Chapter 10

Heritages, Identities, and Policy in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon

Filomena Silvano
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa and Centro em Rede de Investigação em Antropologia

Introduction[1]

In a world that has moved away from narratives based on the idea of progress, the past has established itself as a place of reference: confirming to ourselves that what we were is indispensible for sustaining what we think we are. The recovery of the past is thus one of the most common symbolic instruments used in negotiating identities. The cultural practices that have recourse to representation

[1] The text presented here revisits part of the results from work that I carried out in response to a proposal from José António Tenedório, to contribute a text for the "Atlas of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area" (Tenedório 2003). Beginning with a series of maps of the distribution of heritage in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (the MAL is a territorial area that includes, in addition to Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, another nine satellite cities and their respective municipalities), the aim was to consider the relations the MAL establishes with the production processes for a possible "metropolitan identity." Given the need to work from material charged with more meanings than a descriptive type cartography, we decided that the empirical material to form the basis for the research would be a set of texts produced by the local authorities of the municipalities involved (Almeida et al. 2001), and all of the tourist information produced by official bodies. The research isolated and interpreted some of the themes where the relations between heritage, identity negotiation, and political negotiation were more evident.

mechanisms that call on the past in order to consider the present always end up translating themselves, insofar as they fragment, reorganize, and interpret it in their transformation, or, to use a formula that has become unavoidable, in their "invention." Patrimonialization is one such practice. It associates the notion of heritage—which is not a given fact, but rather a socially constructed classification, and therefore one that is constantly being negotiated—with specific objects that come to serve as cultural representations of the groups who consider themselves to be their rightful owners.

In the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, as in other ethnographic contexts, patrimonialization encompasses things as diverse as landscapes, monuments, popular architecture, handicrafts, local feast days/processions/pilgrimages, and people; all things that can, once transformed into material representations of the past, serve as arguments for the identity fictions of the people who inhabit them.

A quick look at Figure 30 (which represents classified heritage and heritage in the process of being classified) and Figure 31 (a map of nonclassified heritage that is, nevertheless, referred to as such by those working in the area within the municipal authorities) immediately shows that the area covered in the latter map is denser and more extensive than that of the former. We can thus deduce that the local authorities classify as "heritage" things that do not qualify as such according to Portuguese law, which means that what is locally recognized as heritage is not currently protected by the law of the Republic. We have here a cartographic transcription of a dynamic that is manifested at a local level but has a more global existence: in a society marked by recent transformations to its structures and which has simultaneously distanced itself from narratives based on the idea of progress, the past has established itself as a place of reference. It is in this context that we see a great variety of cultural practices arising that base their operational feasibility on representation mechanisms which call on the past in order to consider the present, with these cultural dynamics often being associated with tactics of identitarian negotiation. In the words of Wyatt:[2] "The sureness of "I was' is a necessary component of the sureness of 'I am'" (1964, 319).

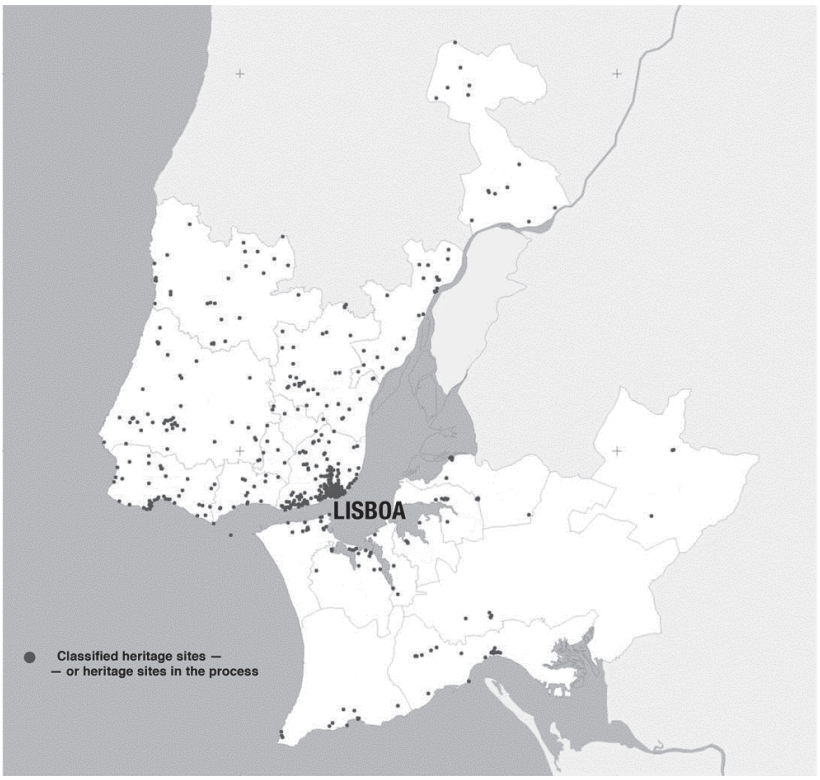
Since invoking the past involves the processes of identity affirmation, it becomes clear that talking about patrimonialization, or heritage creation, is the same thing as talking about social representativity: the things that represent the past, whether they be objects, rituals, narratives, or landscapes, are always the cultural property of groups that benefit from the symbolic value that results from the patrimonialization mechanism. Because current political discourse is clearly committed to the dynamics of identity production, it cannot dispense with reference to the past,[3] just as, given the question of social representativity, political practice cannot fail to participate in acts of patrimonialization.

In the case of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, which is a highly diverse territorial grouping—whether from the geographic, economic, social, or cultural point of view—it makes perfect sense to consider the question of heritage within

[2] Wyatt cited by Lowenthal (1985, 41).

[3] In reference to commemorative ceremonies, Paul Connerton states that these no longer produce a strong mimetic sense as mythical identification, but nevertheless continue to produce and give form to a desire for community (Connerton 1993, 77, 78).

Figure 30. Classified Heritage Sites and Heritage in the Process of Being Classified.



the dynamics of negotiating the cultural (and political) representativity of the populations involved. Confronted with the strong presence of Lisbon, which, together with the cities of Sintra and Mafra, accounts for a significant part of Portugal´s monument heritage, the other municipalities invest in placing their own past, which must of necessity be manifest in other forms, within the common heritage package. As in other countries, this type of dynamic implies a broadening of the sphere of influence for the category in question. This is so not only for the more obvious objects—i.e., the built heritage, where new buildings representing rural and worker cultures arise, such as windmills and tide mills and disused industrial complexes—but, and above all, for other types of cultural manifestation which come to be included in the category of heritage, as are buildings and archaeological remains, through being considered to be objects representing a local, regional, or national culture. In a study of the relations be-

Figure 31. Nonclassified Heritage Sites

tween popular culture and national identity, João Leal speaks of the processes I have just mentioned as the "objectification of culture."[4]

> Objectification is precisely that process which consists of transforming given traces of traditional life into objects that are representative of a national culture, things which only we have and others do not, things over which there is the real possibility of speaking of a national culture as unique, specific, distinct, original (Leal 2000, 108).

Religious rituals, nonreligious festivals, culinary practices, and handicraft making are some of the performative acts that are included nowadays in the processes of culture objectification and patrimonialization. Given the current extent

[4] The proposal to develop the notion of objectification within the context of studying the production of national identities was done by Handler (1988).

of the market economy, those processes are ultimately accompanied, in the majority of cases, by a dynamic that puts "cultural things" within a system of economic exchanges.

> "Commoditization" is a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices form a market (Cohen 1988, 380).

Tourism, as a social practice that implies the constant displacement of populations with culturally diverse origins, is presented as the consummate area for developing the processes I have been referring to. The objectification of culture, as we have seen, is linked with the need to find things to which the group identity can be affixed. In other words, things that allow for a double movement—of identification with oneself and of differentiation from others—that the identity game always implies. In that context, tourism forms a huge cultural game in which world populations meet to recognize each other as holders of different cultural heritages. Patrimonialization thus inevitably entails the presence of interlocutors (even if they are imaginary) who are external to the origin of the objects that have become heritage; such people are indispensible to the movement of standing in the shoes of the other, which allows us to construct that gaze which transforms our own cultural practice into something exceptional. As Erik Cohen states (1988), the tourist market cannot only facilitate the preservation of cultural traditions that would otherwise have perished, but it also, thanks to the said processes of objectification and commoditization, allows for the creation of new meanings for the cultural practices involved in them.

> Tourist-oriented products frequently acquire new meanings for the locals, as they become a diacritical mark of their ethnic or cultural identity, a vehicle of self-representation before an external public (Cohen 1988, 383).

Drawing Today the Landscapes for the Past

> After a number of journeys around the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, the images that stayed with me above all were of a territory that was breaking down: the valleys that even a few years ago were agricultural are now covered in poor quality buildings, the coastal zones have been eaten into by disconnected buildings and the south bank of the Tagus has been turned into a succession of dormitory towns. In this general picture, the happy images are a kind of interval in the displeasure of the memories. Probably like the happy images of most travelers, they almost always take the form of landscapes. (Excerpt from fieldwork diary, May, 2001)

When writing about landscape, it is common to cite Cézanne, who commented one day that the peasants around Aix "did not see" Mont Sainte-

Victoire. Reference to Cézanne serves to illustrate the idea that landscape is not a universal concept. It first appeared in the west, in 15th-century Flanders and Italy, resulting from transformation of the gaze which, in the words of Augustine Berque (1997), allowed for a profane enjoyment of the "spectacle of the world."

This change of attitude arose in close connection with the transformations in European painting and associated the idea of landscape once and for all to the presence of aesthetic components. Obviously, the peasants of Aix did not see what Cézanne would see, nor even what all those who went to Aix, and still do, to recognize in Sainte Victoire the aesthetic qualities they saw in Cézanne's paintings. To see what we call landscape thus implies a culturally constructed form of looking. Today that construction, which continues to have recourse to pictorial images, but which depends strongly on photographic clichés, largely arises from tourism.

The spread of the notion of heritage to the landscape and the consequent delimiting of protected areas occurred subsequent to that cultural construction of a way of seeing. Just like monuments, protected landscapes allow us to invoke the past. Within the metropolitan area, Sintra and its mountains, classified as "Cultural Landscape—Heritage of Humanity," are an exemplary case in this respect, since the landscape protected there today is not only the result of the "Romantic way of seeing," i.e., having been conceived and produced in a culturally specific way, but also of the pictorial reproductions and literary descriptions based on them.

> [T]he specificity of historical circumstances determined that the Anglophone culture should take priority in the genesis and fixing of the image of Sintra which then spread throughout Romantic Europe. Thanks to the abundance and diversity of eye witness accounts published, and also the prestige and resonance achieved by the voice of various generations of lusophiles, Sintra gradually became the emblematic place of the Romantic movement, somewhere that enticed one to creative idleness, unleashed flights of fancy, led to a reverent evocation of the past, allowed one to recover the lost innocence of Eden through dialog with the whole work of creation, and awakened the conscience to the weight of historic heritage and the obligation to conserve and pass on the natural and cultural heritage as a living organic structure. . . . Sintra is one of those places where, through the mediation of literature, Nature has been poetically transformed into landscape (Almeida Flôr 1995, 26).

In the case of the nature reserves and parks,[5] another type of relation with the past has been established, one that is closer to conceptions that distance man from the construction of landscapes. Here, the myth is of the natural landscape, predating and, if possible, independent from human presence. Conceived of as the ultimate bastions of nature, the parks and reserves favor the application of traditional techniques for harvesting and processing natural resources, making

[5] This is the case with the "Parque Natural Sintra Cascais," the "Reserva Natural do Estuário do Tejo," the "Reserva Natural do Estuário do Sado," and the "Paisagem Protegida da Arriba Fóssil da Costa da Caparica."

the landscapes dependent upon the ongoing existence of professional practices that are only viable when included in a more general context of patrimonialization. Popular culture, which is already subject to the necessary processes of objectification, is thus frequently associated with landscape conservation practices.

It is the municipalities less "rich" in erudite heritage that overwhelmingly call on a whole series of popular professional practices and objects to construct their landscapes, often bracketing them with a naturalist discourse with ecological overtones. Architectural objects such as wind and tide mills thus arise as organizing components of landscape compositions that evoke a pre-industrial lifestyle. In some cases, the space is animated by people who work in professions that have kept a craft flavor, who can thus form an integral part of landscapes that have been constructed using mechanisms that invoke the past. These human figures, despite being real people, form part of an idealized daily life, since they are in fact working, but, in so doing, they are also representing a traditional trade. Their working practices are consciously assumed as performative acts: they are representations put on for themselves and for the others of something that was the animation of a territory of the past.

The Tagus, perhaps because it is one of the communication routes that ties together the Lisbon metropolitan area, is now the subject of landscape investment that includes some of the processes under discussion here.

> As the old uses are being substituted, the Tagus is gradually recovering its momentum as the great unifying space of the Metropolitan Area. . . . The boats of the Tagus and the old shipyards have been transformed into new schools for free time, in an apprenticeship that has reclaimed traditional skills, built from time-honored knowledge and respect for nature (Almeida et al. 2001, 75).

> With the past gently rocked by the waters of the river Tagus and associated with all the seafaring stories and rituals, it is only natural to find ships and boats among the dominant elements of the iconography of Moita. . . . The waters of the river are dotted with the bright colors of the traditional vessels called "fragatas," "varinos," and "faluas," characters plucked from the celebrations of *Nossa Senhora de Boa Viagem* ("Our Lady of Good Voyage"), which delight visitors and have always peopled the imagination of the folk belonging to this Municipality that is mirrored in the Tagus (Publication of the Costa Azul—Moita Tourist Region).

Parts of these "landscapes" have been carefully constructed to obliterate the reality of the surrounding urbanism. The responsible (and accountable) relationship with the territory is thus diminished by the crystallizing and aestheticizing effect of the logic of landscape construction, giving the established authorities room to maneuver so they can go on allowing all kinds of speculative manipulation in the space outside the frame of the landscape images. A beautiful landscape, animated by ancestral figures duly framed by traditionalist narratives, easily masks the rampant profits of real estate speculation that have transformed

the space of the Lisbon metropolitan area into an urban network of deplorable quality.

Simplifying the Past to Unite the Present

The disorder that has ruled the metropolitan territory for the last few decades might justify, through the need for a counterbalance, the idea of landscape being present in creating identity discourses, just as it could justify, at least in part, the use of rhetoric resorting to the past in order to consider the present and plan the future.[6] As David Lowenthal has shown, because these narrative mechanisms, which are associated with the ongoing identitarian negotiations, always end up translating themselves, in the sense that they transform the past by fragmenting, reorganizing, and interpreting it: "We alter the past to become part of it as well as to make it our own" (Lowenthal 1986, 331).

Given the variety, and, at times, the incompatibility, of the social groups that are to be represented by the identitarian discourse, the narrative fashions figures which, because they are symbolically unified, establish the intended political consensus—at least momentarily.

> History continually tailored to our conceptions is more and more a joint enterprise; your past resembles mine not only because we share a common heritage but also because we have changed it in concert. But this fabricated consensus is highly evanescent (Lowenthal 1986, 362).

The case of the overview text on Vila Franca de Xira, written by the mayor, is, in this respect, paradigmatic. In two paragraphs obviously referring to the texts of two Portuguese neo-realist writers—Soeiro Pereira Gomes and Alves

[6] The overviews of the municipalities in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area written by the respective mayors are, in this respect, exemplary, since they use, in various ways, but recurrently, the said mechanism of calling up the past. Below are a number of examples:

"Rich in tradition, Montijo is a municipality that has known how to preserve memories of the past, without ceasing to look to the future" (Almeida et al. 2001, 75).

"Sesimbra is also a municipality with solidarity, where the preservation of the collective memory goes hand in hand with attention to the present and the problems of the more needy segments of the population"(Almeida et al. 2001, 103).

"Vila-Castelo" Palmela is the place of tradition and innovation. Land of people who make tradition a way of being, at the same time as they take on the challenge of a progress fueled by debate and the search for solutions through mutual consent" (Almeida et al. 2001, 91).

"Azambuja profits from its potential without losing the character of the past**"** (Almeida et al. 2001, 31).

". . . the Municipality of Alcochete . . . takes on greater powers of attraction as new inhabitants settle and receives a major boost in reconverting traditional activities, investing in opening up to progress that preserves the more positive traces of its cultural identity" (Almeida et al. 2001, 12).

Redol—it "invents"[7] an identitarian narrative that unites around the *campino* (the traditional Ribatejo horseman) two worlds that differ from a social, economical, and cultural point of view: that of the riverside and that of the marsh.

> There was a time when men didn't have time to be boys. The river Tejo set the pace for a life made up of challenges. Aboard the Tagus's 'fragatas' and the 'faluas' that swarmed the creeks, the boys learned to swim before they had learned to walk. Forced into manhood before their time, they would color the region's most picturesque photographs, mounted on gallant Lusitanian horses that braved raging bulls, protected by their red vests. With the passing of the years, the *Campino* and his cap became the symbol of the region (Almeida et al. 2001, 121).

The municipal territory, that now, as in the past, is diverse and host to conflict associated with deep economic, social, and cultural divisions, is thus unified by a human figure removed from his social and professional status to be turned into the symbolic abstraction of an ethnic emblem.

Simultaneously, the making of a symbolic unit, clearly linked to the transformation of the *campino* into an ethnic emblem, also resorts to a number of culture objectification mechanisms. As we have seen, Vila Franca de Xira, like Alcochete, Montijo, Moita, Barreiro, Seixal, and Almada, has invested in the patrimonialization of riverside culture.[8] In this context, a *barco varino* (wooden rowboat traditional to the Tagus) was restored and is now used for tourist trips organized by the Municipal Museum. The promotional photographs for this boat show a painting of a *campino* on horseback against a riverside background and framed with flowers and arabesques.[9] Utilization of the symbolic efficacy of festival customs is another tactic used to bring into being the figure of the *campino*. During the "red vest" celebrations, there are a series of performative events that fall within a dynamic of culture commodification, clearly directed at a hypothetical context of the international tourist circuit.[10]

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[7] The term "invent" here is analogous to its use by Hobsbawm (1983) in speaking of the "invention of tradition."

[8] "In 1999, the Barreiro Municipal Council acquired the *varino* called Pestarola with the intention of safeguarding and preserving cultural and environmental heritage: thus the recovery and restoration of this traditional Tagus rowboat falls within the Local Authority's policy of salvaging ancient craft knowledge linked with wooden boat building, and of passing on traditional sailing techniques" (Promotional pamphlet for the *varino* Pestarola).

[9] The first name of this boat, built in 1945, was simply "varino."

[10] Sandra Oliveira (2000), in a recent work entitled "Edificação da Imagem do Campino (1933–1950)," shows how this image has been constructed and negotiated over time. The creation, in 1932, of the "red vest" festival, began a long process of "inventing a tradition" that included use of the figure of the *campino* by the *Estado Novo*—a period when Portugal was ruled by a right wing dictatorship. This process transformed the *campino* into a regionalist symbol with an ideological impact at national level, and which is currently being recentered on the professional group to which it is connected. At the

> Vila Franca de Xira is called by many the "Portuguese Seville" . . . . A fame borne out by the rearing and fighting of Bulls and Horses and the maintenance of a unique figure such as the *campino*. Elements that form a harmonious trilogy and reinforce its vocation as a cultural, typical, original and genuine tourist area (Almeida et al. 2001, 123).[11]

The figure of the *campino* is one of the most striking cases within the Lisbon metropolitan area of a human figure in processes of ethnicization. Transformed into an ethnic emblem, the men of the Ribatejo are presented to themselves, above all in ritual situations, as objects that represent a culture, thereby moving from the complex and unpredictable terrain of everyday life to the safer, because already choreographed, terrain of staging a traditional life that, in its essential components, has already disappeared.[12]

A broad range of photographs of c*ampinos* aimed at tourist promotion furnishes the formal components of the ethnic emblem: mounted on horseback, the men photographed are very upright, something graphically prolonged by the line of the *pampilho* (a long, sharp goad), and confident in their controlled gaze to camera. The narrative component (which is also ideological in this case) of the media-friendly "hunk" appears in the texts that accompany the above-mentioned photographs:

> The *campino* is the character *par excellence* of this work with heroic features and bullfighting passes. Fearless soul, expert horseman and lively, merry dancer whenever the moment calls for it, the *campino* elegantly displays his colored costume and equestrian mastery (Publication by the Costa Azul—Alcochete Tourist Region).

But if the *campino* is the character in the context of the Lisbon metropolitan area who most clearly demonstrates the involvement of people in processes of ethnicization, there do not cease to be others who, although less evident, may come to take on the same role. This is the case of the *saloio*. Less easy to define clearly than the figure of the *campino*, and thus more difficult to objectify, the

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same time, as we have seen, it is also being included in more global processes that objectify the culture and affirm local identity.

[11] As Erik Cohen (1988) demonstrates, the semantic field of authenticity, that we can remit to the modern opposition between the western world, seen as nonauthentic, and traditional worlds, conceived as being authentic (Appadurai 1986), is socially constructed. This means that the would-be positive connotations of words such as "typical," "original," and "genuine" cannot be taken as "facts," but rather as constructed meanings within cultural and identitarian negotiations.

[12] This type of cultural practice has been the subject of different interpretations in studies on tourism. The more traditional perspective separates real, authentic life (which goes on in the wings) from the play put on for tourists (which takes place in places that take on the function of a stage) (MacCannell 1973 and 1976), while more recent perspectives (Cohen 1979) seek to find the cultural meanings of the logics of "representation" in themselves, which imply a second degree relation with the culture.

figure of the *saloio*[13] is invoked today in forming the identitarian discourses of the municipalities of Loures and Sintra, as well as the recently created local authority of Odivelas.

Beyond the cultural vitality it embodies and its recognized symbolic potential, this type of manipulation of popular culture has obvious risks, clearly spelt out by Patricia C. Albers and William R. James:

> In many of the tourist spaces where ethnicity becomes a center of attraction, the true history of a people is often derailed in the highly abstract and generalized language of "cultural heritage" (Trigger 1980) and "cultural tradition." Not uncommonly, this language reduces people to the crafts they make, the dances they perform, or the exotic costumes they wear" (Albers and James 1988, 153).

> By making secular fantasies appear real, this thread not only obfuscates a critical historical consciousness, but it creates the very conditions that produce historical amnesia in modern times (Berger 1980).

Patrimonialization can also be associated with the creating of discourse on recent history that gives visibility to the material culture of social groups that are traditionally excluded from the conceptions of heritage associated with built monuments. This happens with objects from popular culture of a rural and craft nature, and also with objects from industrial cultures that are ceasing to exist. Some of the subdistricts on the south bank of the Tagus exemplify both situations, since they have been simultaneously restoring traces from river-based work practices linked to salt production, fishing and flour milling, and traces of manual work linked with the large industrial structures. In both cases we can speak of resistance via a cultural activity to the trauma of the sudden disappearance of professional activities that gave rise to specific social groups and, consequently, gave form to their identities.[14]

The sites of this professional memory are, for the most part, situated on the south banks of the Tagus and overlooked by Lisbon, and are thus subject to a symbolic rehabilitation that attempts to place them on a par with the architectural heritage of the Portuguese capital.[15] This is the case of the CUF (*Companhia União Fabril*) premises—covering, in addition to the industrial production sections, the workers' housing and the mausoleum of Alfredo da Silva—which have been included in the heritage itinerary of Barreiro. The objective of giving

[13] "Being *saloio* is a posture that has increased in value over the years since its original meaning of "inhabitant of the rural zones on the outskirts of Lisbon" (Almeida et al. 2001, 55).

[14] Referring to situations of the same type, Llorenç Prats (1997) speaks of the "musealization of frustration."

[15] The text by the mayor of Almada reveals the presence of this type of cultural and identitarian affirmation: "On the river beaches, the landscape is transformed with the construction of impressive monuments to industrial labor, factories that house hundreds of specialized workers who carry out their activities in the scope of a complex organization of labor" (Almeida et al. 2001, 18).

a professional memory heritage value is manifest in this case at various levels, including archaeology, urbanism, and craft work practices. A view of history is constructed placing work at the center of the narrative: the ceramic kiln from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, together with the artisan production of boats and ships and the industrial productions of chemical productions are included in the same identitarian narrative, summed up by the unifying figure of a full-time Barreiro worker.

The construction of a working-class memory is a clear issue here. Making heritage from the buildings of lost industries accompanies the creation of a lionizing identitarian narrative that includes making traditions of some of the collective practices of the populations involved.

> The migrant contingents, mainly from the southern flatlands, brought with them manpower and an important community tradition which, in the factory environment, was transformed into an associative and mutualist tradition. This history of Barreiro is, also, the history of the social and worker movements in Portugal (36).
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> The associative tradition and the force of the worker movement mark the rhythm of social life in Seixal. It is a tradition of solidarity faithful to its history and marked by the consolidation of shared machinery and equipment, favored collective sites for coming together (Almeida et al. 2001, 97).

In a world that is falling apart and, at the same time, diversifying, the mayors of Barreiro and Seixal seem to want to respond with a soothing narrative based on the memory of associative and community practices in the working populations.

> Because it is over, the past can be ordered and domesticated, given a coherence foreign to the chaotic and shifting present. Nothing in the past can now go wrong (Lowenthal 1986, 62).

Complexifying the Past to Avoid Running from the Present

The photographs disseminated for tourism purposes and the images left in my mind after a number of trips along the south bank represent a clash of two widely diverging worlds. A bygone world, peopled with white men dressed as peasants, boatmen, craftsmen, and tradesmen, and a real, present day world inhabited by black youths like those in the streets of New York, London, or Paris, Slavic men dirty with dust and paint running to catch the boats home to Lisbon after a day's work, families who seem always to be in transit in cars, buses, and trains. The reality is obviously much more complex and fragmented than the tourist images—which, as we have seen, find their equivalent in the narratives voiced in political speeches—might suggest. But there are exceptions, or there is at least one exception. The text by the mayor of Moita reveals a tactic for constructing an identity narrative that is differently situated. In this case, the option chosen was not to simplify the past in order to produce a unifying identity narra-

tive, but rather to communicate a complex image of the past so as to face the diversity of the present.[16]

> To the tradition of the Ribatejo, with its roots in man's deep-seated relations with the marshland and the river, was added the life of the factory worker. Then rich and heterogeneous cultural influences arrived from Africa. The gypsy culture also appeared in the Municipality, strengthening the cultural mosaic that has enriched the heritage of our Subdistrict (Almeida et al. 2001, 69).

The presence of ethnic diversity that is not consistent with an identity narrative established around an ethnic emblem or the memory of a professional group, is forged here by a political discourse that, like its neighboring municipalities, resorts to the traditionalization of community solidarity and associativism, but, in this case, to construct a deliberately nonmonolithic representation of the local authority. "The Municipality welcomed them all warmly, creating one of the most multifaceted and vigorous cultural frameworks in the metropolitan area" (Almeida *et al*. 2001, 67).

At the same time, there has been an ethnically differentiated use of the mechanisms of turning popular festivals into heritage. Bull fights, religious festivals linked with the sea, and African celebrations are presented in parallel as moments for expressing the subdistrict's complex multicultural identity.

The reference to the municipality of Moita, presented here as an example of a kind of identity discourse based more on the perception of diversity than on an attempt to reduce it, serves to introduce the question of the mechanisms of cultural exclusion employed by the discourses (and, indubitably, by the practices) of power. As previously mentioned, the logics of patrimonialization correspond, essentially, to peoples' and groups' dynamics of symbolic representativity, and are thus constructed within the confines of cultural wars that involve the different groups constituting a society. If we consider the Lisbon metropolitan area, it is not difficult to understand that a significant part of its population is excluded from the mechanisms of representation in question.

Figure 32[17] illustrates one of the dimensions of this issue. Originating in New York in a context of cultural relations that includes Afro-Americans and populations originally from the Caribbean, hip hop has spread as street culture to

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[16] The text by the mayor of Sintra also manifests conscious attention to this issue. Although the presence of erudite heritage is undeniable, the narrative evokes an interaction between erudite culture, popular culture, and cosmopolitan lifestyles, thereby ensuring that the diverse inhabitants can recognize themselves in the heritage narrative: "Capital of the Portuguese Romantic movement, Sintra has remained faithful to its deep-seated rustic roots, at the same time it has wisely balanced a strong cultural identity that goes back a thousand years with the vigorous and varied knowledge and leisure requirements of the new metropolitan populations" (Almeida et al. 2001, 115).

[17] I would like to thank anthropologist Rui Cidra, author of "Representar o hip hop—o papel do *rap* na formação de identidades e novas práticas culturais na área metropolitana de Lisboa" (Cidra 1999), for his collaboration in the creation of Figure 30.

Figure 32. Meeting Places for *Hip Hop* Groups, 2001

almost all the capitals of the world, in versions resulting from the new contexts of cultural production in which it develops. Figure 32, which marks the main centers where people connected to this culture meet, demonstrates that it is to be found in the whole periphery of Lisbon, forming an expanse on the map that appears to be organized by the communication routes. The proximity to run-down residential areas points to a social connection with Afro-Portuguese groups that is confirmed by ethnographic data, but the proximity to areas with white, middle-class inhabitants indicates a connection to other kinds of social groups, also confirmed by ethnography. Despite its strong symbolic connections to the African continent, this is a street culture that is socially very inclusive.

Existing studies show that hip hop is a cultural terrain that is particularly geared to the development of narratives within tactics of ethnic, national, and neighborhood identity construction. This is therefore a dynamic that has points of contact with the phenomena I have been addressing—like them, it produces

forms of expression that associate themselves with the construction of identity discourses—but which, in what matters, is situated elsewhere. The affirmation and legitimizing of a group's culture occurs, in the case of hip hop, on the street, outside the official heritage practices. However, despite the capacity for developing outside the dynamics controlled by the political actors that these forms of culture production have revealed, they too have been integrated into the heritage processes, in this case at national scale above all. As Teresa Fradique (2003) demonstrated, Rap and its agents became integrated in the discourse negotiations that recreated the nationalist political narrative in the '90s, bringing it closer to versions with a multicultural slant.