for integral poem.
4.2.2. Unmasking dichotomies

My fieldwork observations suggest that the colonial state propaganda created dichotomies on the social, cultural and racial level, which continued in the postcolonial era. Dichotomies such as the distinction *lusitano* e *lusófono* originated in the Portuguese immigration policies and nationalist ideologies, leading to mental preconceptions and/or negative attitudes towards resident populations from lusophone countries in Portugal. Carvalhais (2010: 1-2) indicates six historico-political momenta that forged and gave floor to the development of these attitudes: (1) the colonial period, which divided citizenship in layers on the basis of racial background variables, providing different individual accesses to rights; (2) the decolonization process, which in the 1970s and 1980s restricted the growth of migrant population from former overseas territories in Portugal; (3) the sudden demand for immigrant labor force for the construction of Portuguese highways, football stadiums, cultural infrastructure, schools, hospitals, etc., in the mid-1990s; (4) the strengthening of political, economic and social ties with Portuguese emigrant communities; (5) the receptivity to international legal trends with regard to human rights; and (6) the compliance of national policymaking with European legal demands, such as the need to make the Portuguese Nationality Law compatible with the European Convention on Nationality.

The perceptions that the Portuguese national territory somehow extended into Africa, and that the colonial territories were an integral part of one single and individual state, crumbled after 1974. As Horta and White remind, decolonization implied the reconfiguration of the Portuguese nationhood after the loss of a multi-situated state that, in territorial extent, had once been twenty-four times bigger than current Portugal (2008: 48). On the one hand, from the 1970s onwards, transatlantic looks were marked by cultural bonds and linguistic identification (Vitorio 2003: 14; Paiva 2014: 547), particularly favoring Brazil. On the other hand, the former colonial subjects, although part of the nation's representations during colonial rule, became a problem from the moment in which they were formally considered independent citizens and therefore peers. This led initially to racism, social exclusion and opposition to further African (and later Brazilian) immigration on Portuguese soil (Maciel 2010: 235-6, 267). As Feldman-Bianco (2001: 37) lays bear, although Portuguese governments in the 1990s attempted to promote anti-racist attitudes, they also favored images of homogeneity by disguising the actual bonds between race and nation. This cultural policy thus revealed the limits of the politics of sameness, as
lusophone immigrant leadership in Portugal shared in the dialectics of both inclusion and exclusion (ibid.: 34).

To my understanding, the failure to undo dichotomies can be explained through the colonial mentality created among the Portuguese under the nearly fifty-year long dictatorial time (1926-1974) (Feldman-Bianco 2001: 6-8). As Côrte-Real (2013: 6-7) points out, nostalgic, uncritical feelings and monoculturalism were cultivated by the Estado Novo regime. The very notion of empire, somehow abusive, is a relationship in which one state controls the sovereignty of another, either by force, political cooperation, or through economic, social or cultural dependence (Sousa 2014: 516-7). Hence, after colonialism, imperial-like relations remained active at the level of a general cultural sphere as well as in the specific political, ideological, economic and social domains.

The very strategy of the old Portuguese colonization, mestiçagem or mixture, had however no place in the colonial metropolis, as it would create problems of self-identification between the Portuguese and their colonized counterparts (skin color related ambivalences a.o.) (Dias 2006: 35). It is curious to see how the Portuguese society dealt with the arrival of both settlers and ex-colonized from Africa – a racially, culturally and socially ambiguous group, made up of non-European people, that however, never stopped to be Portuguese citizens (Fradique 1999: 123).

Following Carvalho (1996: np), the hesitant or even indifferent attitudes developed then by the inhabitants of the host nation find an explanation in the clash between two ideological factors, nationalism and ethnicity. Both factors presuppose the determination of boundaries between groups of people, but diverge in their territorial claims: whereas the nation promotes geocentrism, ethnic identification transcends the nation; hence, to control the nation, one has to control ethnicity. In my view, this ambiguous dualism between nation and ethnicity might explain why Portuguese national institutions have repeatedly represented lusofonia as portugalidade or ‘postlusotropicalism’, understood as the global influence of Portugal in the world (Almeida 2008).

Almeida, to follow this line of thought, sees lusofonia as an example of how the nation is dynamically reproduced through colonial continuations in the postcolonial present, promulgated by cultural and political elites (2004: 238). The notion simplifies the former colonized cultures, Dias stresses, and translates this simplification in linear discourses that hide their real existence and complexity (2006: 38). Thus, this
conservative form of *lusofonia* - seen as a continuation of lusotropicism - directs itself to the result of the problem (miscegenation as positive effect) and not to its cause (domination as negative effect) (as also suggested by Freixo 2005: 1-4). It is this "lusocentric misconception" which, Macedo argues, provokes tensions in the intersocietal relations between communities of Portuguese-speaking peoples today:

Esta tensão é provocada pela conceção de dominação associada à lusofonia, assente na transferência das memórias do passado colonial para as condições do presente, ou seja, assente no poder dos ‘sistemas simbólicos’ que a ex-metrópole do império colonial português, supostamente, ainda consegue controlar (2013: 214-21).

According to Macedo, this misconception postpones the substantiation of the *lusofonia* phenomenon as a marker of a geocultural community, as it promotes the notion as a form of Portuguese neocolonialism instead of perspectivizing it as a space of cultural diversity. Furthermore, older, conservative forces within the Portuguese society, the generations that lived colonialism, tend to compromise the level playing roles in the field, in which local lusophone peers (such as Musidanças or SOS Racismo) find themselves, as opposed to younger generations (in Conexão Lusófona or Lisboa que Amanhece), that transcend conservatism. According to Lança, these double standards give continuity to the *lusofonia-as-postlusotropicalism* discourse, simulating Portuguese national consciousness as tolerant and affective, culturally open and integrating nationalism, which in practice, can serve to endorse the weakness of public policies against racism and discrimination (2010: np). Similarly, Maciel defends that racist attitudes are directed mostly to migrants of lusophone African descent vis-à-vis Brazilians, although both share the Portuguese language and a common past and, from a formal point of view, the notion of racism is rejected (2010: 228).

Critical postcolonial discourses are urgently needed on the still incipient relations between Portugal and its former African colonies, which in themselves suffer from the same necessity. This analysis would lead to a reconstruction/reinterpretation of national history, taking into account the former colonized countries and their diasporas (Dias 2006: 33-4). And this is where my discursive analysis of Musidanças fits in.

In chapter 3, I have applied the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) to written sources’ material of Musidanças, in order to interpret how discursive structures enable, confirm, legitimate or challenge relations of power and dominance in this particular case (Van Dijk 2005: 20). In fact, in this case as in the overarching approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), it has systematically contributed to the deconstruction of
mechanisms of persuasion, hegemony and relations of power (El Naggar 2012:77). Given that racism and other preconceptions of social, cultural and historic nature manifest themselves through rhetoric, DHA can lay bare which strategies are deployed in the positive self- and negative other-presentation (Wodak and Reisigl 2003: 372). Racism is a social practice and ideology that is (re-) produced discursively, on the one hand, while discourse may also serve to pursue antiracist strategies, on the other. Hence, discourse is constitutive of both social and psychological processes – including racist rhetoric, which should therefore be viewed as dynamic and contradictory, involving a series of ideological effects with flexible, fluid, and varying contents (Wodak and Reisigl 2003: 372, 380-1).

Regarding which strategies Firmino Pascoal uses as Musidanças’ cultural entrepreneur, and for which purposes, my analysis has shown that Musidanças makes ample use of rhetorical appeals, specifically intertwining pathos with ethos appeals. As has been pointed out by Cornelia Ilie (personal communication), these are re-interpretations of postcolonialism with deep human, interpersonal, cultural and political consequences. By re-defining the emic notion of mestiçagem and recontextualizing it, Musidanças’ highlights the seriousness of the intermixing issue while also treating it as a matter of fact subject, on the one hand, and aims at emotionally involving the audience mentioning shared values, such as language, culture, and citizenship, on the other.

Musidanças particularly uses the trope of change in its plea for new societal valorizations and understandings, as is exemplified by Firmino Pascoal in the following citation: “[Musidanças] é a tentativa de uma mudança de maneira como [a nossa música] é aceite, como é ouvida, como é escutada, como é divulgada” (interview 1). As suggested by Ilie (personal communication), this phrase illustrates a polysemantic use of tropes: as a rhetorical trope and as a musical trope, in the sense of changes or additions to the text, to the music, and to the interpretation of both music performer and listener voices or ideas. In the end, Musidanças posits itself as a metaphor for self-discovery and other-discovery.

The opening lines of the manifesto Lusofonia, mestiçagem, som luso e mistura do ser humano also reveal textual dialog – that is, the dialogue between the voice of the text’s author and other voices (Moloi and Bojobotseha 2014: 420). It also shows how

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678 Wodak and Reisigl define strategy as the intentional plan of (discursive) practices adopted to achieve a certain social, political, psychological, or linguistic aim (2003: 386).
some of these discourses and genres are reproduced or invoked, while others are censored or ignored (Moloi and Bojabotseha 2014: 417, citing van Dijk 1993: 280). This is exemplified by the following citation: “Nem sempre o reconhecimento da identidade indígena prevaleceu, mas temos que reconhecer a coragem para enfrentar o desconhecido, a criação de alianças e fraternidades, transformando e deixando-se transformar” (ibid.). In fact, Musidanças fosters an openness and recognition of difference on the discursive level, as a form of dialogue, in the richest sense of the term. In this sense, it should be pointed out that Musidanças manifesto’s immediate audience may well be African, lusophone or alternative musicians in Lisbon, but it reaches out to Portuguese musicians, population and policy-makers as well: Firmino Pascoal invokes the human condition that unites Portuguese, Africans and mestiços (El Naggar 2012: 89).

In general, the rhetoric of the Musidanças manifest draws on two discursive traditions in particular: that of the Portuguese maritime navigations, and that of the African colonizations, creating a web of intertextual references in a hybrid discourse that different ethnic audiences can identify with (Foxlee 2010: 26). Pascoal persuasively presents a unifying metanarrative that embodies a deliberate and inclusive rewriting of the Portuguese expansion and its resulting transcontinental bonds, offering lusophone communities a common future that connects with their various pasts (ibid.: 31). He thus edits the Portuguese lusotropical story from a plural point of view, using (post-) colonial historical facts as a moral legitimation of his discourse (El Naggar 2012: 80). As such, this deliberate metanarrative of ‘lusophone’ history levels the former colonized with the former colonizer, and attributes a true intercultural and civil dimension to the notion of lusofonia. By recontextualizing the lusophone matrix, through semiotically tangible notions such as the discoveries and lusotropicalism, Pascoal superposes the historical context onto the social and cultural injustices of today (ibid.: 88). In other words, through recontextualisation strategies, Pascoal transposes Portugal’s colonial history onto its postcolonial context, challenging contained European viewpoints and questioning dichotomies on race, culture, social class and nation. By framing social, racial and cultural mixture in a timeless dimension, Pascoal transcend binarisms, equating processes of biological, social and cultural miscegenation to the very core of lusofonia.

Musidanças’ rhetoric (unintentionally?) cross-references to a number of other historical texts that have negotiated socially constructed dichotomies in geographically
distant, but hegemonically similar contexts. For example, the declaration of war by the
Zapatista Army of National Liberation, in Mexico in 1993, is an example of how
indigenous movements constructed a similar narrative of a shared history of
colonization and domination to claim their place (Mignolo 2001: 436):

We are the product of 500 years of struggle: first against slavery, then during the War of
Independence against Spain led by insurgents, then to avoid being absorbed by North
American imperialism, then to promulgate our constitution and expel the French Empire
from our soil … We have been denied the most elemental preparation so that they can use
us as cannon fodder and pillage the wealth of our country.679

Much alike Musidanças’ manifesto, this text constitutes “a cartography of
colonial power, through nation building and subalternity in the interstate
modern/colonial world” (Mignolo 2001: 436). As Mignolo points out, the Zapatista
declaration can be seen as both a founding statement and a call to arms, particularly
because it is a historical, theoretical, and political statement from people that use music
and popular culture to question their supposed subaltern position (ibid.).

Foxlee’s (2010) analysis of rhetoric and identification in Obama’s 2008
presidential campaign; El Naggar’s (2012) investigation into negotiations of Islamic
history; and Moloi and Bojabotseha’s (2014) discursive explorations into key texts by
the African National Congress (ANC) are other comparative cases that are worth
mentioning here. Regarding the former, Foxlee argues that a key factor to mobilize
support during the 2008 Obama Campaign was the use of “multicultural intertextual
references in a hybrid discourse with which different ethnic audiences could identify”
(2010: 26). In particular, the author states that Obama’s rhetoric drew on two discursive
traditions: that of Abraham Lincoln and the Founding Fathers on the one hand
(representing European origins), and that of Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights
movement on the other (representing African origins). Foxlee contends that Obama thus
managed to convey a mixture rhetoric.

By combining explicit and implicit references to both traditions in his speeches, and by
interweaving the white myth of an America founded in freedom and equality with the
black narrative of a journey towards freedom and equality, Obama was able to
persuasively present a unifying metanarrative that embodied an inclusive rewriting of the
American story and the American Dream, offering Americans a common future that
connected with their various pasts.

679 Available at http://www.journalofamericanhistory.org/projects/mexico/zapmanifest.html
This type of metanarrative is also present in El Naggar’s (2012: 88-9) analysis of the discourse of muslim televangelists. The author shows how her intervenients actively deploy recontextualization strategies to map historical contexts onto political injustices, approaching Islamic history as a dynamic boundary between past and present. Furthermore, the author analyzes how the notion of ‘umma’, the community of believers - apparently a self-explanatory notion to the majority of muslims -, is repeatedly explained to a non-muslim audience through metaphors (by citing the Prophet’s explanation that the umma, “in terms of unity, is like a building”) (ibid.). El Naggar finally shows how sentences such as “we are living in a planet” ambiguously oscillate between three audiences: Muslims, Americans and humans, thus constituting an inclusive, non-dichotomous approach to the public Other (ibid.).

Metanarratives and recontextualizing strategies are also evident from Moloi and Bojabotseha’s (2014) analysis of political texts in the South African post-apartheid context. Much like Pascoal’s programmatic stance in organizing Musidanças, the authors show that the ANC texts “anticipate and engage those voices that are critical and oppositional to what the ANC-led government has achieved and the work it still needs to do” (ibid.: 422).

Intertextually comparing Musidanças written output with the above references, I conclude that Firmino Pascoal has designed a persuasive monologist discourse with the characteristics of public speaking, perhaps to objectify his own rhetoric for his immediate audience of resident musicians with links to lusophone Africa in Lisbon, and extended public of Portuguese musicians, publics and policy-makers. Pascoal’s programmatic text draws on two discursive traditions in particular: that of lusotropicalism on the one hand, and that of the African liberation movements, on the other. As Obama, Pascoal employs history as a moral authority to present a unifying metanarrative inclusively rewriting Portuguese history (El Naggar 2012: 31, 80). By recontextualizing the term lusofonia from unilateral lusotropicalism to postcolonial rhizomatic fusions, Musidanças’ manifesto utterly dismisses portugalidade in favor of the social, racial and cultural niches that have endured over time.
4.2.3. Acknowledging mixture

“Do contacto entre o povo colonizador e os povos resultou um intercâmbio a vários níveis sendo deles a mais profundo o da miscigenação”. This phrase at the start of Pascoal’s manifesto *Lusofonia, mestiçagem, som luso e mistura do ser humano* suggests that the miscegenation politics of the colonial Portuguese domination created intercultural niches that continued into hybrid people and hybridization practices today (Sousa 2013: 23). In this sense, Khan urges to investigate into the relations which existed for centuries between Portugal and its African colonies, duly considering the circumstances of domination in which they took place, since they gave rise to a society of intercultural, creolized, or hybrid experiences between colonized and colonizers (2008: 97-8).

The emancipation of Brazil took place in the early 19th century and in a different context, and the new nation initially represented itself as a neo-European country. Paiva (2014: 551), Almeida (2000: 237) and others have called for caution in using the term postcolonial to discuss the Brazil-Portugal relations, arguing that Portuguese postcolonialism is more measurable in transnational relations between Portugal and its former African colonies. Nevertheless, Brazil does present itself as an important reference in Portuguese ideological discourse, especially with regard to the Freyrian ideology of *mestiçagem* (racial and cultural intermixture), which was popular in Portugal in the 1950s and was reutilized by the Portuguese government for the foundation of the CPLP in the 1990s.

It is crucial to understand that this luso-african and luso-brazilian history of continual exchange took place not only in the colonial outposts of the Portuguese extended territory, but on continental Portugal’s very own soil as well (Holton 2006: 9). Portuguese institutions, however, did not acknowledge these racial and cultural mixtures, trying to keep them out. In addition, until the early 1990s, Portuguese universities were also hesitant to accept the complexity and importance of local African contributions (Tinhorão 1994: 19). The academic research into fado’s historic affiliations and genealogy in 1994, when Lisbon was European Capital of Culture; the formation of RDP and RTP África between 1994 and 1998; the consolidation of the CPLP in 1996; and international music festive events such those within the scope of Lisbon’s World Exposition in 1998 would – all to varying degree – utilize lusophone
cultural expressions to shift the attention from mere political and economic readings of the notion of *lusofonia* to the Lisbon’s potential in the transnational lusophone sphere.

Recent research in the fields of ethnomusicology, anthropology and sociology have offered alternative readings of *lusofonia*, framing the notion not only as the Portuguese influence in the world, but also as a return movement of the expressive culture of the former colonies to the old metropolitan center. Representing *lusofonia* as a diaspora, the discourses shift the attention to issues of cultural difference and interculturalism that, in the Portuguese case, must go through a postcolonial aperture to equate and integrate all parts of the process (Khan 2008: 105). Simultaneously, diaspora discourse constructs “alternate public spheres, forms of community consciousness and solidarity that maintain identifications outside the national time/space in order to live inside, with a difference” (Clifford 1992: 251). Thus, the Portuguese diaspora forms part of the lusophone diaspora, understood in global, polycentric terms.

In addition, postcolonial research has started to associate diasporic experience with states of belonging, and performing, to more than one culture. Diaspora populations are increasingly seen as producers of cultural originality and social innovation because their creative difference is not framed within the pre-existing Western categories (ibid.)

Hybridization is, in fact, a gateway from multiculturalism to interculturalism, constructed by intersections and transactions between different identities (Canclini 2001, cited by Andrade 2014: 525). This allows seeing *lusofonia* as the intersection of diaspora and globalization, not in the commercial, but in the affinity sense of the intercultural traffic (in line with Slobin’s argument, 2003: 292).

Hybridization processes can thus be viewed as postcolonial counter-narratives that use intertextuality and interdiscursivity to recuperate colonial memories, unmask dichotomies and promote plurality. Given that lusophone communities are present in Lisbon and elsewhere in the world, there is a civil need to foster interculturality between those that merely instrumentalize lusophone potential, on the one hand, and those that

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680 Dias points out that in the case of Africans, diaspora may involve a triple reference: to the African origin, the host country’s culture, and a legacy of diasporic feelings, evoking concepts such as that of *negritude* (2006: 29-30).
actually live it, on the other, thus potentializing the politics of participation of social life. In the words of Santos:

> Penso que o pós-colonialismo em língua oficial portuguesa tem de centrar-se bem mais na crítica da ambivalência, fazer a distinção entre formas de ambivalência e de hibridação que dão efetivamente voz ao subalterno (as hibridações emancipatórias) e aquelas que usam a voz do subalterno para o silenciar (as hibridações reacionárias) (2002: 41).

In my opinion, the latter refers to *lusofonia* from above, implemented/practiced by national institutions that evoke lusotropicalism, whereas the former refers to *lusofonia* from below, lived in grassroots movements such as Musidanças. The *lusofonia* bubble is legitimate exactly because of the countermovement that contests its supposed eurocentric foundations.

The plural convening of social memory and affect constitutes a new historical narrative that may make it possible to recognizing a common past. As Pina-Cabral (2010: 6) contends, instead of the supposed isomorphism between language, culture and nation, the concept of *ecumene* – defined as an open network of interconnections with the potential of complicity – may be more appropriate to frame *lusofonia*. This rhizomatic reading of the concept is a multicultural and transnational reinterpretation of the past that may function as a therapeutic tool to treat colonial wounds that may have endured over several generations (as emanates from the song *Mussulo*, mentioned in part 3.2.3.2, p. 224). In my view, defining *lusofonia* as *ecumene* effectively opens up the way to intercultural education and citizenship, which may contribute to the repositioning of lusophone migrant musics and revalue Lisbon’s, and Portugal’s, historical heterogeneousness, culturally and socially.

The entrepreneurs of cultural associations such as Musidanças, Conexão Lusófona and Lisboa que Amanhece seem to envision this. While the latter two, which represent a younger generation than that of Firmino Pascoal, transcend the African colonial question and incorporate it naturally as part of Lisbon’s contemporary cosmopolitanism, Musidanças uses *lusofonia* as an umbrella term to address situations of stigmatization and exclusion of resident African, *mestiço* and alternative musicians in Portugal. Pascoal works particularly towards a transnational lusophone memory that outcasts dichotomies and promotes hybridization, prescribing adequate institutional policies and mental adjustments. To frame its representational discourse, he coins the emic concepts of *lusofonia* and *mestiçagem* as synonyms, and then links them to metaphors of discovery and change.
The connection between language constructions and mixture processes is not new. In the Spanish-speaking world, Wade (2005: np) has framed *mestizaje* and the *mestizo* figure as the dynamic results of racial and cultural mixture (see part 1.3.2., p. 51 ff.). For Wade, *mestiçagem* represents both a space of struggle and of inclusion, as it creates places for diversity. In the French-speaking world, for Grenier and Guilbault, the notion of *creolité*, is indissociable from the anticolonial movements *négritude*, which emphasized black identity in the 1940s, and *antillanité*, which celebrated hybridity in the 1970s (1997: 209). From this creative and transformative merger process, a so-called “Afro-Creole” culture arises as an alternative narrative to European essentialism (ibid.: 211). Though some Afro-American and English Caribbean narratives may similarly evoke racial imaginations, transgressions and politics, I have not come across a similar performative concept in the Common Wealth (Whitten and Torres 1998; Radano and Bohlman 2000; Catanese 2011).

Though the notion of creolization may be used to describe postcolonial mixture, *criolidade* is a very specific term particularly used by former slave societies such as those of Cape Verde (Cidra 2015) or Trinidad (Guilbault 2007), which established their populations through colonialism. However, as Wade’s argues for the notion of *mestiçagem*, it is foremost a quest for individual and social recognition instead of a political battle. In this sense, Musidanças and the musical *lusofonia* movement it represents is not necessarily indulging anticolonial movements of culture and race. Rather, like Grenier and Guilbault stress for the notion of *creolité*, the festival views the search of identity and self-acceptance as an essential prerequisite to political action yet not as a political process in and by itself.

Many musicians, cultural entrepreneurs and critics in the field emically employ the notion of *mestiçagem* to overcome fixed and essentialist definitions of culture and identity and to promote a genuine intercultural dialogue (André 2012). For example, in July 2016, Luís Represas (P) and Paulo Flores (A) presented their collaboration under the name *Mestiço* during the EDP Cool Jazz festival in Oeiras (see fig. 52 in annex 10 for the accompanying promo image). The musician Olavo Bilac (CV-M) also mentioned the notion at the launching of his CD *Músicas do meu mundo*: “o plano é poder misturar tudo, trazer alguma mestiçagem para a música, pegar num tema como

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681 I am grateful to Rui Cidra for a personal conversation on the topic in June 2016.
682 Available at http://www.cm-oeiras.pt/agenda/Paginas/LuisRepresascomPauloFlores.aspx
“O meu primeiro beijo” de Rui Veloso e dar-lhe um tom de morna. Similarly, cultural entrepreneur Alex Cortez Pinto (P), pedagogic director of the project Lisboa que Amanhece, indicated that “não Portugal ou a portugalidade concretamente influenciaram as culturas de outros paises [Lusófonos], mas sim esta mistura, esta miscigenização” (interview 6). An unnamed music critic equally used the wording in reviewing the band Buraka Som Sistema’s potential: “BSS materializa um novo som de Lisboa e a mais recente bomba da música de dança Lusófona. A nova música de Lisboa pega na tradição de mestiçagem. É este o tempo que faz a música aceitar mestiçagens, aberta a novos sons e linhagens”. In addition, BSS singer Kalaf Epalanga (A) suggested the creation of a Lisbon-based kizomba museum in saying that “Lisboa é uma cidade mestiça, é moura, é africana, é mundo, um lugar economicamente falhado, mas culturalmente rico” (Epalanga 2014: np). Similarly, the documentary Língua. Vidas em Português, produced in 2002 by Renato Pereira and Suely Weller (B), pointed to “novas línguas mestiças”, and Lisboa Mestiça, produced in 2011 by José Manuel de S. Lopes (P), signaled the importance of migrants in Lisbon “apesar de nem sempre [estar] reconhecida a mestiçagem em Lisboa”. To my understanding, these emic evocations of mestiçagem connect biological and cultural aspects of mixture in a postcolonial context of reconciliation and collaboration. As such, the etic fusion aspect of this notion and semiotically related wordings feeds into hybrid understandings of lusofonia (see annex 2 for an explanatory diagram).

Musidanças represents a lusophone community that sees itself as a genuine formal representation of cultural, social and ethnic mixtures. The festival therefore presents an alternative reading of the political concept of interculturalism, frequently used by the Portuguese government representations and many of its institutions. To safeguard and promote the lusophone musical heritage that is present in the Portuguese capital, Musidanças stimulates alternative narratives that, although equally national, are less essentialist than the ones circulating in the colonial period and the decades following it. Musidanças’s discursive negotiations of lusofonia prescribe intermixture processes – mestiçagem – as fundamental markers for Portugal’s national identity, making a plea for their recognition and support. Musidanças’ critique of lusofonia...
constitutes a first step towards the empiric revalidation of non-ethnic and non-national Portuguese cultural identities and representations.

4.3. Musical performance sustaining the bubble

When historical visibility has faded, when the present tense of testimony loses its power to arrest, then the displacements of memory and the indirections of art offer us the image of our psychic survival (Bhabha 2003:18, cited by Dias 2006: 25).

In the preceding chapters, I have elaborated on the role of music in festive events put together by institutional, associative or individual instances. Next, I have used the festival Musidanças as a lens for lusofonia through an analysis of its editions, musicians and audience. Here, I develop my argumentation on how musical performance may not only sustain the fluid lusofonia bubble but also foster intercultural citizenship in a postcolonial perspective. In particular, my research outcomes suggest that the representation of lusophone musics in festive events represents a threelfold plea: (1) to discover post-colonial Portugal musically by introducing (racially, culturally, socially) different musicians; (2) to combat (artistic and cultural) marginalization; and (3) to promote musics made by lusophone performers that reside in Portugal as legitimate Portuguese music.

4.3.1. Discovering postcolonial musics

Music is a particular form of meaning that incorporates styles and forms of language, cultural models, narratives, and discourses that people use to make sense of their society, to interpret their role in it and to build courses of action (Sousa 2015: 3). In particular, poetic language, textual imagery, and linguistic register are means by which musicians may redefine social hierarchies and consolidate new forms of political power. As a metaphor for identity, music may help to build it because it articulates an

687 Similar ideas can be found in Conjunctions, Transdisciplinary Journal of Cultural Participation, which published a special volume on participatory cultural citizenship in 2014. See http://www.conjunctions-tjcp.com/issue/view/2347
understanding of “the relationship between groups and individuality, in which ethical codes and social ideologies are understood” (Frith 1996: 110). As such, cultural performances are not simple reflections on culture, but may themselves be active agencies of change: they represent “the eye by which culture sees itself and the drawing board on which creative actors sketch out what they believe to be more apt or interesting ‘designs for living’” (Conquergood 1991: 174-5). Moreover, “through [its] polyindexical modes of signification, [music] has a way of collapsing history as chronology, history as telos, condensing affect; in moments of listening to music, history might be experienced as a feeling” (Gray 2016: 62). And musical performance has both auditory and visual dimensions that make it available for immediate collective consumption at large public gatherings such as festivals (Sieber 2002: 169).

My observation of the festival Musidanças as well as of other festive music events in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area let me understand how social life is fractal, multidimensional and nodal (Rice 2003: 160-1)\textsuperscript{688}. Musidanças evokes an imagined lusophone music community, to which musicians lend their presentational and participative support (to paraphrase Turino 2008). The festival works both face-to-face and on the symbolic level, creating a particular collectivity in “extralocal settings from the regional to the national to the diasporic to the global” (Rice 2003: 160-1). Beyond reference to the immediate event situation, Musidanças participants draw meaning from past personal and cultural experiences, and frame their relevance in conjunction with anticipated responses (Stone and Stone 1981: 216). In this sense, its display of musicians and their musics both reflects society and is constitutive in engendering socio-cultural identities, communities and scenes (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2003: 3). As Guilbault points out, however, it would be “reductive to speak of musical [practices] only in relation to rationalities or political projects[,] since there are also unplanned circumstances that come into play in the articulation of contingent processes that produce significant outcomes” (2007: 7).

An investigation into the music use of Musidanças, thus, allows for unveiling strategies of agency in a communitary perspective. In fact, the festival’s musical transmission and performance are not just expressions or symbols of a given social grouping, but form an integral part of a process that can help generate, shape, and sustain new collectivities (Shelemay 2011: 349-50). This line of thought may help to

\textsuperscript{688} Rice defines nodality as the “socio-temporal clustering or agglomeration of activities around identifiable geographical centers or nodes” (ibid.).
structure reflection on the festival’s role in a musical community: a notion which Shelemay defines as a “social entity, an outcome of a combination of social and musical processes, rendering those who participate in making or listening to music aware of a connection among themselves” (ibid.: 364-5). Musidanças’ participatory and critical citizenship profile stems from the fact that it uses music as a source of collective consciousness to promote both group cohesion and social action, which in turn can cause changes in society in general (Frith 2000: 316). Cultural memory theory is essential to understand both the discourse and the programming of events that host resident musicians from lusophone countries, performing ‘lusophone musics’ (Vanspauwen 2010) or ‘lusophone world music’ (La Barre 2010, Alge 2013). These expressions refer to musics of different geographic locations of the lusophone world, and not necessarily sung in Portuguese; as such, musicians, cultural entrepreneurs and critics increasingly use them to designate local music performances by resident musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries.

Lisbon has witnessed an increasing number of events that have promoted interaction among Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians under a variety of labels, inspired by the semiotically related concepts considered as intercultural dialogue or interculturalism in a perspective of migration. These expressive cultural events utilize music as a cultural mixture practice (Pereira and Baptista 2014: 480). In line with Bhabha (2005: 241), I contend that the transnational dimension of migration, diaspora and relocation turns the process of socio-cultural cultural transformations into a complex form of signification. As my work developed, lusophone musics have come to represent such cultural (trans)formations with a particular focus on the transnational language-based alliance of the CPLP. In fact, the interviews with Musidanças’ organizers, participating musicians and audience reveal a connection between a cultural metaphor – lusofonia – and social life.

On the level of outreach, Musidanças has not gained a wider public in these 15 years, which seems awkward in a context in which several lusophone music events have been increasingly explored. In his trajectory, Pascoal has consistently used lusofonia-related wordings, approaching the Lisbon Metropolitan Area as the main, but not the exclusive, affective interface for (his) musical lusofonia. Curiously, he has marketed Musidanças as “parte do roteiro cultural da cidade de Lisboa,” while this could not be verified in the field.
With regard to participating musicians, there has been a slight increase in autochthonous, alternative Portuguese musicians vis-à-vis the resident musicians of lusophone Africa that predominantly marked their presence in Musidanças’ first editions. Interviewees argue that there is a potential market for alternative, traditional musics, both autochthonous and allochthonous, condemning Portugal’s cultural policies thereto. They also contend that commercial approaches to music have negatively affected public curiosity, delaying intercultural education, specifically regarding certain stigmas vis-à-vis folkloric expressive practices that, they say, remount to dictatorial times. In addition, they frame Musidanças as a unique lusophone musics platform with national potential, and recognize its importance as a builder of bridges to affective communities elsewhere through categories such as *lusofonia* and *interculturalidade*, which they consider legitimate.

In line with the musicians, the interviewed audience members, most of whom had some kind of relation to them, point at the reconciling role that traditional music and dance can play to undo persisting pejorative sentiments vis-à-vis Portuguese traditional culture, on the one hand, and the safeguarding of shared lusophone patrimony, on the other. Interviewees indicate the need of a mentality change to both valorize and represent this living musical heritage both in Portugal and abroad, arguing that *lusofonia* and intercultural mixture seem adequate tools to do so.

**4.3.2. Combating artistic marginalization**

The political and social implications of music performance in an urban, transnational perspective have been the object of increased attention (Reily 1995, Madrid 2009, McMahon 2013). The categorization of music in concepts and labels reflects the alleged fluidity of discourse and (cultural) politics (Côrte-Real 2001, Turino 2008, Castelo-Branco 2008). In addition, music as cultural performance is intimately connected to issues of race, ethnicity, diaspora, and (trans)nationalism (Fradique 1999, Ramnarine 2007, Cidra 2008). Furthermore, as musical performance negotiates ethnicities and identities (Stokes 1997: 7, Côrte-Real 2010c), it may constitute a place for public discussion of vital issues central to their communities, as well as an arena for self-representation (Middleton 2001, Conquergood et al. 2013). Thus, music can function as a key tool for the integration of subaltern populations, potentially diminishing social
exclusion and artistic marginalization. In this sense, grassroots musicians can become “cultural brokers who articulate new metaphors of social identity and mediate traditional-modern, rural-urban and local-global dichotomies” (Middleton 2001: 48-9).

Many authors argue that racism, social exclusion and opposition to immigration continue to manifest itself in the Portuguese civil society, despite an official rhetoric about diversity, on the one hand, and an internationally acclaimed reception framework for migrants, on the other. Confirming this line of thought, Musidanças conceives its surrounding community as artistically, culturally and socially excluded from the Portuguese society. In its programmatic texts, the festival’s organization points to issues of cultural domination that remount to colonial relations. Pascoal considers in particular that resident musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in Portugal have experienced great difficulty in deploying their projects. As obstacles, he indicates the country’s specific cultural environment that, so he argues, offers different conditions of treatment and acceptance to these musicians in comparison with other Portuguese musicians. He further stresses that in his current attempts to integrate these newcomers in Portugal, he often feels that he is just accommodating a continuation of colonial hegemonies in the present. The latter statement represents a clear stance against ‘postlusotropicalism’ (Almeida 2008).

To foster acceptance of musically and racially different proposals in the Portuguese society, Musidanças critiques and rereads the idea of lusofonia. It does so legitimizing both the current presence and the historical contribution of the Portuguese-speaking migrant communities in Portugal, seeking valorization. In particular, the festival interprets lusofonia in a dual manner: first, as a depreciative version of miscegenation, and second, as a historically valuable diversity, which it prefers. Furthermore, Musidanças advances both internal and external strategies in order to obtain a (trans)national projection for lusophone cultural memory. Its pacific desire for representational change aims to address imposed categories, in line with Beja Horta’s words:

A capacidade dos imigrantes em questionar determinados regimes de categorização assim como a emergência de múltiplas formas de resistência, ainda que frágeis, trazem consigo a possibilidade de mudança, de criação de novas realidades. Sobretudo, é uma procura de um diálogo, que nos desafia a construir novas narrativas que surgem do emaranhado da vida quotidiana, das práticas do poder instituído e de novos imaginários que ganham expressão no agenciamento individual e colectivo (Beja Horta 2008: 361).
To my understanding, and in congruence with the opinion of the interviewed musicians, presented in the preceding section, Musidanças’ problematic access to Portuguese cultural life may be explained through Carvalho’s discussion of Portugal as a ‘nação folclórica’ (1996: np). Conceptually binding cultural politics, nationalism and ethnicity, Carvalho argues that music – which he sees as a means of expressive behavior – enables the invention of a national historical narrative which comprehensive authority is established and affirmed through ritual. In this respect, folklore is a set of references that operationalizes imaginary communities through selective and collective memory mechanisms. In Portugal, Carvalho argues, musical manipulation of symbolic associations was repeatedly used to minimize cultural differences. Similarly, the very notion of Portuguese culture was devised as an instrument towards social consolidation in favor of nationalism and ethnicity, uniting centralist and universalist narratives, and excluding others.

Based on my ethnographic data, I find that these essentialist narratives have enabled attitudes of musical xenophobia in Portugal, creating a crust between what I would term ‘internal folclorism’ (i.e., Portugal’s regional expressive traditions) and ‘external folclorism’ (i.e., the expressive culture in the former colonies, which formed part of the nation’s history until 1974). In a sense, Portugal’s musical representation still draws upon centralist and universalist projection, in favor of genres such as fado, and in detriment to alternative and traditional musics from both sides of the Atlantic. In this sense, RDP Africa journalist Nuno Sardinha argues that in the aftermath of colonization, African musics were tolerated in Lisbon as long as they remained markers of the exotic Other. “They used to tell African musicians that they could play here only if they brought the mulatas, the chorus girls. This happened to Bonga, who was then among the most popular artists in Portugal!” (La Barre and Vanspauwen 2013: 130, citing Lusofonia, a (R)evolução). Indeed, interaction with Portuguese musicians was not evident in the early 1980s, when lusophone African musicians took up definitive residency in Lisbon (ibid.). In fact, according to the Cape Verdean musician and composer Tito Paris, also interviewed for the documentary:

When I arrived in Portugal, in 1982, I was baffled when I came across a band consisting only of Portuguese, or Angolans, or Cape Verdeans, or Mozambicans. It really confused

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689 Transcribed from the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução.
me: why wasn’t there a Cape Verdean playing with a Portuguese? And why wasn’t there a Portuguese playing with us? To blend music, to make it richer (ibid.).

Music making was not the original occupation of most Portuguese residents from lusophone Africa, as many had fled civil wars, unemployment and poverty in their home country. Consequently, these people generally had other professional occupations in Lisbon in order to maintain their musical performance, which initially occurred in a rather closed, less prestigious circuit of restaurants, bars, commercial spaces, and associations. Moreover, Portugal’s entry into the EU severely curbed free movements from lusophone countries in legal, affective and hegemonic ways. These difficulties were also felt in terms of cultural production, since an effective circulation of goods between lusophone countries was not a reality yet.

Maciel argues that the Portuguese society only started to see the lusophone Other as an opportunity in the 1990s, incited by demographic, economic, and sociopolitical factors: the diversification of migration flows, the internal differentiation of the tourism sector, and the intensification of anti-discrimination activism (2010: 208-9). She also stresses that both retornados and people of African descent played a key role in this process by creating NGO’s and as mediators vis-à-vis marginalized populations and cultures. Their actions resulted in various affirmations of African identity promotion in the public sphere: as Pan-Africanism; as an historical global force; and as contemporary Afroeuropeans (‘African Lisbonners’) (ibid.: 235-6). Some of these representations revealed that, despite alleged inherited subaltern feelings of the colonial past, lusophone African musicians in Lisbon portray themselves as cultural ambassadors of their native country that use Lisbon both as a place of encounter and a communicative hub (Dias 2006: 94, Vanspauwen 2010: 71). In 2010, interviewees indicated spontaneous collaborations with other musicians from Brazil, the PALOP and more and more Portugal as well.

Festivals, like exhibitions, can serve as vehicles of representation, reflection and production of new discourses (Cortez 2014). By offering new public spaces to share and promote the co-existence of cultures, they can also be helpful in gradually deconstructing hegemonic cultural imaginaries about the Other (Dias 2006: 18, Delanty et al. 2011). Lusophone festivals may suggest revisions of postcolonial relations among

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690 Transcribed from the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução.
691 Portugal’s legal membership to the EU imposed constraints on the movement of nationals from ‘países terceiros’; (2) strong affective charges still caused mistrust between the former colonizer and colonized; and a significant segment of the Portuguese population simply rejected non-European immigration (ibid.).
the five lusophone African countries, Brazil and Portugal, by framing them as both complex and constitutive of Portuguese culture. As Lança points out, music fluidity in particular can help to unravel western-oriented logics of nationalism and ethnicity in the transnational lusophone space.

A música poderia ser a exceção, onde o discurso do “espaço lusófono” faria algum sentido uma vez que, desde o séc. XV, tem sido um elemento de fortes trocas culturais percebendo-se a saudável contaminação dos ritmos e conhecimento das origens da música nos vários países de língua portuguesa (2010: np).

Like expressed by the musicians in the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução and the cultural agents that I interviewed, Lança argues that the lusophone musicians that circulate in Lisbon’s urban context recuperate traditional genres from their countries, such as fado, semba and morna, into fusion projects, bridging different migrant generations and cultures. She argues that this hybrid convivence is very much present in daily experiences, despite its ambiguous ideological connotation to a colonial past – eventually recalling social taboos or revival feelings. Maciel also notes an ambiguity between the increasing visibility of the cultural production associated with lusophone Africa and Brazil in Portugal over the last two decades, on the one hand, and the affirmation of socio-cultural contrasts of immigrants as a subtle way to legitimize the existing socio-cultural hierarchies, on the other (2010: 208-9, 232-3).

Migrant musicians from lusophone countries as well as autochthone Portuguese residing together in Lisbon have questioned the lusotropicalist roots of the institutionally promoted intercultural ideology by means of festive hybridization events, aiming to renegotiate their identities as part of a transnational membership for which they have adopted the political term of lusofonia (ibid.). Paradoxically, the hegemonic reversal process enables interculturalism, against the homogenization of cultures, which in turn decolonizes and deconstructs lusofonia (Lança 2010: np). In addition, diaspora musicians are in favorable conditions to promote interaction, since they can stimulate greater cultural and artistic openness in both country of origin and country of residence (Dias 2006: 92, Vanspauwen 2012: 82). In particular, their hybrid performances may help to deconstruct dichotomic categories that formed the basis for colonial power relations, creating a new logic of expressive cultural production in a transnational framework (ibid.).

Since its inception in 2001 – only five years after the foundation of the CPLP –, Musidanças has explicitly aimed to consolidate bonds between participant musicians as
well as to increase their expressive autonomy and solidarity. Using the emic term *mestiçagem* to refer to processes of cultural, social and ethnic mixture through time, the festival organizer presents alternative readings of the political concept of interculturalism, commonly used by employees of the Portuguese institutions that address the expressive culture of the resident migrant communities. To this end, the festival stimulates national narratives that are less essentialist than the ones that were vehiculated in the colonial period and the following decades. In particular, Musidanças defends a greater mix in Portuguese society - both socially, by integrating diverse populations brought by migration flows, and culturally, by accepting lusophone musical culture as an integral part of Portugal’s heritage. This correlation between cultural memory and musical fluidity fundamentally calls for a rethinking of dated racial boundaries that were central to the national strategies of the colonial time.

Firmino Pascoal considers Musidanças as a particular collective that genuinely (re)presents hybrid and alternative musics to safeguard, reconstruct and promote the transnational cultural ties of an existing, intersubjective lusophone community. It is curious to see how the political conception of *lusofonia* has flourished in performative events organized by cultural entrepreneurs, associations and institutions, which have not only staged musicians but also allowed them to collaborate between and across communities. Lisbon in this respect functions as a communicative convergence platform of lusophone populations, cultural expressions and ideas:

"O fluxo de gentes, as suas práticas e os símbolos decorrentes das suas iniciativas culturais parecem concorrer para uma progressiva transformação na ‘infra-estrutura urbana’ lisboeta, que já não é só alfacinha, mas também, e em já não despicienda medida, africana e *lusófona* (Maciel 2010: 222)."

Old colonial affinities continue to be used to inform contemporary cultural productions, in the sense that constructions of musical and cultural fields are used to display historical power in a discursive context dominated by notions of hybridization (La Barre and Vanspauwen 2013: 132). This perspective suggest that Lisbon’s institutions, associations and individuals are increasingly staging exponents of the local musical *lusofonia* to potentialize cultural, institutional, pedagogical, or commercial activities. Nonetheless, a lusophone musical community is gradually gaining public visibility and professional acclaim. This community, which includes peoples of different skin colors, born in different places, and with different links to continental Portugal, also includes the *retornados*, thus taking the African presence in Lisbon city
beyond racial exclusion and stigmatization (Maciel 2010: VII; 207, 215-6, 227-230). In short, this lived transnationalism may help to consolidate Lisbon as a modern, cosmopolitan and postcolonial space of production and critique of the very notion of lusofonia.

4.3.3. Promoting inclusive participation

In a globalized world in which (inter)national record labels have transnational audiences and neoliberal concerns, Portugal’s musical potential lies heavily in its postcolonial expressions. Cultural entrepreneurs in Lisbon have played with musical fusion elements in various festive events, but the recording industry has been reluctant in promoting these musics. The dictatorship of Salazar and Caetano forged a national mentality – the consciência nacional – against mixture in the capital and in favor of supposedly monocultural musics such as fado. In addition, in the wake of this oppression, pop music did not evolve in Portugal as in other parts of the world, and only in the 1980s a record industry emerged meaningful in this domain. For various contextual reasons, Lisbon’s musical blending became more self-assured and self-conscious only in the 1990s. This blending took place in two distinct ways: internationally, on the one hand, and in lusophone Africa and Brazil, on the other, constituting intrinsically different realities. Meanwhile, lusophone African musicians were taken to edit many of their recordings under international labels in other European capitals, while resident Brazilian musicians oftentimes edited their work in Brazil. As this transnational discographic framework gained recognition and visibility for PALOP migrant musicians in Portugal - connecting Lisbon with other places with diaspora groups from Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe in both Europe and the USA, as well as with the countries of origin -, the Portuguese music industry did not however stimulate production of musicians with lusophone African origins, nor did it encourage critical readings to integrate non-western expressive culture (Dias 2006: 80-1, 92).

My analysis of the performance of Musidanças and other cultural events in Lisbon has revealed that racial perceptions, imbued in former colonial mentalities,

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692 However, the Portuguese recording company Valentim de Carvalho made recordings in Angola and Mozambique during colonial times.
693 The perspective of Brazilian musicians in Lisbon, of which some were contacted for my MA, was studied by Dettman (2006) and Guerreiro (2012).
continue to structure relationships of power. As Price shows, performance has become the medium through which anxieties about ethnicity are articulated and challenged, be it on the institutional or grassroots level (2015: np). As I have sketched above, integration into Portuguese society created tensions based on social, racial, and musical xenophobia events, exemplified in recent relations between fado, seen as the nationalist product representing the Portuguese soul, and lusophone musics, representing links to the former colonies and the subaltern Other). As Sieber found in his 2002 Lisbon ethnography – four years after the influential international event Expo’98 and six after the foundation of the CPLP – cultural promotors were not keen on promoting hybrid definitions of Portuguese national culture (2002, cited in Sanches 2004: 133-4). In 2016, this still seems to be true to a lesser extent, as somehow expressed by many musicians during my fieldwork.

To act under these non-receptive conditions, Musidanças’ organizer Firmino Pascoal pursues symbolic autonomy, on the discographic level through his publisher Zoomúsica, and on the associative level through the cultural association Jungleplanet. Pascoal is explicit in his desire to strengthen the artistic management of musicians, the development of technical skills and the representation role as a social movement. He envisions to transcend hegemonic limitations through the internet and its social networks: presenting his productions as a cohesive showcase of the musics of the lusophone communities that evolve in Portugal and worldwide. Thus, he hopes to get acclaim by companies, associations, municipalities and institutions alike, as well as musicians, media and publics. In addition, Pascoal makes his festival happen on a yearly basis in a variety of locations in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, potentially reaching the publics it seeks. Finally, spin offs such as Noites Mestiças and Musidanças Internacional are equally systematical in breadth and programming.

To my understanding, Musidanças employs the performance of traditional and alternative musics to give greater public visibility to resident populations that resulted from specific migratory flows, on the one hand, and the current cultural mix of Portugal’s urban centers, on the other. The festival particularly refers to the importance of migrant populations originating from Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon, as well as their musical and cultural performances, which are not always expressed in Portuguese (as referred in the manifesto Lusofonia, mestiçagem, som luso e mistura do ser humano). Since its temporary move to the center-north of Portugal (Viseu 2013 and São Pedro do Sul 2014), when a partnership with the creative agency Cadeira Amarela
was established, Musidanças has focused more on traditional Portuguese musics and their expressive practice, sometimes understood by participating musicians as folklore.

As such, Musidanças is a pioneering example of how encounters in intercultural spaces negotiate nationalist representations of expressive culture, under the influence of migration flows, the digital age, and world music industry. Heterogeneous urban contexts have suggested revisions of stereotypical perceptions of music as markers of national identity (Corte-Real 2013: 6), on one hand, while they also have questioned the relationship between fado with other local lusophone musics. Collaboration and propaganda towards mixture have increased since fado gained UNESCO’s blessing as part of an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (2011), confirming its status as Portugal’s musical narrative par excellence which eventually contributed to the reshaping of Portugal’s profile as a multicultural society (La Barre and Vanspauwen 2013: 127). My interpretation of the actions of Firmino Pascoal through Musidanças convinces me of that.

The recognition of fado by UNESCO also implies the attention to lusophone musics. In fact, Portugal may miss out if it does not embrace its historical ties. This entails the formation of publics and the promotion of intercultural education, to promulgate the idea that the musics made by lusophone performers that reside in Portugal are added value for Portuguese culture. This incipient but increasingly explicit process is reaching worldwide visibility in recent festivals such as Celebre o mar na boa onda da musica (May 24 - June 7, 2015), organized by the Lisbon Municipality and the Volvo Ocean Race near Padrão dos Descobrimentos in Belém, which used known lusophone musicians to represent Lisbon. As its artistic director, musician João Gil (P), stated:

> Procurámos desenhar um cartaz exclusivamente português, que apresente ao mundo o que de melhor se faz em Portugal e que vá ao encontro dos mais variados gostos musicais e idades. [Assim, o nosso evento] propõe-se a aliar “o melhor do desporto náutico nacional e mundial aos melhores nomes da música portuguesa” (interview in Glam Magazine).

To my understanding, the idea of a musical lusofonia, whether left implicit or explicit, is gradually being appropriated as a platform for Portuguese music, and not just

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694 Performing musicians were Kumpania Algazarra (P), Ala dos Namorados with João Gil (P), Carminho (P), Carlão (A), Sara Tavares e Banda B.leza (P-CV), Blasted Mechanism (P), Custódio Castelo Trio c/ Rão Kyao (P), a. o. Information retrieved from http://www.glam-magazine.pt/agenda-celebre-o-mar-na-boa-onda-da-69779
lusophone, sung in Portuguese or crioulo. Beyond standardization, there is a double aim: to incorporate postcolonial expressions into national cultural production, on the one hand, and to combat social exclusion and marginalization, on the other. Musical lusofonia in this respect simultaneously translates and reinvents forms of representation at local, national and supranational levels, on the one hand, while it also reproduces, or enounces, the borders that exist in society - or tries to negotiate them, on the other. The interviewed cultural agents that enounce this musical lusofonia defend that Portugal’s roots are hybrid and cannot be thought in a purely national or continental manner. Thus, a sole focus on fado and cante alentejano as immaterial cultural heritage, as they stress, would not do justice to Portugal’s intercultural history, present and future. As emerges from my multi-sited fieldwork research since 2008, Lisbon has the responsibility to give voice both to cultural agents that represent its former overseas provinces, and to regional cultural practitioners. The city would protect and foment its lusophone musical heritage to distinguish itself as intercultural player on the global stage and in terms of the music industry. As was pointed out by Salwa Castelo-Branco, since Portugal joined the European Community, there has been a reaction towards a return to the roots, “não sentido de voltar às raízes, de saber quem somos, de procurar o que nos distingue” (2013: np). In 2016, 30 years after 1986, with Brexit testing the European unity, this conscientization is more present than before, especially in music.

The hybrid performativities of lusophone musics in Lisbon reveal how this arts domains constitutes an argument to rethink the social. Musical lusofonia recognizes the need for intercultural citizenship, urging for a renewed valorization of Portugal’s multiple heritage elements resulting from continuing emigration and immigration processes and the ensuing dynamics of social, racial and cultural mixture. As such, it seems that the cultural crost in society (Red Bull Music Academy 2006), signaled as a one-way-street by Sieber (2002), the lack of counternarratives by Almeida (2008: 9) and as the marketing of the exotic Other by Sanches (2010: np) is slowly diminishing, as Lisbon opens up to a more inclusive self-definition with a multi-centric configuration, and not only - or not anymore - between herself and her peripheries (La Barre 2011: 154-7). Through the awareness that though society cannot be consolidated through

695 Available at http://www.publico.pt/cultura/noticia/salwa-castelobranco-mulher-de-musica-senhora-etnomusicologia-1617872
696 Available at http://www.theguardian.com/politics/eu-referendum
697 The notion ‘Music & multiple heritage hints’ was coined by Maria de São José Côrte-Real for the research seminar GOs1415.
music, musical practices mimic society’s openness to what’s new, foreign and strange. In this sense, the focus has started shifting from an ethnocentric nationalism to a language-based interculturalism. Hopefully, the increasing attempts to ally diversity to intercultural penetration may eventually lead to a national culture in which all parties find themselves duly represented.

4.4. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have interpreted my research results by means of an argumentative framework about the cultural politics of lusophone soundscapes, particularly represented in the festival Musidanças. Has the relatively short but meaningful history of Musidanças, announced by the written backdrop in the 2010 concert image, as seen in fig. 51 in annex 10, acted effectively in the rewriting process of lusofonia? As far as governance is concerned, my fieldwork suggests that lusofonia is an emic label that is increasingly used in a bottom-up logic “as a device to produce statements, not only about musical values and practices, but also about social and political orientation, ethnic identity, economic situation, music industry, historical conjunctures as well as historical connections” (Guilbault 1997a: np). The notion of lusofonia, originally coined by socialist politicians to brand postcolonial Portugal as a transatlantic force within a European framework, was subverted by Musidanças’ organizer to claim social status (Sparling 2008: 417-8). The festival prescribes lusofonia as historically legitimate recognition and creation of mixture, on the one hand, and a potential reconciliation platform for colonial traumas, on the other. In parallel, it deconstructs lusofonia, asking for a change of social, cultural and racial mindsets; the creation of cultural policies that include lusophone performers on a continued, professional basis; and intercultural education that makes the Portuguese aware of the richness of their shared musical past, present and probably future.

Through its decolonizing approach, Musidanças further proposes a specific form of nation-building that involves the normalization of anti-essentialism regarding race, social class and culture, by valuing mixture and, more broadly, promoting otherness. Thus, the festival’s negotiates “national values and ways of life, believing that new opportunities and better governance may arise from the revision of the relationship
among population groups” (Côrte-Real 2010b: 11, Frith 2000: 316). In other words, Musidanças, through the governance of its organizer, suggests that it is important to reflect and focus on the coexistence among cultures rather than merely comparing them (Bäckström & Castro-Pereira 2012: 83). In this respect, it fosters a stronger emphasis on individual citizenship rights and a lesser emphasis on collective nationality or ethnicity criteria (Almeida 1998: 239; Eide 2010: 65-6).

Regarding the discourse dimension, my analysis shows that Musidanças makes ample use of rhetorical appeals, specifically intertwining pathos appeals with ethos appeals. This shows from its call to arms, which implies courage to face the unknown, goodwill to create alliances and fraternities, and mental dispositions that allow intercultural transformations of oneself and others. Like related cultural events that I have discussed above, Musidanças uses the trope of change in its plea for new societal valorizations and understandings. Pascoal particularly makes a plea to rewrite colonial memories, unmask dichotomies and promote hybridization.

The emic notion of mestiçagem, understood as racial-cultural intermixture or fusion, is the red thread in Musidanças’ discourse critique. Mestiçagem addresses issues of interculturalism, in-betweenness and hybridization (André 2012: 45). It is a dynamic process that refers to enduring spaces for racial-cultural difference alongside spaces of sameness and homogeneity, making it susceptible to “moral evaluations rooted in racial hierarchies that corresponded to the domination of whiteness over blackness” (Wade 2005: np). Curiously, elite and middle-class populations often discriminate against subaltern identities, and render them simplistic, stereotyped and exotic in order to safeguard hierarchical distinctions of race (ibid.). It is interesting to note how, while racial and cultural intermixture (mestiçagem) was an active strategy of the Portuguese colonial project (Dias 2006: 36-7), the resulting hybrid people (mestiços, halfies, in-betweens) are not accounted for in official discourse. Balibar et al. refer to this invisibility as a ‘new racism’, defined as “a racism of the era of ‘decolonization’, of the reversal of population movements between the old colonies and the old metropolises, and the division of humanity within a single political space” (1991: 21). Arguing that the category of immigration functions as a substitute for the notion of race, the authors further contend that contemporary race relations within society normalize racist conduct instead of addressing racial belonging.

Social and cultural prejudice processes are institutionalized in the Portuguese society and deeply permeate lusophone memories of the colonial period that are
composed by a “fluctuating combination of continued exteriorization and internal exclusion” which, Balibar *et al.* stress, reproduces, expands and re-activates the structuring dimensions of racism (ibid.: 43-4). In this respect, the core of meaning opposes a ‘reality’ (the nation) to an ‘ideology’ (nationalism), entailing a peculiar contrast between a ‘normal’ political ideology (nationalism), on the one hand, and an ‘excessive’ behavioral ideology (racism), on the other (ibid.: 46). This formula is subject to critique, as nationalism cannot be defined as an ethnocentrism, except precisely in the sense of the product of a fictive ethnicity, such as *portugalidade* (ibid.: 49, Sousa 2014). In this sense, racism should be framed not as an expression of nationalism, but as a supplement that is internal to nationalism (ibid.: 54), which may explain for the rather limited repercussion of cultural events thus turned agents, such as Musidanças in contemporary Portuguese society.

Musidanças defends fusion ideas (*mestiçagem*) as an antidote to nationalized racism. Through its governance, discourse and performance, the festival’s organization reveals the ways in which the construction of a national paradigm in a racially heterogeneous society such as Portugal has been marked by contradictions between the search for a unifying identity, on the one hand, and the perception of differences between the nation’s different populational groups, on the other (Quintero-Rivera 2000). To my understanding, Musidanças version of *lusofonia* is ideologically consistent with both *mestizaje* and *creolité* ideas in that it proposes to mix racially and culturally different traditions for national diversity benefit. I thus understand Musidanças emic notion of *lusofonia* as a geopolitical condition of solidarity, and its emic notion of *mestiçagem* as an anthropological/cultural condition of solidarity, vis-à-vis continued relations of political, social and cultural domination established by Europeans (Quijano 2007: 168). This clearly converts Musidanças’ decolonial approach into a political and epistemic project (Mignolo 2001: xxiv-xxiv).

On the level of performance, my ethnography has pointed out that Musidanças and other festive players of cultural expression that converge in Lisbon, use their expressive practices to incite curiosity for lusophone postcolonial musics, undo stereotypes and promote inclusive strategies of culture integration. Specifically, my research outcomes suggest that the practice of performing lusophone musics in festive events aim to introduce lusophone musicians with different musical and racial backgrounds; combat their professional and social marginalization; and consider the transnational lusophone sphere as constitutive for Portuguese culture. This implies
recognizing that lusophone performers in Portugal also produce legitimate Portuguese music, beyond the music industry’s traditional focus on the so-called Portuguese musicians and established music categories such as fado, pop-rock, jazz and pimba, which after all offer only a partial picture of the lusophone soundscapes of Lisbon.

The transnational musical community as it emerges from my ethnography, actively utilizes the political notion of *lusofonia* and positions itself as an intervention movement. In fact, music producers such as Alex Cortez Pinto, youth association leaders such as Laura Filipa Vidal, and festival organizers such as Firmino Pascoal all creatively display Lisbon’s specificity through their programming of lusophone (migrant or alternative) musicians that are not part of the mainstream. As such, they convert their representational concerns of Lisbon’s resident/transnational lusophone communities into an exercise of intercultural education through musical performance. This implies plural readings of *lusofonia*, enriching the concept with notions of racial and cultural mixture that are evident in the emic use of the *mestiçagem* notion.

In general, Musidanças has tried to strengthen social and cultural bonds between musical agents from different lusophone origins in Lisbon, while it has also tried to address difficulties that are inherent to migrating musics from one country to another. In this respect, Firmino Pascoal points at the need of professional knowledge transfer and training possibilities in Portugal, while he also questions issues of goodwill, integrity and equal treatment by Portuguese music producers. The representation of musical *lusofonia* in performative events such as Musidanças fills this crust therapeutically, using the prism of music to transcend issues of linguistic, social, political and economic domination. In the end, then, the Musidanças’ project is a venture towards a transnational lusophone memory that translates in a continued music industry output and recognition in terms of quality, and not in mere punctual performances under specific labels used for ideological needs. Furthermore, the musical community that involves Musidanças explicitly represents Portugal as a place where the lusophone community finds itself.

Finally, my ethnography has shown that musicians and cultural entrepreneurs connote the notion of *lusofonia* in affective and symbolic ways. Their expressive practices point to a transnational musical circuit under construction, which uses Lisbon as a hub. This circuit entails collaborations rather than actual musical fusions for first generation migrant musicians. Their descendants often do not recognize themselves in traditional genres connected to their parents’ nations of origin, but do mix these
influences in their musics. By distinguishing these expressive diaspora practices from sociological dispersal realities – rather than treating one as derivative of the other – the relationship between these two processes can be effectively analyzed. Thus, it shows that lusophone musics, or musical *lusofonia*, increasingly connote new configurations of race, class and nation in Portugal’s dynamic postcolonial context.
The Musidanças’ festival, here studied, has a prospect. The hypothesis to test was confirmed: Musidanças prescribed *lusofonia* as interventionist by promoting an alternative social, musical and racial reality through the emic notion of *mestiçagem*. Musidanças’ prospect, built upon these intercultural worries, is *lusofonia*. Though confirmed in theory, in practice this hypothesis was not confirmed: the festival did not manage to break out of its margins, nor did it receive popular acclaim for the alternative socio-cultural expressions that it aimed to promote. Musidanças’ prospect of *lusofonia* shows the influence of three main composed situations within which the festival develops: fusion interface, heritage community and alternative nationalism. These three ideas emerged rather naturally in the synthesizing process of the above each subconclusions.

Firmino Pascoal’s conceptual world incarnates a new mission of promoting an inclusive, simultaneously traditional and modern, local and global, creolized and supposedly unmixed, *lusofonia*. His governance of the festival has proven to be built upon discursive and performance behaviors, often overlapping. Particularly with respect to the discursive dimension, the festival aims to rewrite colonial memories; to unmask dichotomies; and to acknowledge hybridization. Vis-à-vis the performance dimension, it urges to discover post-colonial Portugal musically, to combat artistic marginalization and to promote inclusive participation. Incorporating both fields in the governance dimension, Musidanças strives to change biased mentalities; critique cultural policies; and educate publics interculturally.⁶⁹⁸

In line with a number of researchers, my ethnographic work fosters understandings of affective worlds shaped not through music categories but through a politico-economical concept inspired on social and cultural flows: *lusofonia*, and its production and reception in the postdictatorial and postcolonial metropole of Lisbon. In this sense, my ethnographic work proposes an interpretation, in line with Rice, of how

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⁶⁹⁸ For a schematic outline of Musidanças’ interface, I refer to the diagram in the postscript.
the cultural agents that participate in these representations move between physical and symbolical locations, giving expression to the complexities of a postcolonial, globalized and digital age (2003: 174).

5.1. Fusion: cultural interface

Musidanças and the mentioned related events Noites Mestiças and Feira do Fado, which serve as cultural intermediaries between metaphorical constructions such as *lusofonia* and social participation events, represent platforms of cultural interfaces in themselves. The theoretical notion of cultural interface, as expressed by Nakata (2002), McGloin (2009) and Wong & Maegawa (2014), has found increasing resonance over the last 15 years. The idea of culture as a platform, a hub in which different realities - fed by complex and diversified experiences - interact, is particularly apt for my case study of Musidanças and related events. As the results of my ethnographic findings show, the organizers of Musidanças and other *lusofonia* festivals employ the music mixture idea in their rhetorical and performance actions in order to promote alternative types of cultural governance in contemporary Portuguese society. As such, they connect to scientific innovations found and discussed in anthropologic, ethnomusicologic and sociologic studies that have thought of culture as a “heuristic device to address difference” (Appadurai 1997: 12).

The affective representations of “cultural dislocation and split identities” by means of musical hybrids seem to have taken the lead, in music and research performance, since the turn of the century, in detriment to more essentialist music forms that, according to Erlman, vehicle “nostalgic revivals of exclusivist ethnic identities” (1998: 60). Through interviews, reflections, performances and recordings, I have gathered information that stimulates inclusive ways of thinking about music categories such as kuduro, semba, fusão, world and fado, using a lens to approach lusophone musics in ways that acknowledge transnational, contextual, individual and collective conditions. In line with Born and Hesmondhalgh (2000) and Bäckström and Castro-Pereira (2012), I note that a cultural reconfiguration is taking place, whereby new identities based on heterogeneous cultural repertoires and complex life experiences concede a concrete plurality to an otherwise generalized Portuguese Other. As an ethnomusicologist, I employ the notion of fusion interface of lusophone musics to refer to crosscultural
research and related cultural policies, so as to give “hermeneutical capacity to hybridization processes by locating these in structural relations of causality” (Canclini 2005: xxix).

The idea of mixture, fundamental to Musidanças and other music practices that surround it, is not new. Portugal, at a time of increasing pressure for African decolonization in the 1960s, promptly staged musics and dance acts to foster a sense of lusophone connectedness to the metropole, thus legitimating its permanence and policies. In comparable ways, we may consider that both the Exposição do Mundo Português (1940) and the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition represented Portugal as an area of cultural confluence and supposed openness. Newcomers from lusophone Africa that arrived in Lisbon in the last decades of the 20th century experienced trouble in finding performance and other spaces to interact. Conservative perceptions of allochtone cultural expressions shielded Portugal’s old built identity narratives from new African ones, thus maintaining exclusive behaviors. These mentalized oppositions led Sieber, in the backlash of Expo’98, to report a structural opposition between Portuguese and lusophone musics, despite observing celebrations of diversity and fusion (2002: 183). Lusophone musics were approached ethnically, he stressed, without links to existing migrant communities in Portugal and without references to Portugal’s intercultural past. The condemnation of exclusion, or the plea for fusion, is also evident in the actions of Musidanças’ organizer, both in his discourse, for example, the references to power imbalances in the manifesto Lusofonia, mestiçagem, som luso e mistura do ser humano, and in music programming, for example, the idea of solidarity among musicians with similar problems despite a dedicated professional activity.

From the worked interviews, written material and song lyrics, I got the impression that the Lisbon Metropolitan Area emerges as a cultural interface that use lusophone musics to promote itself as a cosmopolitan center. For most organizers of intercultural music events that I have interviewed, the plea for a sustained institutional and popular interests in musical lusofonia grows stronger as a new generation of citizens affirms itself against portugalidade as a unidirectional movement of cultural traffic, valorizing music and other expressive practices as pluridimensional ways to frame lusophone agents that feed into the notion of lusofonia699.

699 This schism between essentialism and pluralism in music reminds me of Steven Feld’s analysis of what he called the discursive tropes ‘world music’, seen as roots, authenticity, tradition, on the one hand, and ‘world beat’, seen as mixing, fusion, creolization, on the other (1994: 265).
While lusophone migrant musicians in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area actively practice interculturalism, anthropological constructs such as nationalism, culture and race permeate their work. It is interesting to note that, while first generation migrant musicians rather collaborate than actually fuse their musics, their descendants often do not recognize themselves in accepted music categories that connect to their parents’ provenance. At most, they mix these influences in their music. Besides this generational gap, fusion is present more in collaborations than in music creation itself, as lusophone musicians of various national backgrounds have increasingly performed together, but have only occasionally created new fusions through discographic or live collaborations.

Music festivals are particularly vibrant cosmopolitan spaces that may host fusion and as such, they have clear performative and pedagogic functions to play, such as sharing lived experiences, vitalizing cultural legacies, and revising stereotyped perceptions of music as national identity markers. My interviewees confirm that *lusofonia* is necessary intercultural and apt to fusions, thus suggesting the permanent inclusion of lusophone musicians into the Portuguese cultural soundscape.

The festival *Musidanças* arose from the practical difficulties that Pascoal experienced in fidelizing an audience for his personal music career in Portugal. According to him, lusophone musicians with traditional, ethnic or hybrid musics, such as himself, did not get the same treatment or acceptance as their Portuguese colleagues. To change this, Pascoal decided to create what he called an ethnic music festival. From the start, Musidanças metaphorically represented Pascoal’s quest for recognition in the society he was facing. In addition to his intermediary role as *mestiço* and cultural educator, Pascoal has also experimented strategies to change the music and media industry in Portugal, as his festival rhetoric and programming over the fifteen Musidanças editions display traditional and alternative musics from Portuguese and lusophone tradition. Defending Musidanças as a showcase for the lusophone communities in Portugal and promoting it as a link between different cultures and populations, Pascoal wants to stimulate what he calls a lusophone conscience – suggesting that Lisbon’s lusophone music community may serve as a catalyzer towards civic notions of *lusofonia*. In his organization of the discursive and performance sides of Musidanças in recent years, Pascoal has increasingly mentioned and staged fusions, both in music categories and claimed origins of musicians, in order to undo, he says, stigmas regarding folkloric, ethnic and alternative musics, which were especially evoked during Musidanças 2013 in Viseu. This interventional stance was particularly
clear in the Viseu edition, where the labels traditional and world referred to Portuguese folklore and lusophone ethnicities, for example.

Musidanças emically levels *lusofonia* with mixture, a process which is referred to as *mestiçagem, criolidade, fusão, africanidade, interculturalidade*, or *mistura* by interlocutors of different sorts and in different contexts, depending on their viewpoints (see the semantic diagram in appendix 4). Musidanças defends the simultaneous co-existence of different racialized elements rather than an undifferentiated fusion. This perspective, also expressed by Wade (2005), is observed through repeated music performances and discursive utterances. Specific resident musicians of the Portuguese capital critically approach existing dichotomies of racial domain, in terms of mental structures, institutional policies and the phonographic industry, trying to influence and ultimately change Portuguese governance ideas. The concept of *lusofonia* seems thus to be needed in this context in which politics and memory interact. Its supposed definitional weakness is surpassed when voiced by the subjects that it supposedly conceals, thus gaining strength. Fluidity gives dynamism to this interface. *Lusofonia* can only become relevant if it effectively manages to address the historic inequalities it evokes; if it results in intercultural meetings; and if it manages to decolonize society.

The rising dissemination and reception of musical *lusofonia* events in general indicate a generational paradigm shift in which a former arena of cultural struggle is gradually transforming itself into a civic space of intercultural awareness. Musidanças’ organizational, discursive and performative negotiations of *lusofonia* prescribe intermixture processes as fundamental for the understanding of Portugal’s contemporary national identity. This equation of *lusofonia* with processes of diaspora, hybridization and in-betweenness draws attention to citizenship issues of culturally and racially mixed lusophone populations that form part of postcolonial Portugal. Moreover, it also helps to recuperate rural cultural expressions that have similarly undergone depreciative views in the past. Musidanças’ action suggests that there is a civil need to foster interculturalism among those that merely instrumentalize lusophone expressive cultures, on the one hand, and those that actually practice it, on the other. Ethnomusicology research deals with tools capable of studying this *lusofonia* potential.
5.2. Heritage community dynamics

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage elevated intangible cultural heritage issues to the forefront of global cultural policy discussions, provoking questions as to “who determines what is designated as heritage worth saving for future generations, and how are such definitions made?” With Brandtstädtet et al., I argue that the increasing recognition of culture and the proliferation of public debates on the relation between culture and citizenship indicate that culture has become a political problem in which issues of governance and citizenship rights play out (2011: 167). Heritage offers an interesting field for studying the interaction of political thought and cultural action in the most diverse social strata and disciplinary fields. I contend, with Guilbault, that the valorization of local cultures has come to depend more on “political allegiances, cultural bonds or economic necessities” than to genealogical heritage or a common geographic location (1992: 140). In parallel, the “heritage matrix” has become a means of emphasizing a national or transnational imagined community, allowing for maintaining the potential political thrust of this cultural recognition process (Adell et al. 2015: 7).

A critical analysis of intangible cultural heritage, as the International Social Science Council reminds us, focuses not only on how colonial differences bring about unique cultural manifestations today, but also on the ways in which they enable “people’s ‘re-presentations’ or ‘representation of themselves’” (2012: 12). In the same line of thought, Musidanças and related musicians, entrepreneurs and audiences have articulated multiple and alternative voices that depart from received narratives of Portuguese national culture and heritage (Alge 2013), proving the assumption that lusophone postcolonial ideologies are not empty shells because people engage in, reappropriate and reinvent them (Morier-Genoud and Cohen 2013: 23). The way in which festive events display lusophone fusions is a renewed mode of cultural production that revitalizes old representations, transforming heritage into living tools for sustainable development (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998: np; Adell et al. 2015: 8). In this respect, my research results on discursive and performative practices let me perceive Musidanças as a music community which actively values specific aspects of cultural heritage “which [it] wish[es], within the framework of public action, to sustain and

700 Available at http://www.indiana.edu/~semhome/2013/pdf/SEM%202013%20Preliminary%20Program.pdf
transmit to future generations” (Adell et al.: ibid.). With Shelemay (2011), I see the lusophone soundscapes of Lisbon as fertile breeding grounds for collectives that pursue agendas of participatory cultural action. Musidanças in particular positions itself as a showcase for hybrid and alternative musics that it wants to safeguard, revitalize and disseminate both regionally, nationally, and internationally. Firmino Pascoal has used the community idea through diverse marketing slogans since Musidanças’ first editions, perceiving lusophone musics as a potential strategy for social and cultural inclusion. For this reason, he has oriented the festival to represent musical fusions and musicians' provenances in claimed categories, creating what one may see as a language-based intercultural lab in detriment of an ethnocentric nationalist focus.

Firmino Pascoal positions himself as a manager on both practical and symbolical levels. Regarding the former, he has tried to strengthen solidarity bonds and professional skills of musicians from different lusophone countries in Lisbon, while regarding the latter, he has promoted these music performers as culture bearers that transmit intangible cultural heritage symbols. Musidanças’ action is thus situated at the confluence of cultural memory and musical fluidity, promoting a rethinking of dated dichotomies stemming from colonial times. The musical lusofonia it prescribes can only be understood as a democratic space in which collective memories are plural and fragmented, implying respect for the stories, voices and feelings that are associated to it, as emerged from the field interviews. Musidanças’ organizers, musicians and audiences connote the notion of lusofonia in affective and symbolic ways to a transnational lusophone music circuit under construction, especially visible but not limited to the main city centers in urban Portugal and abroad. They also point at the reconciling role that traditional music and dance can play regarding persisting pejorative sentiments towards Portuguese culture, defending that Portugal’s hybrid roots cannot be thought in a merely national or continental manner. A focus on fado and cante alentejano as immaterial cultural heritage would not do justice to Portugal’s intercultural potential, they say. They contend that postcolonial Lisbon policies have the civic responsibility to give voice to cultural agents that have come to represent either the new Portuguese-speaking African countries or rural regions, if they want to distinguish themselves as intercultural player on the global stage in democratic times. Finally, interviewees ask for a change of mentalities to promote this living musical heritage both in Portugal and abroad, which is a work-in-progress as my discussion of the international festivals for lusophone musics has revealed.
Musidanças ventures towards a transnational lusophone memory that translates in a continued music industry output and recognition, on the one hand, and an intercultural education towards integration and tolerance in detriment of social exclusion and artistic marginalization, on the other. The festival veiculates metaphors of change on the three pursued levels of analysis: in terms of governance, it points to the discovery of people, sounds and perceptions; in terms of discourse, it takes the mestiço figure as central to lusofonia; and in terms of performance, it stages the marginal position of musicians as well as the communities they represent. This makes Musidanças simultaneously inclusive and interventionist, descriptive and prescriptive. This is congruent with Bhabha’s reflection that “the intervention of the performative opens up discursive spaces where the tension between the pedagogical and the performative collide, thus creating spaces of cultural critique and adjustment of social authority and civil interaction” (1994: 296).

The hybrid performativities of the lusophone soundscapes of Lisbon reveal how the arts may constitute an argument to rethink the social. Musical lusofonia posits the need for intercultural citizenship, recognizing Portugal’s multiple heritage elements resulting from continuing emigration and immigration processes and its resulting dynamics of social, racial and cultural mixture. The case of Musidanças illustrates in particular how a collectivity of meaning, praxis and emotional attachment (Brandtstädter et al. 2011: np) may gradually convert itself into a participatory cultural music community that promotes cosmopolitan citizenship – or “cultural cosmopolitanism” (Vertovec and Cohen 2002, Sanches et al. 2004, Stokes 2007, de La Barre 2011), by “dispens[ing] with national exclusivity, dichotomous forms of gendered and racial thinking and rigid separations between culture and nature” (Stevenson 2001: 4). The festival has created new spaces of political and ethical engagement to appreciate the ways in which “humanity is mixed into intercultural ways of life” (ibid.). Under unfavorable circumstances, this is in essence what Musidanças and its founder have accomplished.

5.3. Alternative to nationalisms

Cultural performances, as Guss reminds, often contain references to race, ethnicity and nationalism (2000). With Balibar et al., I note that nationalism cannot be defined as an
ethnocentrism, except in invented cases in which ideological politics use race-related thoughts to categorize existing practical realities (1991). Suchlike inventions in the lusophone sphere have been studied by Feldman-Bianco, who makes a distinction between ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ identities in her 2001 article on Brazilians in Portugal and Portuguese in Brazil. I find this insider-outsider categorization interesting in the light of official discourses that have portrayed Portugal as a racially tolerant and culturally open country that has repeatedly addressed Brazil as a peer, um país irmão.

My study of Musidanças confirms Feldman-Bianco’s contention that Portugal’s “metamorphosis” into a modern European nation not only recreated old imageries of universal Atlantic vocations, but simultaneously “disguise[d] actual bonds between race and nation” by promoting Portugal as a white, homogenous country (2001:37). Musidanças and related events show that ethnic nationalism (in terms of historical and cultural references) indeed remains strong in Portugal, a country that, according to Lança, maintains its interest in Portuguese emigrant communities abroad, but has no genuine interest in integrating Africans, Brazilians or other lusophones at home (2010: np). As Cardina’s 2014 analysis of Portuguese presidential discourses suggests, there is a persistent lusotropical matrix of nostalgia and conservatism that renders Portugal’s national representation problematic. Carvalho (1996: np) and Côrte-Real (2001: ix) show that these old mentalities, somehow observed in musical expressions, stem from colonial days, using symbolic associations to minimize and eventually exclude cultural differences, thus consolidating the centralist colonial nation. The ideological friction between nationalism and ethnicity might explain why Portuguese national institutions have repeatedly represented lusofonia as portugalidade or ‘postlusotropicalism’, understood as the global influence of Portugal in the world, excluding lusophone counternarratives, in line with Almeida (2008). Conservative Portuguese generations that lived colonialism still compromise the level playing field in which lusophone peers such as Musidanças’ organizer operate, while younger generations have been able to create situations of awareness. The fact that Portugal is not assuming its cultural preconceptions, maintaining an ambivalent posture vis-à-vis lusophone cultural entrepreneurs, may indicate that the country is still digesting its colonial legacy.

With Erlman, I have used music to problematize the “politics of ethnicity, nationalism and Western cultural hegemony” (1998: 20). Focusing on the “strategies of self-management” of Firmino Pascoal and related cultural agents in a variety of music-making contexts (Gopinath and Stanyek 2013: 146–147), my research has laid bare
incipient initiatives that have tried to reconcile nationalism and ethnicity through plural narratives, resumed under the lusofonia metaphor. By commenting on cultural policies, Musidanças’ organizer defends the fusion idea of mestiçagem as an antidote to the nationalized racism. The festival’s interlocutors argue that mestiçagem was an active strategy of the Portuguese colonial project (Dias 2006: 36-7), and indicate that the resulting hybrid populations were not accounted up till now. Musidanças’ discursive and performative output reveals how the construction of a heterogeneous national paradigm in modern Portugal has been marked by contradictions between the search for a unifying identity, on the one hand, and the recognition of difference, on the other. Through its defense of lusofonia as mixture, the festival proposes a shift from an ethnocentric nationalism to a language-based interculturalism, by mixing socially, culturally and racially different traditions for national diversity benefit. Musidanças thus negotiates national values and ways of life, suggesting that the intensification of co-ethnic and -cultural, or intercultural, relationships may offer new opportunities and better governance (Côrte-Real 2010b: 11, Frith 2000: 316).

The conciliating role that performative arts and expressive cultures may play in decolonizing metaphoric imageries turns itself clear in my study. The view of lusofonia-as-mixture (mestiçagem) enables a focus on alterity and difference that fosters mutuality without falling in the traps of national essentialisms. The fusion or mixture idea that has been associated to lusofonia by the related case studies points at the necessity of thinking outside of the box, acknowledging both portugueses africanizados e africanos aportuguesados701, as Carla Fernandes and Herberto Smith mentioned during the 2015 Rotas&Rituais festival. Regarding intensified relationships between Portugal and African countries, international conferences on Afroeuropeans (sixth edition in 2017)702, and journalistic reflections such as “O Negro e o Branco já são amigos?” (2015)703 illustrate an awareness of how “experiences of colonialism and imperialism continue to be constitutive of the European space and of the very idea of Europe” (Ponzanesi 2016: np). Thus, the push of Portuguese cultural representations beyond lusotropicalism and

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701 Available at http://www.rotaferidouais.com/rota-afrolis/
702 Available at http://www.uta.fi/yky/en/6thafroeuropeans/index.html
703 In this sense, Ribeiro (2015) intertextually refers to Al Jolson’s Jazz Singer (1927): “Assim uma programação […] definida por um pensamento de fronteira, onde o branco e o negro não são finalmente amigos mas decidiram observar-se e escutar-se, cada um trazendo consigo as suas histórias e memórias coloniais não descarando a sua posição de classe sabendo bem que qualquer tentativa de passar para o lado de lá é falsa. Quando um europeu não quiser mascarar-se de africano, começará aí a possibilidade de um encontro.” Available at http://www.publico.pt/culturaipsilon/noticia/o-negro-e-o-branco-ja-sao-amigos-1700338
The notion of *lusofonia* as cultural cosmopolitanism calls for a revision of Portuguese national identity as a continuous mix of heterogeneous influences. A suchlike *lusofonia* may well be a powerful weapon against both culture segregation and social homogenization. As Bäckström and Castro-Pereira point out, openness to the Other necessarily implies the will and creation of conditions for a reciprocal transformation, in which subjects with different cultures and different visions of the world mutually change one another’s experiences (2012: 34). This interpenetration is where the encounter with the Other and the noesis of self-discovery takes place (Macedo 2013: 216).

This awareness helps to promote the deconstruction of Europe as a postcolonial place. Traces of “alternative models for solidarity and conviviality”, in this perspective, have been devised “to account for historical legacies which have been denied, forgotten or silenced” (Ponzanesi and Blaagaard 2011: np). In this very sense of participatory cultural citizenship and cosmopolitanism, Musidanças and related events employ emic notions of language-based alliances to combat segregation and homogenization. It seems that lusophone and Portuguese players are finally devising strategies to deal with their common postcolonial predicament.

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If the documentary *Lusofonia, a (R)evolução* continues to be influential, so is the claim that the desired change – an institutional interest in sustained *lusofonia* and its musical fusions – is still lacking. Nevertheless, an increasing number of institutions, associations and individuals are projecting the intercultural processes encompassed by *lusofonia* as fundamental to Portugal’s contemporary national identity. All recognize old and new mixtures as an indispensable part of Portuguese conciliatory needs in Lisbon.

As a particular agent in this context, the festival Musidanças, understood as a subject that metaphorically plays the role of its founder-director, allows us to understand lusophone cultures palimpsestuously, rather as fluid sets of “temporarily
negotiated responses and exchanges than static systems of opposition” (Phillips 2007: 1)\textsuperscript{704}. With McGloin (2009), I am convinced that this cultural interface can serve as a framework for understanding roles, potentials and limitations within the power relations that involve the participants.

Struggles for inclusion in national culture have now shifted to a “culturally mediated politics of interpretability, agency and representability, employing culture as a resource for previously subordinate groups to tactically intervene in opinion formation and decision making” (Hoskin 2014, citing Yudice 2004). I understand Musidanças’ view of \textit{lusofonia} as a hegemonically diverse discourse of affect that recuperates and corrects Portugal’s colonial memory representations beyond language affinities, bringing to light a substantial number of conflictualities and subalternities that have endured until the present day. Musidanças reveals that old colonial mentalities are consciously subverted, and eventually subconsciously used, in new cultural productions alike. Conversely, the reappropriation of previously excluded musical and cultural fields may attenuate historical power in a discursive context dominated by diversity rhetorics. Complementing Ananya Kabir’s assumption that lusotropical tropes are generally renovated in \textit{lusofonia} without solving the real problem\textsuperscript{705}, I contend that Musidanças and its related actors serve as mediators that reflect on both the pros and contras of \textit{lusofonia}, and thus struggle “to create a future out of the past” (Cidra 2015: np).

Ultimately, Musidanças emic equation proclaims that this festival works as a showcase for lusophone mixtures in Portugal. Complementary to Martins’ vision of intercultural \textit{lusofonia} as both a promise and a crossing, my study acknowledges the necessity of co-existence in its most genuine sense. This implies addressing what Peralta calls ‘maritime heritage games’ (2011), postcolonial silences and xenophobic attitudes, from the emic belief that Portugal’s creation of creole or hybrid transnationalism never was fictitious. The passing from a multicultural to intercultural understanding of \textit{lusofonia}’s mixture is paramount as intercultural relations gain weight from the dynamic flow between cultural elements (Marques \textit{et al.} 2012: 9, Bäckström & Castro-Pereira 2012: 86-87).

\textsuperscript{704} Calcatinge defines palimpsest as “the cultural landscape, under the shape of ideal chronotope [palimpsest, culture] and of social dialogism [metaphor, \textsl{lusofonia}], [which] is the special expression of succession of interactions (transition, change, and temporality) and determined social relations based on cultural processes” (2012: 198).

\textsuperscript{705} Closing remarks at the King’s College international symposium City to City: Urban crossroads in the music of Africa, Brazil and Portugal, 1 July 2016. Available at http://www.brazilinstitute.org/citytocity
Music studies may unveil social changes, namely by interpreting beyond origin narratives and by visualizing negotiation strategies that are used today. Like Brett Pyper\(^{706}\), I situate my project at the interface of advocacy ethnomusicology with heritage curating, history articulation, and music performance to foster reflection on meaningful cultural practices. Academic research bridges knowledge between cultural practitioners and institutional legislators, as recently debated at the international conference “A Universidade, a Cultura e a Cidade” (NOVA 2016)\(^{707}\). Guilherme d’Oliveira Martins pointed out at this meeting that academics, as mediators between cultura and civitas, should know to ask the right questions if they truly care about the answers. Participating in the same session, Rui Vieira Nery argued that universities have a civic responsibility for community contribution, whereas José Moura prescribed universities as a dedicated interface for communities. Co-panelist Teresa Cruz even argued that community heritage deserves a top spot on the agendas of what she called contributive cultural economies, as both schoolchildren and tourists look for authenticity. Grassroots academic daily life is, however, often very different. Academic knowledge transfer would actively engage with cultural diversity, be aware of its social impact and serve as an instrument of civic education. Migrant communities and retornados, through several generations already, have created a fusion of ethnicities and cultures that is slowly becoming part of Portugal’s national image, making new proposals for inclusive citizenship such as the festival Musidanças more than meaningful. More studies and links with policy makers in this domain are still needed.

I cannot help seeing Portugal’s final in the Euro 2016 football competition (July 2016), played and intensely discussed in the final weeks of this dissertation’s writing process, as a metaphor for a new Portugal that, even if accidentally, lets go of essential narratives and gives lusophone newcomers the chance to give their best. It thus could be argued that not only Portugal won the Euro 2016 on July 10, but also the Portuguese-speaking world in Portugal: Eder (Guinea-Bissau), Nani (Cape Verde), Renato Sanches (São Tomé and Prince/Cape Verde), Pepe (Brazil), William Carvalho (Angola) were all playing in the team. This metaphorical game, in which the captain - Madeira superstar Ronaldo - was shamefully sidetracked, gave Portugal a chance to show its mixture and eventually approve it as integral to the nation’s narrative.

\(^{706}\) Available at http://www.indiana.edu/~semhome/2008/pdf/abstract_book08.pdf

\(^{707}\) Available at http://online.unl.pt/cultureunica2016/index.php/pt/programa
Figure 53: Portugal’s national selection winning goal by Eder, July 10, 2016, Stade de France
Fonte: http://oglobo.globo.com/esportes/portugal-1-0-franca-final-da-eurocopa-2016-19682538

Critics – through articles such as “Da celebração ao combate” (2016)\textsuperscript{708}, “O futebol português desdramatiza o preconceito”\textsuperscript{709} and “France’s and Portugal’s colonial heritage brings African flavour to Euro 2016”\textsuperscript{710} – argued, however, that only in football, talent can circumvents discrimination. They also demanded that schools would teach about the composition of the Portuguese Euro 2016 team to better understand ethnic discrimination, on the one hand, and to combat what they called “Portugal’s white racism”, on the other (ibid.).

Can music lead Portugal to similar victories as Euro 2016? My analysis of Musidanças and its surrounding players shows that there is definitely transnational potential but a chance to score, like Eder, still seems to depend on faith and fortune. During Euro 2016, Buraka Som Sistema (A, P) symbolically played their last concert at the Belem Tower as part of the Festas de Lisboa, after 10 years and some 800 concerts worldwide\textsuperscript{711}. Their message before saying goodbye to Portugal and to a city that they helped put on the global music map could not be clearer: “mix yourself and be a winner.”

\textsuperscript{708} Available at https://www.publico.pt/portugal/noticia/da-celebracao-ao-combate-1738445?page=1
\textsuperscript{709} Available at http://expresso.sapo.pt/dossies/diario/2016-07-13-O-futebol-portugues-desdramatiza-o-preconceito
\textsuperscript{710} Available at https://www.theguardian.com/football/2016/jul/09/france-portugal-colonial-history-african-flavour-euro-2016
\textsuperscript{711} Available at http://musicfest.pt/concerto-completo-dos-buraka-som-sistema-no-globaile-2016-32768
To interpret the *lusofonia* phenomenon, contributing to my field of studies, I got caught in a complex web of postcolonial changing environment forces, citizenship struggles and social justice contexts. Musidanças’ inability to reach large audiences, emerging in my study, remains both obscure, regarding the new tendencies mentioned, and revealing, showing how postcolonial migration processes bring with them memories of injustice and, eventually, reconciliation of people and taboos.
0. **Introdução: Erlkönig**

Pode a música ajudar a desfazer dramas? Lembrando-os, alimentando-os, apagando-os, exacerbando-os, harmonizando os seus efeitos?

No fenómeno musical que estudei, como no exemplo musical com que introduzi a minha defesa, há um pai que teme uma força maior e que revela, com o filho, a sua ansiedade, através de poesia e música.

[Trecho do vídeo Erlkönig: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JS91p-vmSf0]

A composição Mussulo, de Firmino Pascoal e do seu filho João, que analiso na tese e a que me referirei hoje, mais à frente, despertou-me esta ligação a Schubert e a Goethe. Outros casos me vieram à mente quanto à celebração musical da ligação forte e angustiada, entre pai e filho: *Afasta de mim esse cálice, Pai...* de Chico Buarque da Holanda, por exemplo.

Faço na minha tese uma interpretação etnomusicolórgica, para um papel da música no conjunto de processos humanos que o festival que estudei representa (refiro John Blacking nesta associação entre a música e o homem, transmitida “íntima/intensamente”, diria, entre pai e filho, no exemplo que selecionei).

Proponho, pois, que certas memórias da colonização, com representatividade genética, se mantêm, em Portugal, como tabu. E que a música serve, como no caso do meu estudo, para referir, celebrar, apaziguar ou simplesmente lidar com a preocupação revelada: expressa, neste caso, como *lusofonia*. Libertadora. Opressora. Complexa!

1. **A Escolha da língua**

Não sou *native speaker* de inglês e português, as duas línguas em que desenvolvi os meus estudos recentes. Embora tenha mais facilidade de expressão em inglês, língua na qual optei por redigir a minha tese, decidi usar o português para preparar e expressar-me nesta prova. Ele tem melhorado entretanto, e agradeço as sucessivas revisões à minha orientadora. Sendo o meu objeto de estudo análise de referências émicas à *lusofonia*, num festival com intervenientes lusófonos, senti que a razão para o uso da língua lusa redobrou.
A tese foi escrita originalmente em inglês, embora todas as entrevistas, no trabalho de campo, tenham sido conduzidas em português. Desde cedo tenho, no entanto, o plano de a produzir nas duas línguas, a tradução para português está quase pronta.

Apresento, pois, aqui, perante o júri, o meu pedido para que esta prova seja conduzida em português, já que o universo lusófono está subentendido no meu assunto de estudo. É assim uma situação algo caricata, a vontade expressiva que menciono. Se o júri não se opuser, fico então a falar em português.

2. Início com uma referência ao título: Lusofonia in Musidanças: Governance, Discourse and Performance. O que estuda o meu doutoramento? Porquê e Como? Tentarei apresentar brevemente

Observei a notoriedade da noção de lusofonia num festival específico: o Musidanças. E, partindo dele, no âmbito mais alargado da arena lisboeta e portuguesa. Interessado em perceber o conceito de lusofonia e vários dos significados por ele invocados, desenvolvi a minha investigação no sentido de interpretar o uso émico do termo feito pelos intervenientes no festival bem como em diversos contextos no qual o termo e o próprio festival operam.

Proponho que para a governança do Musidanças o seu promotor re-significou a noção de lusofonia, usando em particular o que entendi como duas estratégias comportamentais: denominei uma discursiva e outra performativa.

Para observar estas duas estratégias, idiosincrácicas, de organização no meu estudo, concentrei-me em comportamentos que revelaram formas de conhecimento social ligadas ao contexto cultural pós-colonial em Portugal. Por um lado, notei a expressão tendencialmente sistemática da organização do festival para referir a proveniência geográfica dos músicos, associados a espaços culturais. Esses espaços, denominando as velhas colónias identificam-se com os nomes dos novos países. Por outro lado, notei a preocupação do organizador em categorizar a performance musical em curso, ligando os músicos ao repertório divulgado no festival. As categorias usadas neste processo dinâmico, resultam de ingredientes vários, associando referentes de género, caráter performativo, e de outros elementos definidores aceites no meio da indústria musical contemporânea em Portugal.
Pode a música descolonizar a sociedade? - pergunto na introdução da tese. O termo *lusofonia* que me preocupa desde o início, revelou-se chave para a minha reflexão acerca desta interrogação. *Como é que o Festival Musidanças adaptou o conceito de lusofonia à sua governança?* Que ideias relacionadas sustentaram a organização do festival? Que enquadramento emocional/afetivo, se o houve, motivou este empreendimento musical?

Em uníssono com Firmino Pascoal – o organizador – parafraseio parte de um texto da sua autoria, postado no seu blog, que considerei como o seu *manifesto* de intenções do Musidanças (de 2007):

Título e primeiro excerto do “Manifesto” _Lusofonia, mestiçagem, som luso e mistura do ser humano:_

*Nem sempre o reconhecimento da identidade indígena prevaleceu, mas temos que reconhecer a coragem para enfrentar o desconhecido, a criação de alianças e fraternidades, transformando e deixando-se transformar. Do contacto entre o povo colonizador e os povos resultou um intercâmbio a vários níveis sendo deles o mais profundo o da miscigenação. Eu sou Mulato, português nascido em Angola, de pai branco e mãe negra._

O fundador do Musidanças revela neste trecho um enquadramento emocional/afetivo, que eu digo essencialmente identitário. Firmino refere *identidade indígena, povo colonizador, criação de alianças e povos resultantes de miscigenação.* Apresenta-se a si próprio como fruto de tal, e evoca-o inequivocamente na motivação para a organização deste seu empreendimento. Aborda dimensões de mistura e inclusão na sociedade portuguesa colonial e pós-colonial.

Porém, neste texto programático como um todo, Pascoal aborda também a expressão da diferença a dois níveis identitários que categoriza: (1) ao nível de uma distribuição geográfica/nacional das pessoas e (2) ao nível de uma sistematização sonora, denominando tipos de músicas diferentes. A ordem aparente estabelecida por Firmino, expressa, por exemplo, nos cartazes e no material literário impresso da capa do disco, revela um dinamismo interpretativo do meio, que mostra o que considero como a fluidez da categorização cultural usada.

Abordo neste trabalho a noção de modernidade fluida na análise que faço do festival do Firmino, tomando um conceito do recentemente falecido Zygmund Bauman. E associo na minha reflexão esta fluidez à ideia frágil ainda que brilhante de uma bolha, referida por Marta Lança precisamente a propósito da *lusofonia*, que traduz
preocupações conceptuais: o que sustenta a bolha da lusofonia? O que invoca? E como se alimenta?

Envoltos em contextos diversos, do elogio propagandístico à crítica, por vezes mordaz, o conceito de lusofonia apareceu de modo extraordinariamente visível, usado pelos mais diversos agentes culturais no campo do meu estudo. Particularmente associado a práticas expressivas e musicais neste e em contextos congéneres, a ideia de lusofonia remete, no caso da governança deste festival, para a reivindicação da reposição de uma justiça sociocultural pós-colonial ainda por saciar.

Os estudos musicais permitem desvendar mudanças sociais, por interpretar, ainda, além de narrativas de origem, e visualizando estratégias de negociação que são utilizadas hoje. Nas últimas décadas, os debates sobre a definição e eficácia do multiculturalismo e do seu parente interculturalismo como ideias filosóficas, de sucesso político têm aumentado em Portugal. O debate académico de tais domínios precisa, porventura, de mais eficácia. O sector da educação pública tem desenvolvido esforços no sentido de o fazer avançar tal debate. As vicissitudes (consequência de mudanças sociais profundas) nas sociedades contemporâneas em direção acelerada para uma globalização a custo de muito, mostram, contudo, o quão incipiente é ainda a experiência de cidadania multi- ou intercultural, na diversidade.

Porque é que estudo isto (que motivações senti)

Acredito que esta perspetiva académica dará, a seu tempo, frutos para desenvolver caminhos de entendimento de relações coétnicas e interculturais nas sociedades em que vivemos. Observando a lusofonia como conceito dinâmico, em construção e re-significação, o desafio que senti consistiu em reconhecer processos diversos de hibridização uns, de reivindicação de pertença outros, que se traduzem em práticas culturais negociadas nas diversas políticas de hoje.

Como desenvolvi o meu estudo?

Centrei-o num sujeito (usando a estratégia da subject-centered musical ethnography, descrita e usada, entre outros, por Timothy Rice em 2003, e recorrendo à sua avisada sugestão de observação de aspetos metafóricos e de relacionamento de fenómenos musicais com dimensões de espaço e de tempo diversas). Considerei experiências individuais, locais, nacionais e globais contra uma tela de música como mercadoria, comportamento social, símbolo e arte. O sujeito é o músico português-
angolano Firmino Pascoal, que organiza o Musidanças desde 2001. Parti do apontamento de modos/preocupações pelos quais Firmino verbaliza e descreve proveniências nacionais aclamadas pelos e para os músicos, bem como das categorias musicais performadas, expressas ou apresentadas, no que refere como um mundo, ou contexto, musical lusófono. E organizei a minha tese em 4 capítulos e 1 conclusão que intitulei como:

Relacionei o festival com (1) a noção de lusofonia na contextualização do que se me afigurou ser uma noção contemporânea satisfatória na perspetiva da modernidade fluida que referi; confrontei-a com aquilo a que chamei (2) paisagens sonoras e redes de interesses diversos em contexto pós-colonial em Lisboa, para por fim (3) apresentar e analisar o festival através do uso que faz desta noção, a ideia mestra do meu estudo. O que chamei políticas de desenvolvimento do festival interessou-me enquanto estratégia de uso do fenómeno musical como (4) mediador de descolonização de alianças de base linguística. Acompanhei e tentei entender diferentes agentes culturais que têm evocado a noção ambivalente da lusofonia, grosso modo nos últimos 15 anos. Baseio-me em trabalho de campo in loco e virtual, analiso teias de interesses musicais em jogo em contextos de fluidez lusófona, e procuro, pois, perceber como é que produtores de música locais e seus produtos têm representado lusofonia em eventos festivos, noutros locais e em gravações ou registos fonográficos com fins comerciais. Escolhi o Musidanças como estudo de caso para investigar como o multi- e interculturalismo se traduzem na governança – inclusiva ou exclusiva – de um festival centrado no conceito político de lusofonia em Lisboa. (5) Na conclusão aponto lusofonia como a mensagem do festival, numa versão re-significada, onde valores anti-racistas, de hibridação e de interculturalidade se apregoam através de fenómenos musicais.

Pode dizer-se que o presente estudo de doutoramento constitui em parte uma continuidade do meu mestrado sobre problemas de representação no documentário Lusofonia, a Revolução da Red Bull Music Academy e a sua força de globalização, em parte contestada por músicos de países lusófonos em Lisboa. O outro lado da medalha é agora tornado visível nesta análise do festival Musidanças. Revela-se, pois, um mal-estar pós-colonial. Este mal-estar, relacionado com silêncios pós-coloniais vários (cito Rosa Cabecinhas – quem quer ser apagado) e M. Manuel Baptista – lusofonia como o lugar do não-dito) tem sido compensado por produções com maior e menor sucesso, e
maiores e menores custos não só emocionais como financeiros, por produções musicais várias e em particular pela ação de Firmino neste festival, nos últimos 15 anos.

Os mal-estares são profundos e enraizados em tempos distantes, com consequências políticas e sociais marcantes. Há um tabu histórico que, como referiu João Soeiro de Carvalho (2015 – no contexto doutoral Pedro Hispano), teima em demorar-se em Portugal.

A aparentemente frágil bolha da lusofonia - englobando dimensões tais como a linguística, a económica, a política e a cultural – parece, afinal, mover forças não tão desprezíveis assim. Segundo Marta Lança (2010), a música poderia ser uma exceção, onde o discurso do “espaço lusófono” faria algum sentido uma vez que, desde o séc. XV, tem sido um veículo de fortes trocas culturais. A história portuguesa caracteriza-se, em diversos momentos, pela confluência de culturas distantes (tanto nas ex-colónias como na metrópole), contribuindo para a formação gradual de fusões e entendimentos musicais como lembrou Salwa Castelo-Branco (em 1986/1997). Segundo Manuela Ribeiro Sanches (em 2010), o mar português resiste ainda, porém, a ser ‘negro’ e, neste caso, como Firmino testemunha, resiste à vivência “sua” de músicas africanas ou híbridas, que as mais das vezes são ainda mercantilizadas como manifestação exótica, de músicas do mundo.

**Como estudei?**

Construí e analisei o meu objeto de estudo através de observação participativa, de condução de entrevistas formais e conversas informais, por vias de pesquisas de campo, arquivística e de navegação na internet, nas quais a análise do material auditivo e visual coexistiu.

Para analisar o material recolhido, entendi a importância das metáforas culturais centradas no sujeito num contexto de alteridade. Além da ideia de tempo-lugar-metáfora de Rice (2003), a noção de governabilidade de Guilbault (2007) e a compreensão de Shelemay (2011) das comunidades musicais foram essenciais. Confesso que descobri o estudo ‘Festivalização, Fluxos culturais e políticas públicas’ (2015) de Jorge de Freitas Branco só durante a preparação deste texto. Considero incorporar ainda na tese a ideia que descreve de festivalização como um processo de ação política e de esquecimento - onde a governabilidade da música através de “estéticas de ação/intervenção” em “guerras culturais” demostra a necessidade de “repensar o folclore [ou seja, as tradições de comunidades] no século xxi” se este júri assim me permitir.
3. Breve apresentação do festival, problematização nesta tese e narrativas em diálogo

Musidanças é um festival com sede em Lisboa, criado pelo músico português-angolano Firmino Pascoal em 2001 com o objetivo, segundo o seu organizador, de “estimular e apoiar a criação de arte lusófona, desenvolver a consciência lusófona e proporcionar atrações de qualidade que possam manter vivas as origens do público estrangeiro-lusófono residente em Portugal”. Apontando a defesa da lusofonia como a sua bandeira, Musidanças pretende “criar um elo entre o trabalho dos artistas participantes”, promovendo diálogos culturais transnacionais entre os países lusófonos. Pascoal idealiza o festival como um movimento que levou muitos músicos participantes a serem reconhecidos nacional e internacionalmente. Além da componente musical, Musidanças promove a dança, e a arte no geral, pretendendo constituir “uma vitrine coesa de comunidades lusófonas e as suas culturas em Portugal e no mundo”. O festival posiciona-se como um elo entre diferentes populações e culturas, “acreditando que o segredo está na mistura e na qualidade dos artistas selecionados”.

Ao estudar o uso do conceito de lusofonia no festival deparei com o que agora se me afigura claramente uma instância de modernidade fluida. Este meu estudo contemplou componentes comportamentais conjugadas para uma estratégia governativa de defesa e promoção da ideia de lusofonia. A análise das componentes comportamentais que designei como “discurso” e “performação”, envolvendo textos de entrevistas, anúncios no blogue, conversas, canções, assim como observação de espetáculos pelos prismas dos artistas e dos públicos, e.o., mostrou que (“erros de categorização” são afinal detalhes de fluidez na modernidade). Além disso, a defesa/promoção da lusofonia é intencional, como emana do já citado “manifesto”:

Título e segundo excerto do “Manifesto” Lusofonia, mestiçagem, som luso e mistura do ser humano:

Os Artistas dos países lusófonos têm lutado em Portugal com uma grande dificuldade de implantação no meio cultural português de forma a terem um tratamento e aceitação igual [...] Existe na atualidade uma identidade cultural que pode ser vivida, partilhada e enriquecida pelos vários países e comunidades [...] A união em torno da língua é importante pois torna-nos numa força com mais poder até internacionalmente [...]

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A luta dos artistas lusófonos em Portugal, a promoção da identidade musical partilhada e a união em torno da língua, emergem no [manifesto] como máximas da sua existência. Musidanças construiu e utilizou o conceito de lusofonia na sua governança, através das lentes proposta do discurso e da performance, para participar no debate pós-colonial em Portugal. Utilizei o Musidanças como um estudo de caso para interpretar os significados individuais e grupais dos fluxos culturais para os músicos diaspóricos e as estratégias que desenvolvem para se engajarem nas políticas institucionais com que deparam.

O Musidanças prescreve a lusofonia como intervencionista através da noção émica de mestiçagem, e usa essa correlação para promover contextos alternativos. Embora o festival não tenha audiências massivas, arrisco-me a propor que Musidanças efetivamente conseguiu romper margens e promover expressões socioculturais alternativas.

Dado o contexto internacional, presumi que as instituições educacionais e políticas, as associações voluntárias e os empreendedores culturais podem estar interessados em promover a diversidade cultural lusófona numa perspetiva transnacional. Considerei, portanto, que as músicas lusófonas – uma categoria cada vez mais usada nos últimos anos – podem ser um meio útil para a análise dos processos de etnicidade e suas relações com o nacionalismo, por um lado, e para o posicionamento desses processos como estratégias ideológicas e sociais nos seus respetivos contextos, por outro.

Explorei conhecimento acerca de como é que os festivais - encarados como locais influentes de socialização e negociação que transcendem as fronteiras nacionais - contribuem (ou não) para a construção de eventuais comunidades – neste caso uma comunidade lusófona inerentemente transnacional - que se baseia no contato intercultural.

Deste modo, destaquei formas simbólicas pelas quais os participantes do Musidanças lidam com rótulos e dicotomias tais como local/global, tradição/modernidade e inclusão/exclusão, entre outros.

Escrever esta tese implicou a construção de uma narrativa, tomando em conta várias outras: a minha (de observador participante e pesquisador); a do Firmino Pascoal (pessoa/musico e empreendedor cultural); a do festival Musidanças e outras práticas culturais à sua volta; a dos sujeitos pós-coloniais em Portugal.
(retornados/africanos/portugueses/misturados/migrantes); e a de Portugal como estado-nação com ligações transnacionais, sejam elas lusófonas ou não.

5. Quais são os principais resultados desta pesquisa?

No sentido do reconhecimento da importância de um conceito político-económico inspirado em fluxos sociais e culturais: a *lusofonia*, e da sua produção e receção na metrópole lisboeta pós-ditatorial e pós-colonial (já referida), proponho na tese uma interpretação de como os agentes culturais que participam dessas representações se movem entre locais físicos e simbólicos, dando expressão às complexidades da era pós-colonial, globalizada e digital.

Nutrindo a existência da bolha, que tomo da Marta Lança, a realidade da *mestiçagem* – tão invocada por Firmino na governança do seu festival, e que, seguindo Peter Wade (2005), defino como mistura racial e cultural numa perspetiva ideológica nacionalista – encontra na música um aliado forte, não só entre os miscigenados como no sucesso do seu reconhecimento cultural entre os supostamente não miscigenados.

A governança do festival Musidanças provou ser construída sobre comportamentos que chamei discursivos e performativos, muitas vezes sobrepostos.

• Particularmente no que diz respeito à dimensão discursiva, os resultados obtidos indicam que o festival pretende
  - reescrever memórias coloniais;
  - desmascarar dicotomias;
  - reconhecer a hibridização.

• Relativamente à dimensão performativa, os resultados apontam que o Musidanças promove
  - a descoberta musical num Portugal pós-colonial;
  - o combate à marginalização artística
  - a participação diversificada.

→ No que respeita à sua governança, o festival idealizado pelo Firmino Pascoal caracteriza-se por querer:
  - mudar mentalidades tendenciosas;
criticar políticas culturais;
educar públicos de maneira intercultural.

Teoricamente, a hipótese a testar foi confirmada: Musidanças construiu e expressou as suas preocupações interculturais através da lusofonia, interpretando este conceito como intervencionista através da noção émica de mestiçagem, com o objetivo de promover uma realidade alternativa em termos sociais, musicais e raciais.

O uso que o festival fez da noção de lusofonia mostra a influência de três principais situações compostas nas quais o Musidanças se desenvolveu:

- interface de fusão cultural;
- dinâmicas patrimoniais;
- nacionalismo alternativo.

Neste caso, embora confirmada em teoria, na prática a hipótese do sucesso comercial e social não foi confirmada: o Musidanças não conseguiu sair das suas margens, nem recebeu aclamação popular pelas expressões socioculturais alternativas que pretendeu promover através da noção de lusofonia.

Interpreto, pois, a visão do festival no que diz respeito à lusofonia como um discurso heterogéneo de afetos que recupera e corrige as representações da memória colonial de Portugal para além das afinidades de linguagem, trazendo à luz um número substancial de conflitos e subalternidades que persistiram até os dias de hoje, como a canção Mussulo refere e vos dou agora a ouvir:

[MP3, não disponível online]

A composição do Firmino e do seu filho João que referi na minha introdução de hoje, representa a ligação íntima, forte e dramática, entre pai e filho: Mussulo (usando metaforicamente o nome da ilha na baía de Luanda, frente ao Museu Nacional da Escravatura) que analisei na tese mostra como a conceção musical em ambiente de rap, na gravação comercial, valoriza a participação dialogante. Nela interpreto uma reclamação de democracia, não digo de integração, inclusão ou assimilação, mas de convivência, no respeito mútuo, evidentemente. As vozes de fundo, que se ouvem, sem preocupação de deixar distinguir mensagens, tornam mais “real” a contextualização do fonograma. O conteúdo do texto, reclama proveniências múltiplas (europeias e da minha gente, cabrito na banda e laton em Portugal) e expressa categorias musicais (semba, quizomba, afro-house). Auditivamente, interpreto uma polifonia vocal.
emocionalmente carregada, na qual as vozes do Firmino são claras na sua mensagem: o pai diz (que *sendo mulato cresceu sem preocupações*) e o filho (*farto de reviver problemas raciais, tribais, animais,... diz [estou] perdido sou abatido...*). Estas duas vozes principais misturam-se com a do amigo (que *tem muito preconceito mas também é português, com orgulho em diversos tipos de produção musical*) e misturam-se ainda com as vozes da população anónima inicial sem mensagem distinta, para representar musicalmente o drama da sua existência lusófona, pacificada mais em sonho do que na realidade.

A canção Mussulo é paradigmática para os resultados obtidos na investigação do festival Musidanças e do contexto no qual opera:

- Por um lado, revelando que as antigas mentalidades coloniais são conscientemente subvertidas e, eventualmente, subconscientemente utilizadas, em novas produções culturais.
- Por outro, sugerindo que a reapropriação de campos musicais e culturais previamente excluídos pode atenuar o poder histórico num contexto discursivo dominado pela retórica da diversidade.

A equação émica de Musidanças proclama que este funciona como uma vitrina de misturas lusófonas em Portugal. Ao mesmo tempo, o festival é uma metáfora para as condições representativas africanas e mestiças do Firmino Pascoal. O meu estudo deixa no ar a pergunta acerca da eficácia da música como agente descolonizador. A fluidez na governança dada pelo Firmino ao seu festival, porém, desperta-nos para o carácter efémero da categorização nacional dos indivíduos implicados. As matrizes culturais dos “miscigenados” cujas denominações baralham por vezes alguns detalhes discursivos e performativos na governança do Musidanças, tanto relativamente aos indivíduos como aos sons musicais produzidos ou usados, são disso evidência.

6. Contributo deste estudo para a Etnomusicologia. Questões em aberto

Para interpretar o fenómeno da *lusofonia* neste festival, fiquei preso numa rede complexa de mudanças pós-coloniais, lutas de cidadania e contextos de justiça social. A incapacidade de Musidanças alcançar grandes audiências, referida no meu estudo, permanece algo obscura, diante das novas tendências mencionadas, mas revela como os
processos migratórios pós-coloniais trazem consigo memórias de injustiça e, eventualmente, reconciliação de pessoas em tempos e lugares diversos.

Na sequência da minha leitura dos comportamentos de uso e promoção da ideia de *lusofonia* neste festival, aponto a governança do Musidanças como reveladora de tabus profundos por um lado (impureza da miscigenação), mas por outro permanecendo ainda como obscurecedora relativamente a tendências recentes de potenciais alianças independentes das prévias ligações coloniais (libertação de referência exclusiva a PALOPS – pondo em causa a própria abertura social da noção de *lusofonia*).

Como um agente particular neste contexto, o festival Musidanças, entendido na função de um sujeito que desempenha o papel de seu fundador-diretor, permite-nos entender a fluidez das culturas lusófonas, como conjuntos de respostas e trocas temporariamente negociadas, em vez de sistemas estáticos de oposição. No fundo, a *lusofonia* assim re-significada por Pascoal representa-se como intercultural e híbrida, anti-xenófoba e anti-racista.

A passagem de uma compreensão multicultural para uma intercultural, com o que isso implica de uso de memória e sua interpretação contribui para o entendimento das novas relações interpessoais a ganhar peso a partir do fluxo dinâmico entre os elementos culturais mais díspares.

Na minha análise, o jogo metafórico da herança, simbolizado pela noção de *lusofonia*, patente no festival Musidanças, mostra misturas antigas e novas como parte indispensável das necessidades conciliadoras portuguesas em Lisboa; e eventualmente como parte integrante de uma narrativa da nação portuguesa que assim se vai revelando através de fenómenos musicais.
Musidanças: re-significando *lusofonia*

**Interface da lusofonia no Musidanças:**
- fusão (inter)cultural
- novas dinâmicas patrimoniais
- nacionalismo alternativo
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* Note: All electronic references, individually indicated in the course of the thesis, can be found in annex 20.


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ANNEX 1

Manifesto Lusofonia, mestiçagem, som luso e mistura do ser humano


Para uns são um conjunto de identidades culturais apresentadas de forma simples ou mais ou menos misturadas.

Angola, Brasil, Cabo Verde, Comunidades Lusófonas espalhadas pelo mundo, Cidadãos estrangeiros a residir em Portugal, Galiza, Guiné Bissau, Goa, Macau, Moçambique, Portugal, S. Tomé e Príncipe, Timor Leste.

Nem sempre o reconhecimento da identidade indígena prevaleceu, mas temos que reconhecer a coragem para enfrentar o desconhecido, a criação de alianças e fraternidades, transformando e deixando-se transformar.

Do contacto entre o povo colonizador e os povos resultou um intercâmbio a vários níveis sendo deles o mais profundo o da miscigenação.

Eu sou Mulato, português nascido em Angola, de pai branco e mãe negra.

No século XIX o Brasil é reconhecido internacionalmente como o país da mestiçagem. A mistura do ser humano de origem diversa teve valorização variável através dos tempos.

A mestiçagem corrigiu a distância social.

A mestiçagem é um facto histórico a que não cabe condenar ou elogiar.

O que levou os colonialistas á mestiçagem ?

A escassez das mulheres brancas na população ou a alegada pré-disposição colonizadora para contactos inter-raciais ?

O resultado concreto foi a formação de um povo novo.

Eu preconizo um Homem com raças, misto quer seja de pigmentação quer seja de cultura.

Mestiçagem é sinónimo de diversidade.

Mestiçagem é o conhecimento do outro através da mestiçagem de culturas, é conhecer a língua, a cultura, a religião dos outros e manifestar respeito pelos outros, pela diferença e pela partilha da vida.

Existem diversidades e semelhanças nas culturas.

Ao ser mestiço cultural deixa-se de ser mediador entre culturas e acaba-se por identificar o seu pensamento com o das outras culturas.

Existe na actualidade uma identidade cultural que pode ser partilhada pelos vários países e comunidades, ser vivida em comum e partilhada na diversidade e enriquecida.
Uns dizem que a lusofonia é uma ilusão, mas que existem vestígios da presença portuguesa no mundo é uma grande verdade.

Assim como é uma grande verdade que há marcas na cultura portuguesa de vestígios das culturas dos países por onde passaram.

Agora o que não tem existido é um assumir dessas marcas, um pesquisar e descobrir essas marcas no tempo, um informar as gerações das suas origens, suas influências, não tem existido o aceitar desinibido da presença dessas culturas no presente momento em Portugal, do deixar através dos mecanismos próprios brotar e deixar vir à luz a profusão, a riqueza da presença desses povos.

Mas não é só Portugal que tem que ser alertada para a riqueza desta fonia. São os próprios brasileiros no Brasil que possivelmente pouco sabem sobre os outros irmãos da mesma língua, são os Angolanos, os Guinéus, os Cabo Verdeanos, os São Tomenses, os Moçambicanos, os Goeses, os Macaense, os Timorenses, as comunidades lusófonas espalhadas pelo mundo.

A união em torno da língua é importante pois torna-nos numa força com mais poder até internacionalmente.

Os outros povos também precisam de ser alertados para a não vergonha de se falar em português e para a necessidade de se falar nas suas línguas maternas e fundir.

Com um fio condutor que será o português temos já as línguas angolana, cabo verdeana (e de que maneira), a guineense, a moçambicana, a brasileira, a portuguesa etc.

Cada país contribuirá com o que de melhor tiver em prol do desenvolvimento e conhecimento dos outros sem problemas de quem está a controlar quem.

Se existem vícios coloniais também existem preconceitos anti coloniais.

Se um galego ou francês se identifica com a cultura portuguesa, a aprende, vive, a desfruta, quem somos nós para dizer que não pertence à lusofonia.

Mais forte que a dialética construída á volta desta palavra, são as vivências e essas ninguém as consegue apagar.

Firmino Pascoal
Poem Monólogo luso


Canto o tema da memória
De um povo inventado
Aquém Tejo camponês
Ribeirinho, operário

Trás-os-Montes devastado
Pela noite da fome a salto
Conto a cena e o martírio
Do meu país adiado

Que para não calar eu digo
Com esta voz com que falo e canto
Que só nos resta abordar
No alto mar o barco

Em busca do bojador
Oriente, adamastor
A pretexto da fé, especiarias, suor,
Caravelas com café

Deram em troca por metais,
Panos, missangas tanto
Que trocaram o curandeiro
Pela imagem de um santo

Diferente dos demais,
Na equipagem de dor
Dos Gamas e dos Cabrais

E em terras de Vera Cruz
Continuaram a epopeia
Desta língua sofrida,
Pau Brasil, mulata amiga
Semba, ritmo, carnaval
O filho América, pai latino
Nascido em Portugal meu destino

Que para não calar eu digo
Com esta voz com que falo e canto
Que só me resta prantar
Nesta lugar de encanto
Em que lutando eu sigo
Cantando a nossa história
Nesta cantiga de amigo

António Cabós/Firmino Pascoal
## ANNEX 3

**Song lyrics Musidanças '06. Músicas do Mundo Lusófono**

Published to promote the performing musicians of Musidanças 2006
Available at [http://cdmusidanças.blogspot.pt](http://cdmusidanças.blogspot.pt)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Songtitle</th>
<th>Author of transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. At Tambur</td>
<td>“Arabesca”</td>
<td>No lyrics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Canela</td>
<td>“Cocoró coró coró”</td>
<td>Bart Vanspauwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dama Bete</td>
<td>“Recomeçar”</td>
<td>Bart Vanspauwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fernando Terra</td>
<td>“Insônia”</td>
<td>Bart Vanspauwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Francisco Naia</td>
<td>“Diga Lá Ó Trigueirinha”</td>
<td>Bart Vanspauwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Guto Pires</td>
<td>“Por Essa Negrita”</td>
<td>Bart Vanspauwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Jay</td>
<td>“Desabafado”</td>
<td>Firmino Pascoal/musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Lindu Mona</td>
<td>“Muitxiânvua”</td>
<td>Not obtained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Márcio Catunda</td>
<td>“Cantar a Vida”</td>
<td>Bart Vanspauwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Paulo Soares</td>
<td>“Benguala”</td>
<td>Bart Vanspauwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Pedro Moreno</td>
<td>“Caminhos”</td>
<td>Bart Vanspauwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Prince Wadada</td>
<td>“Herbalistavia”</td>
<td>Firmino Pascoal/musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Sara Tavares</td>
<td>“Lisboa Kuya”</td>
<td>Bart Vanspauwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Tonecas</td>
<td>“Fiá Ibidá”</td>
<td>Not obtained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. André Cabaço</td>
<td>“Criança”</td>
<td>Not obtained</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2. Canela

**“Cocoró coró coró”**

O milagre do pilão
Que faz do milho farinha
Junta o canto das mulheres
Ao cócóró da galinha
Bate o pau, pisa no chão
O tacho está na fogueira
E os outros fazem planos
À sombra da bananeira
Cócóró-córó-córó
Diz o gal p’ra galinha
Logo à noite tens forró
Enche agora a barriguinha
Peixe seco p’ra conduto
Muita aguardente de cana
De manhã está tudo enxuto
Vamos lá ver p’ra semana
3.Dama Bete

“Recomeçar”

Porque há sempre uma altura para recomeçar
Dama Bete
Nem tudo pode ser como desejamos
A vida nem sempre corre como planeamos
Esta é difícil mesmo quando lutamos
E mais difícil é ainda quando não batalhamos
Por vezes nada faz sentido sinto-me partida
São tantos os caminhos perguntou haverá saída
Haverá solução, haverá algum problema
Na vida aprendi que cada escolha é um dilema
Invulgo e imprevisível que reserva partidas
Já aprendi com tempo que a única é sarar as feridas
Não pode ser de outro modo, não há escapatória,
Por isso siga em frente procurando a vitória
Não posso ficar parada, sentindo-me coitada
Senão quando acordar ficarei desapontada
Por isso chorar não, não quero chorar
Se uma lagrima cair vou limpar e continuar
Se uma lagrima cair, o que vai adiantar,
Pra que chorar, a resta tentar
Eu sei que fazer, recomeçar do zero
Eu não vou chorar, pois eu não quero
Dormimos tanto tempo e quando acordamos
E quando nós apercebemos o que desperdiçamos
Pois, a vida é curta pra não aproveitarmos
Vale sempre a pena não desistir e caminharmos
Pois passei muito tempo trancada em casa
Apagada ao passado, vivendo uma farça
Triste, sozinha, a vida não prestava
Todo mal acontecia, o bem não procurava
Mas olhei para o mundo e finalmente percebi
Que vivia na solidão e foi tanto que perdí
De que vale estorar, vale a pena sorrir
O tempo é curto e não posso desistir
Não sei se estou certa, não sei se estou errada
Mas se uma lagrima cair não vou ficar parada
Pois a vida são os dias e eu quero viver
Tristeza fica do lado pois assim tem que ser
Se uma lagrima cair, o que vai adiantar
Pra que chorar, a resta tentar
Eu sei que fazer, recomeçar do zero
Eu não vou chorar, pois eu não quero
Se lagrimas caírem pra cada erro
Acredito eu vou recomeçar do zero
Vale a pena tentar
Vale a pena sonhar
Vale sempre a pena só não vale chorar
A vida é uma gasta, mas também basta
Procurar o bem para viver bem
Mas há que sonhar, basta tentar
Basta acreditar, só não vale chorar
Se uma lagrima cair, o que vai adiantar
Pra que chorar, a resta tentar
Eu sei que fazer, recomeçar do zero
Eu não vou chorar, pois eu não quero

4. Fernando Terra  “Insônia”

A gente nasce, leva um tapa e chora
A gente cresce e depois vai-se embora
A gente fala, mas é um monte de besteira
A gente cala e pensa de qualquer maneira
A gente embala a gente mesmo pra dormir

A gente ouve uma porção de histórias
A gente dança debaixo da chuva
Há gente que canta no banheiro
Há gente que canta o dia inteiro
Há gente que fica no poleiro sem cantar

Há gente que diz bom dia
A gente, que diz boa tarde
há gente que diz boa noite e vai dormir
há gente que dorme de dia
A gente só acorda de tarde
Há gente que passa toda noite sem dormir

A gente gasta uma porção de sola
A gente ganha uma porção de esmola
Há gente que sofre de dor de cotovelo
Há gente que vive passando tinta no cabelo
Há gente que passa o dia inteiro sem viver

A gente cria uma porção de pulgas
Atrás da orelha, uma porção de rugas
De dia trabalhando em lanchonete
À noite faz um bico de chacrete
À tarde bota um filme do nordeste pra assistir

5. Francisco Naia  “Diga Lá Ó Trigueirinha”

Diga lá ó trigueirinha
O que tanto a faz sonhar!
É da noite na trairinha
Ou do ventinho do mar?
Não é noite na trairinha
Nem é ventinho do mar
É aquele que além anda
Numa batela a navegar
Se eu fosse marinheiro
Capitão de algum navio
Mandava prontar a barca
E a te buscar ao rio
Não vou não na tua barquinha
Mesmo com velinhas de ouro
Quem me ama tem no peito
Ainda o maior tesouro
Diga lá ó trigueirinha
Como te hei de acercar
Vou colher uma rosinha
Para teu cabelo enfeitar
Não quero a tua rosinha
Nem teu cabelo enfeitar
O vento traz-me perfumes
Deixa-se às ondas do mar

6. Guto Pires “Por Essa Negrita”

Com ternura ... [instrumental introduction]
Ai negrita, linda
Por essa negrita
Eu tenho um pensamento louco
Por essa negrita linda
Eu tenho um pensamento louco
Sou o teu favorito
O meu deserto primito
Vou pela vida fora levo tudo escrito a pensar em ti
Negrita vamos embora!
Ai negrita, linda, linda
Baila negrita com sabor
Assim como te amo me amo assim
Ah, que grande emoção!
Viva negrita! Com sabor
Sabor da vida
Pensamento palpita, para ti tenho um grande amor
Cara bonita no som acredita
Baila negrita, com glamour
Santa requetita
Amigo cantadour
Para mostrar na dor e na alegria

7. Jay “Desabafado”

Coro
Canto in tchiga djn sta ba na fim dja
È nha história quim creba pa spadja
Nhas amigos quel li è um desabafo
Nhas problemas incre conta não sei o que eu faço

Tem momentos em que a vida pede amigos, mas não os amigos conhecidos fingidos
São os tais que nos teus olhos encaram. São os que teus problemas são os deles.
São os querem ouvir todas as tuas histórias tristes, contentes
As histórias que no momento precisas que eles ouçam, e ao ouvirem
Terem a solução exata em resolver metade do que é preciso
São as certas pessoas que o teu coração acerta, são eles os verdadeiros até o fim da vida
Ao agores mal contestam ... ao praticares o bem elogiam
São os que descobrem o que há em to e não invejam, pessoas calmns certos verdadeiros

Coro
Canto in tchiga djn sta ba na fim dja
Ê nha história quim creba pa spadja
Nhas amigos quel li ê um desabafo
Nhas problemas incre conta não sei o que eu faço

Desabafo das chetes das pessoas vizinhas desabafo da inveja incontrolada da raiva com o odio e da falta
Da paciência para a vida do azar da praga que me olharam e que me lançaram do eu que posso ser e nunca ter,
O que mais desejo é um sonho que na tv sempre vejo, desabafo dos ex daqueles que nunca foram
Desabafo de que estou farto de ser maltratado verbalmente e nada fazer de não poder de não
Dos abusos de autoridade do egoísmo do racismo xenofobia e muito mais,
E de crianças de brinquedos a fingir que matou, de um mundo em que eu vivo sem paz

_Coro_
Canto in tchiga djn sta ba na fim dja
Ê nha história quim creba pa spadja
Nhas amigos quel li ê um desabafo
Nhas problemas incre conta não sei o que eu faço

Sei que a lógica é por motivos importantes só acho que deverias saber o que é ser importante
Sei que o ser humano é uma máquina controlada sei que o que a controla é o capital o money a guita que eles adoram
Sinto uma dor sei que sou escritor, escrevo e expresso-me desabafo de tudo o que for
Negro de quem chega perto de mim e perturba-me, sei que são eles os verdadeiros em que não me ajudam
É a lei da sobrevivência um por um cada um por si, é a lei que quando não se tem crítica falo deles propriamente dita
É neles que a própria natureza não acredita

_Coro x 2_
Canto in tchiga djn sta ba na fim dja
Ê nha história quim creba pa spadja
Nhas amigos quel li ê um desabafo
Nhas problemas incre conta não sei o que eu faço

9. Márcio Catunda“Cantar a Vida”

Nasceu um dia azul
Na sombra dos telhados
Surgiu por entre as nuvens
Prodígio de ventura
Cristal de irís sutilante
Cantar a vida é a melhor coisa que há e como se doar
É como se entregar ao universo de emoção
Cantar a vida é a melhor coisa que há e como se doar
E como navegar nas águas da compreensão
Nasceu um dia azul
Na sombra dos telhados
Surgiu por entre as nuvens
Prodígio de ventura
Cristal de irís sutilante
Cantar a vida é caminhar sorrindo na estrada do destino
É ser um passarinho sem pressa de viver
Cantar a vida é caminhar sorrindo na estrada do destino
É ser um homem livre a confiar em si

10. Paulo Soares  “Benguela”

Havia um desejo de criança de viver uma lembrança
O sol não se repete, a lua fria não promete
As vidas e sonhos em África gerados
Em África mal acabados
Vem me ver
Tenho saudades do que hei de ser
Vem me ver
Tenho vontade de saber
Kimbus e xitacos, sanzalas e cubatas
Tem ela minha terra praia morena minha cor
Angola [other language fragments]
Minha infância está de luto
E eu não sou daqui

11. Pedro Moreno  “Caminhos”

Uma cidade e suas luzes
Muitas esquinas e faróis
Ruas que levam o destino
Linhas de nossas sensações
Já derrapei pelas ladeiras
Sinal vermelho atravessei
Atropelei minha razão
Pagando multas pelo coração
Não sei quantos caminhos
Tem o teu amor
Eu só queria dele
O endereço
Por muitas esquinas
Eu já me perdí
Ele habita em mim
E não o conheço
Vielas, becos de saudades
A solidão e seus porões
Habitações de abandono
Paredes, quadros de ilusões
Já vacilei por vias livres
Sinal aberto não passei
Atropelei meu coração
Acelerando a razão
Não sei...
12. Prince Wadada

“Herbalistavia”

eu vou, se chama eu vou, não recuso, estou na luta, empenhado eu vou na fumaça eu vou, iluminado eu vou, não desisto eu insisto, se chama eu vou

Herbalista woy, woy ninguém te pára não desistas ninguém te pára woy, woy ninguém te pára Dancehallista ninguém te pára woy, woy ninguém te pára Kimbanguista ninguém te pára woy, woy ninguém te pára escuta que te vou falar

Rasta man sabem seu lugar há muita coisa que eu não posso aceitar quem foi que disse que não vim pra ficar se todo mundo quando me vê, só quer wadada a cantar vamos embora, chama o master ragamuffin mwangołê agora é rasta brinda a malta com esta dança amizade quando é boa não cansa

na verdade alguém me ensinou a lutar tens a vantagem mas não sabes como usar a realidade tenta nos derrubar mas todo mundo tem direito de encontrar seu lugar a situação é de me deixar a pensar não admito nada que me vem parar por isso digo, tem que escutar raggamuffin Prince Wadada é que te está a falar

13. Sara Tavares

“Lisboa Kuya”

Ensina-me a ser assim
Capaz de fazer dum ya
Algo mais do que um sim
Nina, nina ninar
Tudo o que pede pra ser pra já
E deixar aconchegar-se a mim
A certeza de que nada mais terá
O mesmo sabor
A certeza de que nada mais terá
O mesmo sabor
Nem cerejas na na na na na na
Nem Lisboa ye
Nem cerejas na na na na na na
Nem Lisboa ye ye ye
Ensina-me a ser assim
Capaz de fazer dum simples ya
Algo mais do que um sim
Nina, nina ninar
Tudo o que pede pra ser pra já
E deixar aconchegar-se a mim
A certeza de que nada mais terá
O mesmo sabor
A certeza de que nada mais terá
O mesmo sabor
Nem cerejas na na na na na na na
Nem Lisboa yeh
Nem cerejas na na na na na na
Nem Lisboa
A certeza de que nada mais terá
O mesmo sabor
Nem cerejas na na na na na na
Nem Lisboa
Lisboa kuya

X
Kuya bué
Lisboa kuya buérere
Lisboa kuya
Kuya bué
Lisboa kuya buérere
Lisboa kuya
Kuya bué
Lisboa kuya kuya buérere
ANNEX 4

Song lyrics Mussulo

Tristany Timeold, IceKillz e Lindu Mona
*Mente Real*, 2015.
Lyrics were kindly made available by the authors.

[Introductory audio excerpt: voices in a market-like atmosphere]

**Tristany Timeold:**
Compreendo a situação
Pois porque eu tenho esse orgulho então
Palanca eu trago no meu coração
Mas não vim, vvi, naci, sou daqui mas nem sei a divisão
Representa a ascenção cultural tanto sou Cabrito na Banda e Laton em Portugal
Mestiço Lindu Mona, nascido na Lissabona
Estou farto de reviver os problemas raciais, tribais, animais
Mukuatutoma, mukuatutoma, Calunga, Calunga_kimbundu umbundo primeiro segundo aiaiai meu país! Meu país. Sentimento perdido sou abatido não tenho raça temido
Tristany Timeold, lusitano bantu, confuso para ser sincero
Eu sou do mundo, eu sou do mundo

**Lindu Mona:**
Sou Zeca Xingô ué
Mulato da Ilha de Luanda
Na infância contei inté o tempo
De cassula que eu curti na banda

**IceKillz:**
Eles perguntam, como vieste cá parar?
Eu tento explicar, mas já me estou a cansar
Os meus pais são angolanos mas eu sou de cá,
nasci em Lisboa, por isso sou alfacinha
Mas e esse português tão correto, tens boas falas,
Tantas perguntas, por favor, quando é que te calas?
Sou de PT, mas ao sábado é mufete
Atitudes europeias mas a mente está na minha gente
Sai-me da frente, eu quero txilar
Semba, kizomba, juro quero bailar
Angolano luandence sim outro lado de mim,
Preto com orgulho, irei morrer assim
Flow aportuguesado mas sinto um kwankwaram
Afrohouse super alto tipo na minha casa
Flow aportuguesado mas sinto um kwankwaram
Afrohouse super alto tipo na minha casa

**Lindu Mona:**
Sou Zeca Xingô ué
Mulato da Ilha de Luanda
Na infância contei inté o tempo
De cassula que eu curti na banda
Sou Zeca Xingô ué
Mulato da Ilha de Luanda – doce demdem, doce demdem
Na infância contei inte o tempo
De cassula que eu curti na banda
Em criança vi a minha mãe e o meu pai
do mar trazer os peixes que trariam
As malambas de prazer
Que nos dariam o mufete, peixe seco e o cacete
Sendo o resto para trocar
Por cenas e bem estar
Sendo o resto para trocar
Por cenas e bem estar
ANNEX 5

Song lyrics Um brinde à amizade

Boss AC feat. Gabriel o Pensador
AC para Os Amigos, 2012

Sou carioca de Goa, de Angola e da Guiné
Cabo Verde, Moçambique, Timor-Leste e São Tomé
Macau, Portugal mas vim pela Galicia
Que a vida é uma delícia temperada nesse sal
Cabral descobriu muito menos do que eu
Os meus descobrimentos não estão nos museus
Nem nos livros de História mas estão na minha memória
E na dos meus amigos que navegam comigo

Há coisas na vida que não se esquecem
Os amigos são aqueles que permanecem
Relógio não tens asas mas o Tempo voa
Lembro-me desse show no pavilhão em Lisboa
Cantámos, curtimos, ficámos roucos
mil novecentos e noventa e poucos
São fotos gravadas no coração
Eu brindo com sumo mas conta a intenção porque...

Mano o Tempo voa
Vem mais um copo
Tira uma foto
Um abraço para matar a saudade

Mano o Tempo voa
Vem mais um copo
Tira uma foto
Esse som é um brinde à Amizade

Te conhecí a gente ainda era moleque
Um ideal em comum em uma roda de rap
O meu chapéu na cabeça, o teu boné pra trás
Muitas ideias na mente, quanto tempo isso faz!
O tempo voa... e a gente nem vê
E tanta coisa acontece e deixa de acontecer
Se navegar é preciso, se é preciso viver
A amizade é a bússola para eu não me perder
Com amigos como você, eu sei que eu posso contar
Sempre ao meu lado mesmo estando do outro lado do mar
Por isso eu quero brindar à nossa boa amizade
E a todos os meus amigos que são de verdade

Refrão

Sou palavra, melodia, sou de onde tu fores
Lusofonia de todas as core
Sou Tuga do Mindelo, angolano de Bissau
São-tomense de Maputo, brasileiro de Portugal
Língua Portuguesa com sotaques diferentes
As nossas gentes no fundo são todas parentes
E na diversidade vamos convergindo
Quem vem em paz é sempre bem-vindo
Há sempre espaço para mais um
E só vendo as diferenças percebemos o comum
Que um estranho é um amigo que não conhecemos
Amigo é a família que nós escolhemos
E mesmo ao longe, o sentimento perdura
Enquanto houver música ninguém nos segura
Passado,presente, o Tempo passa veloz
Venha o futuro , cheio de coisas boas para nós...

Refrão

Conheço bem a solidão pois sou um nômade
Mas sei também que a vida é uma soma de...
Instantes, minutos, que podem ser eternos
Olhares, sorrisos e abraços fraternos
O Inferno eu não sei mas o Céu são os outros
E para eu entrar no céu só não posso estar morto
Então eu sinto o coração das outras pessoas
E assim eu sei que eu 'tou vivo e que eu não 'tou vivo à toa
Quem é vivo aparece, então eu sempre apareço
E conhecendo um estranho, eu também me conheço
Anota o meu endereço que ele agora é o nosso
Não tenho tudo que quero mas faço tudo que posso
Para dividir o que eu tenho e multiplicar o que eu ganho
E conhecendo um amigo, eu fico menos estranho
Anota o meu endereço que ele agora é o teu
Não sou o dono da casa mas Ele nos acolheu.
Vinicius Terra, Allen Halloween e Mundo Segundo, 2013
Lyrics retrieved from YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eMh7EtWbu7w

Vinícius Terra:
Versos que atravessam o Atlântico, entoados em cântico
Sentimentos à frente de um peito romântico
Ontem navegavam caravelas sob o ar
Hoje flutuam aviões pesados sobre o mar.
Passaram séculos, pessoas e credos
Sentimentos injustos ou mesmo incrédulos
Ações convertidas ao incerto
Porque sempre é adiante (?), no princípio é o verbo.
Flores, guerras, pensamento não encerra
Arte é semente que germina sobre a terra
Terras distantes, pessoas distantes
Todas unidas na prateleira dessa estante.
Trovadores, repentistas, parceiros versadores
Palavra recitada por amores, dissabores
Europeus, asiáticos, africanos, sul-americanos
Uma língua comum que uniu seres humanos

Refrão:
Pra Lusofonia nasce um novo dia
Os povos acordaram numa mesma sintonia
Língua, sonho, RAP, rua
O ritmo saiu de uma cabeça como a tua

Allen Halloween:
Nascido no maior gueto do mundo, no continente Africano
Comprei um passaporte para o outro lado do oceano
Com os trocos que eu ganhei, mano
Deixei tudo para trás, atrás do sonho Lusitano
Construi e limpei as moradias da Tuga
Com força e empenho de quem nunca teve uma
Eles enganaram-me, ou eu errei, é minha culpa
É a vida dos nossos pais numa história curta
Mas nem tudo que ficou, ficou para trás
Nasceram novas Áfricas em mil lugares
Nasceram novos mundos, nasceram novos mares
E os homens todos juntos procuram a paz
Mas antes da paz vem a justiça
Vem uma mesa redonda cheia de comida
Onde os filhos dos escravos e dos donos se sentem em harmonia
Comem e bebem em alegria, até nascer um novo dia

Refrão

Mundo Segundo:
Sementes planto no campo semântico
Sente o trânsito Atlântico
É mais um canto transatlântico
Enquanto o coração transplanto para esta folha em branco
Formo um bando de versos forjados em lume brando
No entanto, educamos manos, formamos guerreiros
Somos homens de palavra, na jornada pioneiros
Eu vim do Rio Douro até ao Rio de Janeiro
E no fim, do Galeão até Francisco Sá Carneiro
Vi a Lusofonia nesta arte que me guia
E não derrubei a barreira, a fronteira não existia
A minha bandeira é musical, a nossa língua universal
A maior arte é a vocal, infinito manancial
Tempestade mental, torrencial gramatical
Somos construtores de pontes entre o Brasil e Portugal
Sente o gelo que derrete nesta terra do RAP
Encurtamos as distâncias tal como a internet
ANNEX 7

Song lyrics *Lusofonia*

Martinho da Vila
*Lusofonia*, 2000

Eu gostaria de exaltar em bom Tupi
As belezas do meu país
Falar dos rios, cachoeiras e cascatas
Do esplendor das verdes matas e remotas tradições
Também cantar em guarani os meus amores
Desejos e paixões
Bem fazem os povos das nações irmãs
Que preservam os sons e a cultura de raiz

A expressão do olhar
Traduz o sentimento
Mas é primordial
Uma linguagem comum
Importante fator
Para o entendimento
Que é semente do fruto
Da razão e do amor

É sonho ver um dia
A música e a poesia
Sobreporem-se às armas
Na luta por um ideal
E preconizar
A lusofonia
Na diplomacia universal
ANNEX 8
INTERVIEW GUIDE MUSIDANÇAS VISEU

- Idade, profissão, nacionalidade, idioma(s), local de residência
- Identificação e caracterização de reportório, ação musical próprio
- Conhecimento do festival
- Participação no Musidanças (assiduidade / identificação / crítica / avaliação)
- Enquadramento conceptual do festival
- Percurso musical pré e pós contacto com o Musidanças?
- Influência do festival no percurso (representação e compreensão como músico, pessoa, cidadão, migrante)
- Opinião acerca do festival em termos de
  - Objetivos (se conhecidos)
  - Público (tipo de pessoas, proveniência)
  - Localização (Viseu vs. edições anteriores)
- Participou noutros festivais (Lisboa / Portugal / outros)
- Caracterização deste festival (comparativamente a outros)
- Aspetos mais positivos
- Sugestão de eventuais melhoramentos
- Das seguintes ideias qual mais rapidamente associaria ao festival? Porquê?
- Relação do festival com 3 ideias:
  - Lusofonia
  - Mestiçagem
  - Interculturalidade
ANNEX 9
LIST OF INTERVIEWS

In Lisbon:

-Firmino Pascoal:
  December 15, 2011, concert room of FNAC Chiado, Lisbon (1)
  May 20, 2012, in his car in front of Palácio Nacional, Sintra (2)
  February 16, 2013, in his car in front of Praia das Maçãs, Sintra (3)
  September 17, 2013, concert room of FNAC Chiado, Lisbon (4)
  September 2013, ACIDI program Nós, interviewed by Viktoryia (5)
  October 7, 2013, SIC program Etnia, interviewed by Liliana Campos (6)

-Alex Cortez Pinto: December 2, 2011, Musicbox office, Lisbon (7)

-Carlos Martins: January 7, 2010, Sons da Lusofonia’s office, Lisbon (8)

-Laura Filipa Vidal: December 29, 2011, bar of Casa do Alentejo, Lisbon (9)

-Paula Nascimento: November 26, 2009 at EGEAC offices, Lisbon (10)

-Timóteo Macedo, January 19, 2010 at Associação SOLIM (11)

In Viseu:

-Ana Raquel Marques: September 10, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (12)

-António Almeida: September 10, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (13)

-Berta Azevedo, Hugo Claro: September 10, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (14)

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-Domingas Brito: September 10, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (16)

-Hugo Osga: September 10, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (17)

-Jacinthe Azevedo: September 11, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (18)

-Juliana Ferreira, Carlos Sousa: September 11, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (19)

-Nuno Correia: September 11, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (20)

-Nuno Patrício, Rossana Ribeiro: September 11, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (21)

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-Ricardo Falcão: September 10, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (23)

-Ritta Tristany: September 10, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (24)

-Rute Mar: September 11, 2013, Feira de São Mateus, Viseu (25)
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Source: http://www2.iict.pt/jbt/?idc=218&idi=18359

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Source: http://www.myspace.com/lusofoniaarevolucao
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Source: http://arteemtodaaparte.wordpress.com/tag/festival-dos-oceanos

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Source: http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com

Fig. 12: logo ImigrArte.  
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Source: http://muzika.sapo.cv/agenda/lura-canta-cesaria-evora-misty-fest

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Fig. 19: billboard O África Mostra-se – Mostra de Cinema e Cultura Africana
Source: http://lisboafricana.com/2012/03/13/africa-mostra-se-em-lisboa-14-17-jun

Fig. 20: logo Conexão Lusófona
Source: http://www.conexaolusofona.org

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Source: Firmino Pascoal.
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Source: Firmino Pascoal.

Fig. 32: showbill Musidanças 2006.
Source: Firmino Pascoal.

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Fig. 33: showbill Musidanças 2008.
Source: Firmino Pascoal.

Fig. 34: showbill Noites Mestiças 2008.
Source: http://www.facebook.com/editoranoite
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Source: Firmino Pascoal.

Fig. 36: showbill Musidanças 2010.
Source: http://festivalmusidancas.blogspot.pt
Fig. 37: showbill Musidanças 2011.
Source: Firmino Pascoal.

Fig. 38: showbill Musidanças 2012.
Source: Firmino Pascoal.
Fig. 39: showbill Musidanças 2013.
Source: http://festivalmusidancas.blogspot.pt

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Source: http://cdmusidancas.blogspot.pt

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Source: http://cdmusidancas.blogspot.pt

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Source: https://www.facebook.com/MonteRealKPM

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Fig. 47: Compiled video still of “Versos que atravessam o Atlântico”

Fig. 48: Martinho da Vila, “Lusofonia”, Lusofonia, 2000
Source: http://www.allmusic.com/album/lusofonia-mw0000094130
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Source: http://festivalmusidancas.blogspot.pt

Fig. 50: Music programming of Feira de São Mateus 2013.
Source: author.
Fig. 51: Gingongo (A-P) during their show at the Musidanças 2010 anniversary edition, during which the text “São 10 anos de história” was projected. Source: Firmino Pascoal.

Fig. 52: “Mestiço. Luís Represas com Paulo Flores”.
Source: http://www.cm-oeiras.pt/agenda/Paginas/LuisRepresascomPauloFlores.aspx

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<th>Res</th>
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<td>India (Ooa)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2004, 2005, 2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tocá Ruler</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2008, 2009, 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro Moreno</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>2, NM 1</td>
<td>2005, 2006, 2009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: most frequent performing musicians Musidanças, Noites Mestiças (NM), Feira do Fado. Source: author.
<table>
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<th>Musicians / groups</th>
<th>Labels for music categories</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Celina Pereira</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sara Tavares</td>
<td>Lusofonia, soul-portugal-cabo verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terakota</td>
<td>Lusofonia, reggae-portugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theo Pascal</td>
<td>Lusofonia, soul pop-cabo verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonecas</td>
<td>Lusofonia, world music-s. Tomé e principe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxia</td>
<td>Outra Cor da Lusofonia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: musicians with category *lusofonia* attributed by Firmino Pascoal in Musidanças, Noites Mestiças, Feira do Fado. Source: author.
ANNEX 12
MAPS

Map 1: festivals inspired by the notion of *lusofonia* (1998-2015).
Source: author.

Map 3: locations of Musidanças and Noites Mestiças in the Lisbon Municipality. Source: author.

Map 4: locations of Musidanças in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Source: author.
Maps 5 and 6: locations Musidanças and Noites Mestiças in the Lisbon district and in the center-north of Portugal; and in the UK. Source: author.
ANNEX 13
GRAPHS

Graph 1: claimed provenances of performing musicians Musidanças, Noites Mestiças, Feira do Fado. Source: author.
ANNEX 14
PHOTOS MUSIDANÇAS’ EDITIONS

Note: a broader selection of images can be found on the accompanying CD-ROM.

Fig. 1: Guto Pires. Musidanças 2001, FNAC Chiado.
Source: Firmino Pascoal.

Fig. 2: Gingongo, Musidanças 2010, Musicbox.
Source: Firmino Pascoal.
Fig. 3: Semente, Musidanças 2010, Musicbox.
Source: Firmino Pascoal.

Fig. 4: Lindu Mona, Musidanças 2010, Musicbox.
Source: Firmino Pascoal.
Fig. 5: Atma, Musidanças 2013, Feira de São Mateus. 
Source: Firmino Pascoal.

Fig. 6: Estrelas da Damaia, Musidanças 2015, B.Leza. 
Source: Firmino Pascoal.
ANNEX 15
PHOTOS MUSIDANÇAS VISEU (2013)

Note: a broader selection of images can be found on the accompanying CD-ROM

Fig. 1: Firmino Pascoal in front of a handwritten announcement, Feira de São Mateus. Source: author.

Fig. 2: An announcement for Musidanças on a shop door, Viseu. Source: author.
Fig. 3: Lindu Mona, main stage, Feira de São Mateus. Source: author.

Fig. 4: Finka Pé, next to main stage, Feira de São Mateus. Source: author.
Fig. 5: Girafoles, procession, Feira de São Mateus. 
Source: author.

Fig. 6: Nação Vira Lata, main stage, Feira de São Mateus 
Source: author.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annex 16. Cultural events evoking lusofonia</th>
<th>Organizer</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Participating musicians and retrieved provenance</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Governmental institution</strong></td>
<td>Comunidade dos Países de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (CPLP)</td>
<td>Semana Cultural da CPLP</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Kilandukilu (A), CIA Art Brasil (B), Nós Terra (CV), Allatantou Dance Co (GB), Malimba Tradicional de Moçambique (M), Afrolatin Connection (P), Kua Tela (STP), Bei Gua (T), Rafeiros (A), Voicemail (P), With Bonga (A), Rafeiros (A), Raspa de Tacho (B), Nicole (C), Guto Pires (GB), Ancha Cutchuatio (M), Joana Melo (P), Quarteto Musical Timorense (T), Tonecas, Felipe, Juka e Gapa (STP) and Irmãos Verdes (A).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Governmental institution</strong></td>
<td>CPLP</td>
<td>14th anniversary</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Bonga (A), Toque de Classe (B), EDDU (CV), Ancha (?,), Akunamatata (P), Cremilda (?), Bei Gua (T) and Super Mama Djombo (GB).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Governmental institution</strong></td>
<td>CPLP</td>
<td>Música na Diversidade</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Pêrola and Belmiro Carlos (A), Luanda Cozetti and Maria Dapaz (P-GB-B, B), Tito Paris and DjôDji (CV), Eneida Marta and Sambalá Canuté (GB), Vânia Oliveira and Otis (M), Vitorino and Janita Salomé (P), Kalú Mendes and João Seria (STP), Bei Gua, Francisco Carrascalão and Zé Amaral (T).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Governmental institution</strong></td>
<td>CPLP</td>
<td>Falar Português</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Finka Pé (CV), Ala dos Namorados (P) and Nancy Vieira (CV), Waldemar Bastos (A) and Celina Piedade (P), Paulo de Carvalho (P) and Otis (M), Pierre Aderne (P-B, F) and Susana Félix (P), Aline Frazão (A, Spain) and Pedro Moutinho (P), Pupilos do Kuduro (A), Olavo Bilac (CV-M), Pierre Aderne (P-B, F) and Sara Tavares (CV-P), Tcheka (CV) and Mário Laginha (P), Kátia Guerreiro (P) and Manecas Costa (A), Carlos do Carmo (P) and Paulo Flores (A), a.o.</td>
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<td><strong>Governmental institution</strong></td>
<td>CPLP</td>
<td>Mostra Saberes e Sabores da CPLP</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Batoto Yetu (A); Chalo Correia (A); Felipe Nery (B), Felipe Gama (P)?; Momentos Morna (CV); José Afonso and Leonel Almeida (CV); Aldo Milá (A); Grupo de Choro ‘Raspa Tacho’ (B); Kimi Djabaté and Irmãos Galissa (GB), a.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Governmental institution</strong></td>
<td>CPLP</td>
<td>CD Música da CPLP</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Netos de N’Gumbé (GB), Costa Neto (M), Tonecas (STP), José Amaral (T), Celina Pereira (CV), Leonel Almeida (CV), Filipe Santo (A), Stewart Sukuma (M), José Galissa (GB), a.o.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Governmental institution</strong></td>
<td>União das Cidades Capitais de Língua Portuguesa (UCCLA)</td>
<td>25th anniversary concert A Viagem do Fado</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>António Zambuje (P), Bernardo Sassetti (P), Carlos do Carmo (P), Carlos Martins (P), Edu Miranda (B), Jon Luz (CV), Lura (CV-P), Luanda Cozetti (P-GB-B), Rão Kyao (P), Raquel Tavares (P), Toy Vieira (CV), a.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governmental institution</td>
<td>UCCLA</td>
<td>Voz da Lusofonia - Prémio Carreira Cabo Verde Música Awards</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>This event opened with Tito Paris (CV), while Bana himself performed a closing duet with Carlos do Carmo (P), singing “Beijo de Saudade” by B.Leza, in Portuguese and creole.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Governmental institution</td>
<td>UCCLA</td>
<td>(with Lisbon Municipality and Conexão Lusófona) Festival da Lusofonia de Lisboa</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Sara Tavares (CV-P), Lura (CV-P), Karyna Gomes (GB), Projecto Kaya (P, A), Selma Uamusse (M), and Tonecas (STP).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Governmental institution</td>
<td>Portuguese government</td>
<td>Concert O Brasil Abraça Portugal, introducing Ano do Brasil em Portugal</td>
<td>2012-13</td>
<td>Martinho da Vila (B), Carminho (P), Zeca Baleiro (B), Boss AC (P-CV), Paulo Gonzoz (P), a.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governmental institution</td>
<td>Portuguese government</td>
<td>Concerto da Lusofonia. 40 anos da independência dos países de língua portuguesa</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Sara Tavares (CV-P), Lura (CV-P), Karyna Gomes (GB), Projecto Kaya (P, A), Selma Uamusse (M), and Tonecas (STP).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governmental institution</td>
<td>Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural (ACIDI) and Associação Sons da Lusofonia</td>
<td>CD Juntos na Diversidade</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Cool Hipnoise (P), Vitorino (P), Tito Paris (CV) &amp; Bernardo Sassetti (P), Carlos Martins Septeto (P), Cacique’97 (M, P) com Kimi e CIA (?), Teresa Salgueiro (P) &amp; Lusitânia Ensemble, Pedro Jóia (Belgium-P) &amp; Edu Miranda (B), Kumpania Algazarra (P), Rão Kyao (P) &amp; Lu Yanan (?), Maria João (P) &amp; Mário Laginha (P), Paulo de Carvalho (P), a.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governmental institution</td>
<td>Transportes Aéreos Portugueses (TAP)</td>
<td>Marketing video ‘De Braços Abertos’</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Mariza (P-M), Paulo Flores (A) and Roberta Sá (B).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governmental institution</td>
<td>Radio Difusão Portuguesa África (RDP África)</td>
<td>Program Música sem Espinhas Mega Festival de Música Africana</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Tabanka Djaz (GB), Manecas Costa (A), Nancy Vieira (CV), Tito Paris (CV), Paul G (A), Konde Martins (A), Patche Di Rima (GB), Otis (M), Dino d’Santiago (CV), Dulce Neves (GB), Filipe Santos (P?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality</td>
<td>Odivelas</td>
<td>Bienal de Culturas Lusófonas</td>
<td>2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015</td>
<td>Yami (A), André Cabaço (M), Xipune-pane (M), Sinfonia da Primavera (P), Maria Alice (CV), Miosótis (P), N’Dara Sumanó (GB), Tributo a Tom Jobim (P), Victor Gama (P), elina Pereira (CV), Guto Pires (G-B), Tonecas Prazeres (STP), Maio Coope (G-B), Tcheka (CV), Batuque Finka Pé (CV), Filho Perdido (A, B, CV, P), Muloma (CV), Mavi and Cláudio Oliveira (B), Kussondulola (A), a.o.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Municipality</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Performers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oeiras</td>
<td>Festival O Amor é Fogo</td>
<td>Buraka Som Sistema (A, P), Tito Paris (CV), Ana Moura (P), Chico César (B), Da Weasel (P, CV), Sara Tavares (CV-P), João Gil (P), Oquestrada (P), Tucanas (P), Ghrowane (M)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amadora</td>
<td>Concert Ondas da Lusofonia, part of Festas da Cidade</td>
<td>Gerson Marta (A), Jefferson Negreiros (B), Dany Silva (CV), Rolando Semedo (CV), Karyna Gomes (GB) e Costa Neto (M), a.o.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reitoria da Universidade de Lisboa</td>
<td>Encontros Lusófonos</td>
<td>Bonga (A), Tabanka Djaz (GB), Mariza (M-P), Costa Neto (M), Filipe Santos (STP), Bana (CV), Ivan Lins (B), José Amaral (T), Maria da Fé (P) and Rui Veloso (P). Musician and Minister of Culture Gilberto Gil (B) participated in a debate moderated by rector José Barata Moura.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian</td>
<td>Criar em Português, O que pode uma língua?</td>
<td>In the presence of musicians Boss AC (P-CV), and with testimonials of Aline Frazão (A), Celina Pereira (CV) and Sérgio Godinho (P).</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESTART - Instituto de Artes, Creatividade e Novas Tecnologias</td>
<td>Lisboa Que Amanhece</td>
<td>Ana Lains (P), Cabace (GB, P, A), Chullage (CV), Circo das Atrocidades (P), Couple Coffee (P-GB-B, B), JP Simões (P), Mixtafari (B), Richtay y Keky (CV).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Etnia - Cultura e Desenvolvimento</td>
<td>Lusofonias: Culturas em Comunidade’</td>
<td>Projeto Preto Véio (B), Malenga (M), Maio Coopé (GB), a.o.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Red Bull Music Academy Portugal</td>
<td>CD+documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução</td>
<td>Bonga (A), Lura (CV-P), Buraka Som Sistema (A, P), Sam the Kid (P), Conjunto Ngonguenha (A), Waldemar Bastos (A), Melo D (M), Tcheka (CV), Chullage (CV), Cesária Évora (CV), Sara Tavares (CV-P) feat. Ana Moura (P), a.o.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conexão Lusófona</td>
<td>Festival Conexão Lusófona</td>
<td>Sara Tavares (CV-P), Susana Félix (P), Tito Paris (CV), Yuri da Cunha (A), Pierre Aderne (P-B, F), Couple Coffee (P-GB-B, B), Luiz Caracol (P, son of retornados of A), Tubias Vaiana (STP), Manecas Costa (GB), Costa Neto (M), Kay Limak (T) and Júlio Pereira (P), a.o.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASC - Plataforma Activa da Sociedade Civil</td>
<td>I Congresso da Cidadania Lusófona, which featured a “Festa da Lusofonia” with the name “Viagens”</td>
<td>Companhia de Dança Amálgama (P), Celina Pereira (CV), Cristina Nóbrega (P), Guto Pires (GB), Ibou Galissa (GB), José Afonso (P), Bei Guia (T). The Coro de Montargil (P), performed a “Hino da Lusofonia” entitled “Pátria Lusófona, Pátria Mestiça, Pátria do Mar”.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Séculos da Língua Portuguesa</td>
<td>Event 8 Séculos da Língua Portuguesa</td>
<td>Aline Frazão (A), Ivan Lins, Luiz Avellar and Valéria Carvalho (B), Celina Pereira (CV), Karyna Gomes (GB), Elsa de Noronha (M), Paulo de Carvalho, Joaquim de Almeida, os grupos Adufeiras da Idanha e A Moda Mãe (P), Marta Dias e Olinda Beja (STP), Júlio Soares (Timor-Leste) and Jorge Arrimar (Macau)., a.o.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Casa da Língua Portuguesa Inauguration</td>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Tonecas (STP), Costa Neto (M), Zé Amaral (T), Rui Veloso (P), Armando Tito (CV), Ana Lains (P) and Ana Firmino (CV) performed, while rappers from Lisbon’s margem sul area, such as Tikas K, D-uz, Baron, ZicaRaaz, Groovepunch and TK, were also present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>SOS Racismo</td>
<td>Single of the Festa da Diversidade</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Fernando Girão (B,P) and Nill Luz (B), and collaborations with Sergio Godinho (P), General D (M), Paulino Vieira (CV), Filipe Mukenga (A), Tonecas (STP), Family (CV), Zezé Barbosa (CV), a.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Record label</td>
<td>Editor Oboré (B)</td>
<td>Projeto Enlace (10 CDs)</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Pena Branca e Xavantinho (B), Cesária Évora (CV), Filipe Mukenga (A), Fafa de Belem (B), Bana (CV), Marisa Monte (B), Paulo Bragança (P), Fausto (P), Mendes Brothers (A), Paula Ribas (P), Titina (CV), Rui Sangara (GB), Filipa Pais (P), Gilberto Gil e Umbelina (B), Orquestra Marrabenta Star (M), Bonga (A), Madredeus (P), Manu Sei Kokorek (T), Paulinho da Viola (B).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Record label</td>
<td>Editor David Byrne (UK)</td>
<td>Onda Sonora: Red Hot + Lisbon</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>David Byrne (USA) + Caetano Veloso (B); Ketama (Spain) + Djavan (B) + Banda Feminina Dida (B); Bonga (A) + Marisa Monte (B) + Carlinhos Brown (B); General D (M) + Funk ‘N Lata (B); Lura (CV); Moreno Veloso (B) + Sadjo Djolo Kouyate (GB); k.d. lang (Canada); Madredeus (P) + Suso Saiz (Spain); Simentera (CV) + DJ Soul Slinger (US); Nana Vasconcelos (B) + Vinícius Cantuaria (B); António Chainho (P); Smoke City; Filipe Mukenga (A) + Underground Sound of Lisbon; Netos do N’Gumbe (GB); Arto Lindsay (B) + Arnauld Antunes (B) + Davi Moraes (B); Filipa Pais (P) + António Chainho (P); Ekvat (Goa). a.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Record label</td>
<td>Putumayo</td>
<td>Afro-Portuguese Odyssey</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Paulo Flores (A), Eneida Marta (GB), Ruy Mingas (A), Manecas Costa (A), Dulce Neves (GB), Leonel Almeida (CV), a.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cineast</td>
<td>Carlos Saura</td>
<td>Fados</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Kola San Jon (CV), Lura (CV-P), Carlos do Carmo (P), Mariza (M-P), Cuca Rosetta (P), Camané (P), Caetano Veloso (B), Chico Buarque (B) and Toni Garrido (B).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musician</td>
<td>Pierre Aderne</td>
<td>MpB - Música portuguesa Brasileira</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Jorge Palma (P), Sara Tavares (CV-P), Cuca Roseta (P), Mário Laginha (P), Marco Rodrigues (P), Susana Félix (P), Valete (P), JP Simões (P), Luísa Sobral (P), Luís Guerreiro (P), Tito Paris (CV), Couple Coffee (P-GB-B, B), Fernanda Abreu (B), Adriane Queiroz (B), Luiz Caracol (P, son of retornados of A), Mú Carvalho (B), Fred Martins (B), Teresa Cristina (B), Edu Krieger (B), Pedro Pinhal (B), Kimi Djabaté (GB), a.o.</td>
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<td>Musicians or group</td>
<td>Announced participations</td>
<td>Announced years</td>
<td>Claimed residency</td>
<td>Claimed provenance</td>
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<tr>
<td>À Bolina</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>A, B, CV, M, P,</td>
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<td>Austria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ad Leabe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alafum</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alberto Mvundi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>P</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>P</td>
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<td>2009</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>CV</td>
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<td>Ana Maria</td>
<td>FF 1</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>A, P</td>
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<td>Awake</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>Attambur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
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<td>Baboza</td>
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<td>P</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>B, P</td>
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<td>Bando à Margem</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
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<td>Bandoodjah</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>B</td>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P, GB</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P (Azores), P</td>
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<tr>
<td>Batuque Finka Pé</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>CV</td>
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<tr>
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<td>CV</td>
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<td>Bita Nascimento</td>
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<td>2003</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>CV</td>
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<td>Black Bombaim</td>
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<td>P</td>
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<td>Black Mastah</td>
<td>NM 1</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>Bob Da Rage Sense</td>
<td>NM 2</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boy G. Mendes</td>
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<td>2014</td>
<td>P P</td>
<td>One man didgeridoo band</td>
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<td>Trio Porteño</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>P P</td>
<td>Ritmos Sul Americanos</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tutimick's</td>
<td>2009, 2010</td>
<td>P A, CV, STP, P</td>
<td>Cape Verde</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twapandula</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>P A, B</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Twins</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>P A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxia</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>P Spain (Galicia)</td>
<td>Outra Cor da Lusofonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxukalhus</td>
<td>2010, 2011</td>
<td>P P</td>
<td>Música Étnica Portuguesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vortix</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>P P</td>
<td>Hip-hop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocabulo</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>P P</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Vungo</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>P STP</td>
<td>S. Tomé e Príncipe</td>
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<td>Wok</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>P A, P</td>
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<td>Wonderfull's Kova M.</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>P CV, P</td>
<td>dança</td>
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<td>Xeg</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>P P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Xipane Pane</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>P M</td>
<td>Moçambique, etnic music–moçambique</td>
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<td>Yami</td>
<td>2001, 2009</td>
<td>P A</td>
<td>Angola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yohanes Krieger</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>P Germany</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Zé Vidigal</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>P M</td>
<td>Moçambique</td>
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<td>Zuul Nation</td>
<td>2008, 2014</td>
<td>P P</td>
<td>música soul</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Annex 18. lusofonia

2. Divulgação da língua portuguesa no mundo.
3. Condição de lusófono.

"lusofonia", in Dicionário Priberam da Língua Portuguesa
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Annex 19. fusão

fusão

(latim fusio, -onis, ação de espalhar, difusão, expansão)
substantivo feminino

1. Ato de fundir ou de se fundir.
2. Ação de derreter, de liquefazer.
3. Passagem do estado sólido ao estado líquido por ação do calor. = FUNDIÇÃO
4. Mistura ou conjugação de duas ou mais coisas.
5. Transformação de duas ou mais coisas numa só. = ALIANÇA, ASSOCIAÇÃO
6. Função.

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